LYNCHING RECORD 1933

According to the records compiled in the Department of Records and Research of the Tuskegee Institute there were 28 persons lynched in 1933. This is 20 more than the number 8 for 1932; 15 more than the number 13 for 1931; and 7 more than the number 21 for 1930. 14 of the persons lynched were in the hands of the law; 9 were taken from jails and 5 from officers of the law outside of jails; the bodies of 2 of the victims were burned.

There were 37 instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings. 6 of these were in Northern and Western States and 31 in Southern States. In 24 of the instances the prisoners were removed or the guards augmented or other precautions taken. In the 13 other instances, armed force was used to repel the would be lynchers. A total of 48 persons, 11 white and 37 Negro, were thus saved from death at the hands of mobs.

Of the 28 persons lynched, 4 were white and 24 were Negro. The offenses charged were; Murder,8; rape,3; attempted rape,3;wounding persons,3; altercation,1; no offense reported,3; striking man,1; slapping youth,1; kidnapping,2; stealing liquor,1; insulting women,1; threatening men,1.

The States in which lynchings occurred and the number in each state are as follows; Alabama,3; California,2; Georgia,4; Louisiana,4; Maryland, 1; Mississippi,3; Missouri, 1; North Carolina,1; South Carolina,4; Tennessee,3; Texas,2.

COMPILED BY MONROE N. WORK, DIRECTOR
DEPARTMENT OF RECORDS AND RESEARCH
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

Alabama

Lynchings-1933
Cases of

3869

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

AUG 14 1933

ALABAMA'S MOB FURY KILLS TWO TO AVENGE GIRL

(Special to The News)

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., Aug. 13.—Masked night riders, bent on avenging the assault murder of a white girl, snatched three colored youths from armed deputies on a lonely road twenty-four miles southwest of Birmingham early today. Eleven hours later two bodies, literally filled with bullets, were found on the outskirts of Woodstock. The fate of the third prisoner is unknown.

The hapless victims of Southern racial hatred were sprawled beneath a tree at the roadside, still handcuffed together. Round after round of rifle, revolver and shotgun slugs had been poured into the two bodies.

Ironically, the youths, Dan Pippen Jr., 18; A. T. Harden, 15, and Elmore Clark, 28, the latter is now missing—were being moved from the local lockup to the Jefferson County Jail in Birmingham for safe keeping when the lynchers made the capture.

Virtually the entire white population of the countryside had been inflamed against the youths and repeated threats against their lives decided authorities to take precautions.

Had Been Under Guard.

The victims had been under heavy guard for the last two weeks, following their indictment for the murder of Vaudine Mad---, 20, daughter of a destitute farmer in southern Tuscaloosa County.

The girl was attacked and slain on June 22.

Pippen, Hardin and Clark were arrested on information that they had been in the vicinity.

Pippen and Clark faced trial in Circuit Court. Hardin's case was to have been heard in Juvenile Court. Officers said Hardin, the younger of the trio, had made a ... confession implicating Pippen and Clark. But the elder two steadfastly denied their guilt.

The car containing the prisoners and their legal captors had proceeded out of town at high speed and was making for Birmingham when it was halted by a number of cars blocking the highway.. The deputies later said they had no chance to draw their guns before the machine was surrounded by twelve men in black masks.

Forcing the officials to keep their hands high, the lynchers dragged the youths into another machine which sped away down a side road. The other cars followed and were soon lost to sight.

Blame Communist Lawyers.

Sheriff R. L. Shamblin, who seemed disposed to absolve his deputies, said the feeling against the victims had been intensified by the activities of the International Labor Defense, Communist legal organization, which had injected itself into the situation. Shamblin said the Red group had insisted on defending Pippen, although both the youth and his parents had begged it to take no part.

"Every precaution was taken to prevent this violence," the Sheriff ... re is no question but t... eddling of the International Labor Defense is directly responsible for the crime. The I. L. D. has roused the public to a high pitch of resentment."

Defense counsel for the murdered pair also blamed the radical organization, which has been anathema to Alabamans ever since it sprang to the defense of the seven colored youths in the famous Scottsboro case. In fact, when lawyers for the I. L. D. were ordered out of the defense ranks two weeks ago, the National Guard decided to give them an escort out of town.

Circuit Judge Henry M. Foster announced that a Grand Jury investigation would be ordered immediately. Trial for the youths had been set for Aug. 22.

Map shows Woodstock, Ala. (A), where bodies of three lynched colored youths, literally filled with bullets, were found yesterday.

N. Y. HERALD

AUG 14 1933

Lynchers Take 3 Negroes From Sheriff's Men

2 Accused of Murdering White Girl in Alabama Found Slain, 3d Missing

Labor Defense Blamed

Trial Halted When N.Y. Lawyers Were Put Out of Case

By The Associated Press

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., Aug. 13.—Three Negroes, who were being removed from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham for safe keeping pending trial on charges of slaying a twenty-one-year-old white girl, were taken from officers by armed men early today and two of them later were found shot to death near Blocton, twenty-three miles west of Birmingham. No trace had been found of the third Negro despite an intensive search throughout the day by peace officers of three counties.

The removal of the Negroes had been ordered because of reports that an attack would be made on the jail. The Negroes, Dan Pippen jr., eighteen years old, Elmore Clark, twenty-eight and A. T. Harden, sixteen, were under indictment in the slaying of Miss Vaudine Maddox in rural Tuscaloosa County several weeks ago.

Pippen and Harden were the two found shot to death just before noon today. Officers reported that the bodies of the two Negroes bore approximately twenty-five pistol wounds.

Labor Defense Blamed

Sheriff R. L. Shamblin, in announcing that armed men in two cars had overpowered his deputies and seized the Negroes just inside the Jefferson County line, said, "We took many precautions to prevent anything of this nature. I believe the interference of the International Labor Defense lawyers in the case is directly responsible for this violence."

Injection of the I. L. D. in the Pippen trial and subsequent declarations of intention to continue in the case had aroused public feeling to an intense pitch, the Sheriff added.

When the Pippen case was called to trial here on August 2 National Guardsmen were assembled, Judge Henry L. Foster said, "not to protect the Negroes, but to give succor to the attorneys employed by the International Labor Defense."

Subsequently, after Pippen and his parents had testified that they did not wish the International Labor Defense attorneys, Irving Schwab and Allan Taub, of New York, and Frank Irving, of Birmingham, to intercede in the case, Judge Foster ruled the I. L. D. attorneys were without authority and postponed the trial to August 22.

The three attorneys departed under a National Guard escort. Reports were made to Birmingham police that a mob had attempted to molest them at the Tuscaloosa station, but these reports were denied by Major Torrey Jemison, commanding the escort.

Later William L. Patterson, secretary for the International Labor Defense in New York, issued a statement attacking Judge Foster's conduct in permitting "lynch lawyers" to handle the case, and declared the I. L. D. would continue in the case.

Judge Foster today said he greatly deplored violence in the state and that an immediate grand jury investigation would be ordered. "I did not know the Negroes were going to be transferred to Birmingham Saturday night and did not advise that they be removed," he said.

I. L. D. Asks Judge's Arrest

The International Labor Defense last night sent a telegram to Governor B. M. Miller of Alabama demanding that he order the arrest of Judge Foster and Sheriff Shamblin of Tuscaloosa, according to The United Press.

The message read: "Hold Judge Foster and Sheriff Shamblin, Tuscaloosa, directly responsible organization lynch mob which murdered Pippin, Harden, Clark. Demand immediate arrest of them and of all deputies and private persons concerned and immediate prosecution and enforcement death penalty. Can prove mob incitement by officials."

The telegram was signed by William L. Patterson, secretary.

"A lynch spirit has been whipped up in Tuscaloosa for weeks, ever since it was announced that the I. L. D. had been asked to enter the case," Frank Spector, assistant national secretary of the International Labor Defense, said last night. "These boys were being railroaded in one of the crudest lynch frame-ups ever perpetrated. This was part of a program of terror against the Negroes of Tuscaloosa, who have been bearing the full weight of the losses of the cotton plow-under program and in whom resentment against robbery by their landlords was rising high.

"As soon as it was learned that the I. L. D. was to come into the case a program of terrorization was begun, to prevent the exposure of the frame-up which was becoming inevitable. Relatives of the defendants were visited and threatened with lynching if they did not renounce I. L. D. aid. The boys themselves were badly beaten in jail, with the same purpose in view. Finally, the courtroom was packed with a lynch mob, and under this pressure Pippen and his parents were forced to say they did not want the I. L. D., but wanted local lawyers.

"Local lawyers, drawn from the same 'better class' from which the lynch mobs were recruited, were an essential adjunct to carrying through the plan of legal lynching. Their obvious lynch purpose revealed, the 'better class' whites of Tuscaloosa, a college town, made up their minds that their prey should not escape them, and the lynching of the three resulted."

Governor Orders Inquiry

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 13 (AP).—Describing the mob killing off three Negroes under indictment in Tuscaloosa County as a "heinous crime," Governor B. Miller sent a telegram to Judge Henry B. Foster at Tuscaloosa today ordering an immediate grand jury investigation.

"This crime should be thoroughly investigated by a grand jury of county having jurisdiction, under special charge and instructions from the court, and the guilty parties indicted and tried," the telegram said. "You will appreciate fully its gravity and heinousness and see that the law as to the duty of the Sheriff and the offense of the mob are made known to the grand jury if offense was committed within jurisdiction of your court."

Governor Miller received this telegram from Judge Foster tonight:

"Best citizens here outraged and distressed account horrible crime. My information from sheriff's office is that seizure of prisoners occurred in Jefferson County. Two bodies discovered near Woodstock in Bibb County. Body of Clark not yet found. I announced immediately this morning a special session of the grand jury will be drawn and summoned tomorrow and impaneled on Tuesday. Grand jury will be fully charged as to duty of sheriff and offense of mob. We will leave no stone unturned to make investigation thorough and complete."

NEW YORK TIMES

AUG 14 1933

ALABAMA MOB KILLS 2 INDICTED NEGROES

A Third Is Carried Off by Armed Men, Who Waylay Sheriff and Deputies.

GOVERNOR ORDERS INQUIRY

Prisoners Were Being Moved to Birmingham After Threat—Officer Blames Labor Defense.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Aug. 13.—Three Negroes, held under indictments charging them with the murder of a white girl 21 years old, were taken from officers and two were shot to death at Woodstock, 25 miles west of here, early this morning.

The Negroes slain were Dan Pippin, 18, and A. T. Harden, 16. Elmore Clark, 28, was carried off by the lynchers. He had not been located late today.

Sheriff R. L. Shamblin, who with several deputies was escorting the Negroes from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham for safe-keeping, said the prisoners and escort left Tuscaloosa about midnight in two cars.

The Sheriff decided to remove the Negroes and to make the 60-mile trip to Birmingham after persistent rumors that an attack on the Tuscaloosa jail was planned for early Sunday.

Sheriff Shamblin, two deputies and the three Negroes rode in the lead car, while a trailing car carried other deputies.

After selecting an unfrequented road to Birmingham and proceeding for about twenty miles without trouble, the trailing car turned back to Tuscaloosa. At a point just inside Jefferson County, according to the Sheriff, two machines filled with armed men closed in on his car and demanded the prisoners.

Negroes Surrendered by Sheriff.

The Negroes were surrendered to the men and a report was made to the Jefferson County jail here. An immediate search for the men and the prisoners was started by Jefferson County officers, ending at daylight with the finding of the bullet-riddled bodies of the Negroes in Bibb County, near Woodstock.

Sheriff Shamblin declared that feeling had been at high pitch in Tuscaloosa ever since the parents of Pippin had stated on the witness stand on Aug. 2, that three International Labor Defense lawyers participating in the case had not been retained by them.

The lawyers, Irving Schwab and Allen Taub of New York, and Frank Irwin of Birmingham, submitted to the court a "contract" authorizing them to defend the Negroes and purporting to have been signed by the mother of Pippin.

On her testimony that she had not signed the contract or any such paper, Judge Henry L. Foster ruled the International Labor Defense attorneys out of the case and continued the trial to the next term of court.

The Labor Defense lawyers were escorted from the court and protected on their return to Birmingham by a company of the Alabama National Guard ordered to Tuscaloosa by Governor Miller.

Reports that a mob attempted to molest the attorneys on their way to Birmingham were denied by Major Torrey Jemison, commanding the troops who escorted them from Tuscaloosa.

Blames Labor Defense Lawyers.

While a former president of the State Bar Association and two well-known local lawyers were appointed by the court to defend the Negroes, William L. Patterson, secretary of the International Labor Defense in New York, attacked Judge Foster's exclusion of the Labor Defense attorneys, declaring that "lynch lawyers" were handling the case and that his organization would insist on defending the Negroes at the postponed trial.

Sheriff Shamblin blamed "the interference of the International Labor Defense" as being "directly responsible" for the lynching. He declared that he had "taken every precaution" to prevent the Negroes being seized by a mob.

Judge Foster said tonight that he had not authorized the removal of the Negroes to Birmingham and that he would call a special session of the grand jury at once to investigate the lynching.

The Negroes were indicted July 10 in the slaying of Miss Vaudine Maddox two days after the body of the young woman was found in a ravine near her home in Tuscaloosa County.

Another Negro was shot to death near Tuscaloosa this afternoon. He was reported by officers to have been slain when he resisted arrest with a club. He was wanted on a charge of stealing chickens.

Governor Miller Assails Mob Action.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 13 (AP).—Describing the mob killing of the Negroes under indictment in Tuscaloosa County as a "heinous crime," Governor B. M. Miller today sent a telegram to Judge Henry B. Foster at Tuscaloosa ordering an immediate grand jury investigation.

The Governor tonight received a telegram from Judge Foster saying: "A special session of the grand jury will be drawn and summoned tomorrow and impaneled on Tuesday. Grand jury will be fully charged as to duty of Sheriff and offense of mob. We will leave no stone unturned to make investigation thorough and complete."

I. L. D. Protests to Governor Miller.

The International Labor Defense told The Associated Press last night that it had sent the following telegram to Governor Miller of Alabama in connection with the slaying of two Negroes, Dan Pippen Jr. and A. T. Harden, and the seizure of a third, Elmore Clark, near Tuscaloosa:

"Hold Judge Foster and Sheriff Shamblin, Tuscaloosa, directly responsible organization lynch mob which murdered Pippen, Harden, Clark. Demand immediate arrest of them and of all deputies and private persons concerned, and immediate prosecution and enforcement death penalty. Can prove mob incitement by officials."

The telegram was signed by William L. Patterson, national secretary of the I. L. D.

At the same time, Frank Spector, assistant national secretary, issued a statement saying, in part:

"A lynch spirit has been whipped up in Tuscaloosa for weeks, ever since it was announced that the I. L. D. had been asked to enter the case. These boys were being railroaded in one of the crudest lynch frame-ups ever perpetrated. This was part of a program of terror against the Negroes of Tuscaloosa, who have been bearing the full weight of the losses of the cotton plow-under program and in whom resentment against robbery by their landlords was rising high.

"As soon as it was learned that the I. L. D. was to come into the case, a program of terrorization was begun, to prevent the exposure of the frame-up which was becoming inevitable. * * * Finally, the courtroom was packed with a lynch mob and under this pressure, Pippen and his parents were forced to say they did not want the I. L. D., but wanted local lawyers."

Negro Lynched In Decatur; Attempt to Lynch Second

Armed Gang Makes 3 Attempts on Life of Framed Negro

DECATUR, Ala., Aug. 23.—Armed gangs, following the example set at Tuscaloosa, lynched one Negro here Monday and three times attempted to lynch a second.

This is the town where the re-trial of Heywood Patterson, Scottsboro boy, was held last April, and to which Judge James E. Horton and Attorney-General Thomas E. Knight, Jr., insist the nine innocent Scottsboro boys be brought for a third trial in October.

James Royal was lynched by the gang Monday night, after Thomas Brown, framed on a charge of attacking a white woman, was moved from the flimsy jail to Huntsville. The lynchers attempted to storm the jail. When they discovered Brown had been moved to Huntsville, they went there in cars and demanded that he be turned over to them. In the face of the nation-wide protest against the Tuscaloosa lynchings, Sheriff Ben Giles was afraid to do this. The lynchers departed with a threat that they would return "a thousand strong," though it was doubted whether that many members of the white lynch ruling class could be mustered.

They returned a second time, but were again disappointed as Sheriff Giles feared to turn Brown over to them.

In Decatur, the lynchers were permitted to search the jail, the same one in which the Scottsboro boys were held last April, to prove that Brown had been taken away.

At the time of the Scottsboro trial here, the jail was described as one "which could be broken into with a teaspoon," by authorities. It is used only for Negroes, all white prisoners being taken to Huntsville.

No charge had been placed against Royal, and authorities suppressed all details connected with his lynching, except that he was shot to death, near the place where Brown had been arrested.

Carrollton, Ala., Herald
August 17, 1933

NEGRO ESCAPES DEATH AT HANDS TUSCALOOSA MOB

Three Taken From Sheriff's Forces Shot Down And Left In Woods.

While being taken from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham for safekeeping last Saturday night, three negroes charged with the murder of the young Maddox girl near Tuscaloosa some time ago, were taken from three deputies just across the Tuscaloosa-Jefferson line, and taken into Bibb county where they were shot down. Two of them, Dan Pippin and A. T. Hardin, were found the following day, but no trace of Elmore Clark, the third man, could be found.

Monday a negro physician was called to come to the Brent community to attend a negro who had been shot, and before leaving the doctor notified the sheriff and told the sheriff to trail him to the scene. This he did with several deputies, and found the negro to be Clark. He was so badly frightened and weak from his wouldns that he could not tell how he escaped the mob. He was carried to Tuscaloosa and landed in jail, and national guards called out to protect him. A special session of the grand jury was called by Judge Foster to investigate the lynching, and the whole city has been in suspense the entire week. But little business is being done, and but few people go to town. Feeling is running high.

Clark was carried before the grand jury where he told his story and was then rushed to Birmingham and later to Montgomery for safe keeping. Physicians say he will recover.

He told after being placed in jail, that the three of them were fired upon by the mob and all fell, the other two falling on him. He feigned death and the mob left. After they were away a short time he got up and broke away from the other men to whom he was handcuffed, and made his way to the home of friends.

Lynchings-1933 Cases of

Alabama.

3870

TWO NEGROES SLAIN BY MOB; ONE MISSING

Men Charged With Assault Taken From Deputies Near Birmingham, Ala.

SHERIFF'S MEN HELD UP

Deputies Were Taking Prisoners From Tuscaloosa For 'Safe Keeping'

Telegraph 8-14-33

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., Aug. 13 (AP)—Three Negroes, being spirited from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham for safe keeping, pending trial on charges of slaying a 21-year-old white girl early today were taken from officers and two of them later were found shot to death near Blocton, 23 miles west of Birmingham, in Bibb county.

No trace had been found of the third Negro, despite an intensive search throughout the day by officers of three counties.

The removal followed increasing rumors here throughout yesterday that an attack would be made on the jail last night to take the Negroes, Dan Pippen, Jr., 18, Elmore Clark 28, and A. T. Harden, 16, who were under indictment in the slaying of Miss Vaudine Maddox in rural Tuscaloosa county several weeks ago.

Macon Ga.

Pippen and Harden were the two found shot to death shortly before noon today, while Clark had disappeared.

Officers reported that bodies of the two Negroes bore approximately 25 pistol wounds.

Sheriff Blames I. L. D.

Sheriff R. L. Shamblin, in announcing that two cars of armed men had overpowered his deputies and taken the Negro just inside the Jefferson county line, said, "We took many precautions to prevent anything of this nature. I believe the interference of the International Labor Defense lawyers in the case is directly responsible for this violence."

"Injection of the I. L. D. in the Pippen trial and subsequent declarations of intention to continue in the case had aroused public feeling to an intense pitch."

When the Pippen case was called to trial here on Aug. 2, national guardsmen were assembled. Judge Henry L. Foster said, "Not to protect the Negroes but to give succor to the attorneys employed by the International Labor Defense."

Subsequently, after Pippen and his parents had testified that they did not wish the International Labor Defense attorney, Irving Schwab and Allan Taub of New York and Frank Irving of Birmingham, to intercede in the case, Judge Foster ruled they were without authority and continued the trial.

Investigation Ordered

The three I. L. D. attorneys were given a national guard escort out of the city and reports were made to Birmingham police that a mob attempted to molest them at the Tuscaloosa station. These reports subsequently were denied by Major Torrey Jemison, commanding the escort.

After Judge Foster's ruling, William L. Patterson, secretary for the International Labor Defense in New York, issued a statement attacking Judge Foster's conduct in permitting "lynch lawyers" to handle the case, and declared the I. L. D. would continue in the case.

Judge Foster today said he greatly deplored violence in the state and that an immediate grand jury investigation would be ordered. "I did not know the Negroes were going to be transferred to Birmingham Saturday night and did not advise that they be removed," the jurist said.

"Earlier in the evening officers conferred with me about the rumors of violence, but I did not know the Negroes were being taken to Birmingham until 30 minutes after they had left here."

Escort Car Turns Back

The deputies, Murray Pate, N. W. Holeman, and W. I. Huff, trailed by a second carload of officers, left here about 9:30 o'clock last night, taking a circuitous route to Birmingham.

After trailing for 15 miles without incident, the second car turned back. Near Brooksville, a mile inside the Jefferson county line, about midnight, the deputies said two cars suddenly closed in on them.

The men in the two cars covered the deputies with weapons and ordered the surrender of the Negroes. Outnumbered and under threat of the guns, the deputies said they surrendered their prisoners.

The abduction was reported here and to Jefferson county officers in Birmingham, and an immediate search was launched, resulting in the finding of the bullet riddled bodies by Deputy Sheriff Festus Shamblin near Woodstock in Bibb county.

The Negroes were indicted in the slaying of Miss Maddox in rural Tuscaloosa county on July 10.

Governor Orders Action

Telegraph 8-14-33

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 13. (AP)—Describing the mob killing of three Negroes under indictment in Tuscaloosa county as a "heinous crime," Governor B. M. Miller today sent a telegram to Judge Henry B. Foster at Tuscaloosa ordering an immediate grand jury investigation.

Immediately after he was informed of the lynching, Governor Miller dispatched the following telegram:

"Judge Henry B. Foster

"Judge of Circuit Court, Tuscaloosa, Ala.

"Sheriff Chamblin of your county wired me today as follows, 'suspicioned mob going to take prisoners and the judge ordered Pippen Clark, and Harden, Negroes, transferred to Jefferson county jail for safe keeping. Men were started under heavy guard and were met at county line by a mob and overpowered and prisoners taken.'

Macon Ga.

"He fails to state the county in which the offense was committed. This crime should be thoroughly investigated by a grand jury of county having jurisdiction, under special charge and instructions from the court and the guilty parties indicted and tried. You will appreciate fully its gravity and heinousness and see that the law as to the duty of the sheriff and the offense of the mob are made known to the grand jury if offense was committed within jurisdiction of your court."

(Signed)

B. M. MILLER, Governor."

Judge Foster Replies

"Tuscaloosa, Ala., Aug. 13

"Governor B. M. Miller

"Montgomery, Ala.

"Best citizens here outraged and distressed account horrible crime. My information from sheriff's office is that seizure of prisoners occurred a mile or more in Jefferson county. Two bodies discovered near Woodstock in Bibb county but probably in quarter of a mile of Tuscaloosa county. Body of Clark not yet found. I announced immediately this morning a special session of the grand jury will be drawn and summoned tomorrow and impaneled on Tuesday. Grand jury will be fully charged as to duty of sheriff and offense of mob. We will leave no stone unturned to make investigation thorough and complete.

"(Signed) Henry B. Foster, Judge Sixth Judicial Circuit."

WOUNDED VICTIM OF MOB IS FOUND

Telegraph

Elmore Clark Is in Tuscaloosa Jail and Judge Foster Makes Appeal For Troops

8-15-33

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., Aug. 14 (AP)—National guardsmen were hastily mobilized here tonight as Elmore Clark, 28, one of three Negroes taken by a mob just inside the Jefferson county line early yesterday was found alive and suffering only minor wounds.

Macon Ga.

Clark who with Dan Pippen, Jr., 18, and A. T. Harden, 16, was taken from deputies sheriff removing him to Birmingham for safe keeping, had been the object of an intensive search since early yesterday.

He was found late today with bullet wounds in the hip and leg and Judge Henry B. Foster immediately appealed to Governor B. M. Miller for troops to surround the Tuscaloosa county jail where the Negro was taken to prevent further violence toward him.

Governor Miller in Montgomery immediately issued an order for mobilization of the troops and the local company of national guards assembled.

Mob Masked, Clark Says

Clark told Sheriff R. L. Shamblin the members of the mob that took him and his two companions were masked and that he could not identify any of them. The sheriff said the Negro probably would recover from his wounds.

A special Tuscaloosa county grand jury has been summoned to assemble here tomorrow to investigate the lynching of Pippen and Harden, whose bodies, riddled with bullets, were found in the woods about a mile from Woodstock in Bibb county early yesterday.

Attorney General Thomas E. Knigh, Jr., arrived here tonight to conduct the investigation before the grand jury. Attorney General Knight came here at the request of Solicitor Edward de Graffenreid.

A Negro physician of Tuscaloosa was called from Vance, Ala., 22 miles southeast of here early tonight to "attend a Negro man who was wounded."

Unable to Explain Escape

The physician called Sheriff Shamblin, who trailed the Negro's automobile to a home of a friend of Clark, where he was found in an outhouse.

After his wounds had been attended he was brought to the jail here.

Vance is a small settlement some miles removed from the scene of the shooting of Pippen and Harden were shot down by the mob. Apparently Clark had traveled off the highways to friends at Vance for succor.

Sheriff Shamblin said the Negro was suffering from fright and weakness from his wounds and could give no clear account of how he escaped from the mob near Woodstock.

Will Prosecute to Limit

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 14 (AP)—Attorney General Thomas E. Knight Jr., left here this afternoon for Tuscaloosa to conduct the grand jury investigation there tomorrow of the lynching of two Negroes early yesterday near Woodstock.

Telegraph 8-15-33 Macon Ga.

"I intend to exert every power to bring the guilty parties in this deplorable crime to justice," said the attorney general just before he left for Tuscaloosa.

"We will prosecute any persons indicted to the limit," he said.

Sheriff Hands Over Boys to Armed Mob in Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Bodies Found Riddled With Bullets; One Still Missing

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., Aug. 13.—Two young Negroes whom attorneys for the International Labor Defense were prevented by the court from defending at their trial recently, were lynched today. They had been shot to death.

Daily Worker 8-14-33 New York N.Y.

Another boy, Elmore Clark, 18, seized when an armed gang took all three from the willing hands of three under-sheriffs, could not be found. It is believed that he had been lynched also.

The bodies of Dan Pippin, Jr., 18, and A. T. Hardin, 16, were found near Woodstock, half way between here and Birmingham, about two hours after the three boys had been seized.

All three boys were facing trial on trumped-up charges of killing an 18-year-old girl, Vaudine Maddox, on May 31.

* * *

Irving Schwab, Allen Taub and Frank B. Irwin, attorneys for the International Labor Defense, were on August 1 prevented from defending Pipin, Hardin and Clark, although they had been retained by the boys' relatives. They were then taken out of town by National Guardsmen, 65 of whom had been called out. On the way to Birmingham the train on which they were riding was halted by a mob of 100 organized by Tuscaloosa county authorities, which threatened to lynch the three.

Following the action of the judge in barring the I. L. D. attorneys, the case was adjourned and the boys taken back to jail.

Previous to the trial Schwab, Taub and Irwin had been prevented from seeing the boys in jail, mand a postponement of the trial on the ground that the defense ... and they had come to court to de-needed more time for preparations.

TWO DIE AT HANDS OF ALABAMA MOB —THIRD ESCAPES

Tuscaloosa, Ala., Aug. 17.—The grand jury investigating the lynching of Dan Pippen, Jr., and A. T. Hardin early last Sunday morning by a mob who took three persons from county deputies late Saturday night, recessed Wednesday until Sept. 4, when, it is announced, the jury will make further probe.

No indictments were returned by the grand jury and no report was made. Several witnesses, including Elmore Clark, who escaped the mob, appeared before the inquisitorial body.

JURY PROBES LYNCHING

Tuscaloosa, Ala., Aug. 16.—The Tuscaloosa County Grand Jury was called into special session here Tuesday morning and charged by Judge Henry B. Foster in investigation of the lynching of Dan Pippen, Jr., 18, and A. T. Harden, 15, whose bullet-riddled bodies were found late Sunday morning about a mile from Woodstock in Bibb County.

The two dead youths and a third, Elmore Clark, 28, were reported taken from sheriff's deputies late Saturday night as the officers were bringing the trio to Birmingham to place them in Jefferson County Jail for safekeeping, following reported rumors of a mob bent on taking them Saturday night from Tuscaloosa County Jail where they have been held since the postponement on Aug. 2nd of the trial of young Pippen, the first to be called for hearing.

Charged With Girl's Death

The three Negro youths were under indictment for the murder of Vaudine Maddox, 21-year-old white girl, whose mutilated body was discovered in a ravine near her home in rural Tuscaloosa County last June 12th. Miss Maddox had left home two days earlier to visit a neighbor, her family reported, and when she did not return they felt no unusual alarm, thinking she decided to spend a few days with friends. Her body was discovered by two younger sisters who made a search and were attracted to the scene off the path she was to travel by a number of birds congregated at the point.

Blame I. L. D.

Sheriff R. L. Shamblin, in announcing that two armed cars had overpowered deputies and taken the Negroes just inside the Jefferson County line, said, "We took many precautions to prevent anything of this nature. I believe the interference of the International Labor Defense lawyers in the case is directly responsible for this violation.

"Injection of the I. L. D. in the Pippen trial and subsequent declarations of intention to continue in the case had aroused public feeling to an intense pitch."

Judge Foster Sunday said he greatly deplored violence in the state and that an immediate Grand Jury investigation would be ordered. "I did not know the Negroes were going to be transferred to Birmingham Saturday night, and did not advise that they be removed," the jurist said.

"Earlier in the evening officers conferred with me about the rumors of violence, but I did not know the Negroes were being taken to Birmingham until 30 minutes after they had left here."

Clark Escapes Mob

With bullet wounds in his hip and legs, Elmore Clark, missing member of the trio taken by the mob Saturday night, was found hiding Monday night and brought to jail.

National guardsmen were hastily mobilized here Monday night to guard the jail.

Investigation Under Way

The Tuscaloosa County Grand Jury moved swiftly Wednesday in its efforts to bring members of the mob to justice.

Coroner S. T. Hardin was directed by the Grand Jury to supervise the exhumation of the bodies of Pippen and Harden, and to employ a ballistics expert to examine the bullets taken from the bodies.

Elmore "Honey" Clark, accused with the two victims of the murder of a white woman, escaped with wounds, and is now in Montgomery County jail.

Clark testified before the Grand Jury Tuesday.

The Grand Jury heard the testimony of six witnesses Wednesday before being taken to the spot on the Birmingham-Tuscaloosa Highway where the officers were overpowered and their prisoners taken, and to the place where the two bodies were found, on the Birmingham-Centerville Highway, three-fourths of a mile from Woodstock.

Witnesses appearing before the Grand Jury Wednesday, under direction of Atty. Gen. Knight, included Sheriff Shamblin, Coroner Hardin, of Tuscaloosa County; Sheriff Ward and Justice of the Peace Roland, of Bibb County, former Sheriff King Foster, of Tuscaloosa, and Floyd McElroy, of near Woodstock.

National guardsmen, who guarded the Tuscaloosa County courthouse Tuesday while Clark was testifying before the Grand Jury, had been withdrawn Wednesday.

Atty. Gen. Knight, directing the investigation, said that it appeared that several days more would be consumed in examining the various witnesses to be called before the Grand Jury.

Deputy Sheriffs Murray Pate, N. W. Holeman and W. H. Huff, from whom the Negroes were taken by the masked band, have not been summoned as Grand Jury witnesses, the attorney general said.

Meanwhile, Elmore "Honey" Clark, 28, the suvivor of the band's attempted triple lynching, was safe in Montgomery County jail where he was taken Tuesday, after his testimony before the Grand Jury, under military escort.

Clark was taken to Birmingham on the A. G. S. train, arriving there at 6 P.M., and after a four-hour stay in the Jefferson County Jail there, was transferred to Montgomery via the L. & N.'s Pan-American.

Clark explained after his arrest that the trio had been lined up and shot where the two bodies were found, but that he fell under Pippen and Harden which prevented other bullets fired from injuring him.

1 Lynch Victim Still Lives; Is Seriously Hurt

Doctor Turns Negro Boy Over to Jail in Tuscaloosa

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., Aug. 15.—Elmore Clarke, Negro victim of a gang which Sunday lynched Dan Pippen, Jr., and A. T. Harden, was found late last night still alive, in a shanty close to Woodstock, where Pippen and Harden's bodies were found. He was in a serious condition, with two bullet wounds in his body.

He was immediately taken to Tuscaloosa County Jail. National Guardsmen were thrown around the jail as rumors were spread by officials of a "mob" being formed to lynch him. Barbed wire entanglements were thrown across the streets near the courthouse and jail. The guardsmen were drawn from Tuscaloosa County.

Clarke, wounded in the thigh and arm, told how when the gang of lynchers opened fire on him he pulled the dead bodies of Pippen and Harden over his own body, and was left for dead. Later, according to the version of his story given by Sheriff Shamblin, he broke his handcuffs with a brick and crawled to the home of a Negro.

A Negro doctor, called to attend him from Vance, Ala., turned him over to Sheriff Shamblin. The name of the doctor is being withheld by the authorities.

A special Tuscaloosa County Grand Jury was called here today by Judge Foster to "investigate" the lynching. Attorney General Thomas E. Knight was in charge.

The Negro murdered in Tuscaloosa Sunday, it was learned, was Jim Pruitt. He was killed when he had an argument with his landlord by Deputies Murray Pate and H. W. Holeman, who.

NEGRO DESCRIBES LYNCHING OF TWO

Clark Tells Grand Jury of Own Escape From Mob That Shot Companions Dead

TUSCALOOSA, Aug. 15 (AP)—Behind closed doors of the grand jury room, Elmore Clark, 28-year-old Negro, today related his experiences in the hands of a mob which wounded him and lynched two other Negroes under indictment on a charge of killing a white woman.

As national guardsmen paced the area about the courthouse and the county jail, Clark went before the grand jury which had been called into special session and charged by Judge Henry B. Foster earlier in the day to make a determined effort to bring the lynchers to justice.

After completing his testimony, Clark was placed aboard a train, accompanied by an escort of national guardsmen, and carried to Birmingham, where he was placed in the Jefferson county jail.

Deputies to Be Called

Three deputies from whom the masked band seized Clark, A. T. Harden, 16, and Dan Pippen, Jr., 18, as the three were being transferred to Birmingham early Sunday, also were expected to be called before the grand jury before it completes its work. Harden and Pippen were the Negroes lynched.

Judge Foster directed the inquisitors to "make a thorough investigation to ascertain the persons who participated in any way, directly or indirectly in the lynching."

In an interview represented to have been obtained from Clark by a reliable authority, an account of the lynching was published by The Tuscaloosa News.

The paper said the Negro corroborated statements of the three officers that two carloads of men overpowered them and took the prisoners.

Clark Describes Escape

Placing them in one of the automobiles in which the band was traveling, Clark said he and the other two Negroes, handcuffed together were driven several miles to a wood where they were lined up and shot.

Before opening fire, Clark said, a spokesman for the group asked Harden who was responsible for the killing for which the trio were indicted and that he replied by pointing toward Pippen.

As the group directed a fusillade of shots at them, Clark said he fell beneath the bodies of Harden and Pippen with bullet wounds in his left upper arm, left shoulder and right hip. He said he lay still until the men left.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
August 14, 1933

Two Negroes Lynched By Tuscaloosa Mob

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., Aug. 13.—(UP)—An armed mob today lynched two negroes accused of assaulting and murdering a young white girl.

A third negro, seized when the mob overpowered three under sheriffs, could not be found. It was believed he had been killed also.

Bodies of Dan Pippin, 18, and A. T. Hardin, 16, were found near Woodstock, halfway between here and Birmingham, about two hours after the three negroes had been seized. They had been shot to death. Elmore Clark, 28, whose fate was not learned immediately, was the third of the trio facing trial on charges of slaying Miss Vaudine Maddox, 18, on May 31.

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Missing Negro Is Found Alive; Troops Called

Runaway Member Of Trio In Tuscaloosa Lynching Wounded And Hiding

Shot Three Times

Could Recognize None Of Mob, He Tells Sheriff; Attorney General There

Elmore Clark, one of three negroes spirited away by a mob which overpowered Tuscaloosa officers early Sunday morning, and who has been widely sought since the bullet-riddled bodies of his companions Dan Pippen and A. T. Harden, were found near Woodstock, Ala., Sunday afternoon, was located late yesterday suffering from bullet wounds in the right side and left arm, in an outhouse in the rear of a cabin near Vance, 22 miles Southeast of Tuscaloosa.

Clark was taken by Sheriff R. L. Shamblin immediately to the Tuscaloosa jail, where he was being attended by physicians last night. The negro was given first aid, however, by a doctor of his own race who was present with the sheriff, before the journey back to Tuscaloosa was begun. Clark's injuries were not thought to be serious. He was able to walk, the Sheriff said, but had little use of his wounded arm.

According to Sheriff Shamblin, who said Clark was suffering from fright, so that he answered only a few questions while being brought in, the negro stated members of the mob who took him and the other two prisoners from the officers were masked and he did not know any of them. He gave no clear explanation of how he escaped the fate of the other two captives, but it is presumed that by some lucky chance he was able to elude the vigilance of the vengeful mob and find safety in flight before he received a mortal wound.

Soon after the arrival of the sheriff at the jail with his prisoner, news of the capture got abroad, excitement spread through the streets of the city, and grew momentarily more intense. Apprehensive lest a mob form and attempt to remove Clark from the jail, Circuit Judge Henry B. Foster called Gov. Miller on the telephone and requested that National Guard units with headquarters at Tuscaloosa be called into service, as a precautionary measure against such a development. It was his opinion that the sheriff and his deputies could handle the situation until the Guardsmen had assembled Gov. Miller immediately issued an official order granting the request.

This order was transmitted by Adj. Gen. Hartley A. Moon, to Maj. M. T. Jemison at Tuscaloosa, where three Guard units comprising some 160 officers and men have their home stations. Maj. Jemison was instructed to call as many of these into active service as Judge Foster felt the situation demanded. At 9:30 o'clock, quiet prevailed about the jail.

Discovery of Clark's hiding place was made through a negro physician of Tuscaloosa, who received a call late yesterday afternoon to go to Vance to attend a wounded negro man. The physician promptly communicated this information to Sheriff Shamblin. It was arranged that the Sheriff was to follow in his car, a short distance behind the car driven by the physician in answering the call.

Reaching the negro cabin where the wounded man was, the physician asked for him and was told he was in an outhouse a short distance in the rear of the dwelling. By that time the Sheriff had come up, and he and the physician went together to the outhouse. There they found the patient who Sheriff Shamblin immediately identified as the missing Clark. The negro was apparently glad to see the sheriff, and offered no resistance to accompanying him, after his wounds had been dressed.

Leaving Tuscaloosa at about 6 p.m. the sheriff returned to Tuscaloosa with his prisoner at about 7:30. But little talking was done on the way back to town, the sheriff said, on account of the negro's physical condition and extreme nervousness.

Sheriff Shamblin said Clark told him after the mob placed him, Pippen and Harden in a car, they were taken to the point near Woodstock where the bodied of the latter two men were later found. There they were all made to get out of the car together. No details of the shooting that followed were given by Clark, nor of how he escaped and made his way to the home of some negro friends near Vance, where he was located yesterday afternoon.

The sheriff said he left the rest of the questioning of the prisoner to Solicitor Edward De Graffenried, who was with Clark at the jail, interrogating him at 10 p.m. after several other Tuscaloosa physicians had examined the negro and tended his injuries.

The Tuscaloosa Grand Jury, with Atty. Gen. Knight in charge, will convene this morning to investigate the slaying of Pippen and Harden, and the wounding of Clark.

The three negroes were jointly indicted for assaulting and murdering Miss Vaudine Maddox, young white woman, some weeks ago. While being transferred Sunday morning by sheriff's deputies to Birmingham for safekeeping, the negroes were taken in charge by a mob which overpowered the deputies near the Tuscaloosa-Jefferson County line.

N. Y. EVENING POST

AUG 15 1933

LYNCHING VICTIM DESCRIBES ORDEAL

Alabama Youth Says He Fell Beneath 2 Who Were Killed by Mob

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., Aug. 15 (AP).—The Tuscaloosa News today gave a description of the lynching of two Negroes and the wounding of another which the paper said was obtained by an authoritative source from Elmore Clark, the wounded victim.

Clark, the paper says, confirmed the statements of Tuscaloosa County deputies that they were overpowered by two carloads of masked men as the officers were transferring the Negroes from the jail here to Birmingham for safe keeping Sunday.

After being removed from the officer's car, Clark was quoted as saying, he and Dan Pippen Jr., eighteen, and A. T. Harden, sixteen, all indicted on a charge of killing a white girl, were carried several miles in an automobile occupied by part of the band.

The party came to a halt in a woods and the prisoners were lined up and questioned, Clark said, and when Harden was asked who killed the young woman, Miss Vaudine Maddox, daughter of a farmer, the Negro pointed to Pippen.

At this point, Clark said, the three, handcuffed together, were lined up and shot. Clark said he fell beneath the bodies of Pippen and Harden.

The Negro said he lay still until the men had gone and then knocked the handcuff off his left arm, which is withered by deformity.

After wandering all day Sunday and Sunday night, Clark said, he came upon a Negro house near Vance yesterday where he received food and dressed the wounds in his left arm, left shoulder and right thigh.

He told his interviewer he wanted to come on to town yesterday and surrender, but was too weak from loss of blood. The Negro said he would not be able to recognize any members of the band as they were all masked.

Lafayette, Ala., Sun
August 16, 1933

TWO NEGROES ARE LYNCHED SUNDAY NEAR BIRMINGHAM

MOB OVERPOWERS SHERIFF AND RIDDLES TWO WITH BULLETS—ONE ESCAPES.

Three negroes being spirited from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham for safekeeping, pending trial on charge of slaying a 21-year-old white girl, were taken from officers and two of them later were found shot to death near Blocton, 23 miles west of Birmingham, in Bibb County.

The removal followed increasing rumors throughout Saturday that an attack would be made on the jail to take the negroes, Dan Pippen, Jr., 18, Elmore Clark, 28, and A. T. Harden, 16, who were under indictment in the slaying of Miss Vaudine Maddox, in rural Tuscaloosa County several weeks ago.

Pippen and Harden were the two found shot to death. Officers reported that bodies of the two negroes bore approximately 25 pistol wounds.

Sheriff R. L. Chamblin, in announcing that armed cars had overpowered his deputies and taken the negroes just inside the Jefferson County line, said, "we took many precautions to prevent anything of this nature. I believe the interference of the International Labor Defense lawyers in the case is directly responsible for this violence."

Clark was located by officers Monday bearing several gun wounds when he called for a negro physician at Woodstock.

... Slayers ... Maddox Girl ... Seized By Mob

Tuscaloosa Sheriff Forced To Give Up 3 Negroes Bound For Birmingham

2 Bodies Found

Transfer Of Trio Decided On Satuday Night Upon Lynching Plan Rumor

TUSCALOOSA, ALA., Aug. 13.—(AP)—Jim Pruitt, negro, was shot to death on a farm South of here today by Deputies Sheriff Harley Holeman and R. M. Pate after the officers had been called to quiet Pruitt, said by his employer, H. R. Bambarger, to have threatened him with a club. The officers reported that the negro advanced on them with a club and that they fired when he resisted arrest. The officers said Pruitt had been suspected by Bambarger of stealing chickens and had been warned to leave the farm.

TUSCALOOSA, ALA., Aug. 13.—(AP)—Three negroes being spirited from Tuscaloosa, to Birmingham, for safe keeping, pending trial on charges of slaying a 21-year-old white girl, were taken from officers and two of them later were found shot to death near Blocton, 23 miles west of Birmingham, in Bibb County.

No trace had been found of the third negro, despite an intensive search

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
August 16, 1933

Negro Who Escaped Lynchers Arrives Here

Elmore Clark, Negro, who escaped lynching Sunday night by feigning death after he was shot, is shown above leaving the patrol wagon here for incarceration in the Jefferson County Jail. He was brought here Tuesday night by national guardsmen of Tuscaloosa. and later transferred to Kilby Prison. Clark, with two other Negroes, was indicted in connection with the slaying of Miss Vaudine Maddox. Sunday night the three Negroes were taken from deputy sheriffs who were bringing them from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham for safe keeping. Clark's two companions were shot to death. Tuesday afternoon Clark testified before a Tuscaloosa County Grand Jury and was then escorted to Birmingham, and later to Montgomery.

throughout the day by peace officers of three counties. The removal followed increasing rumors here throughout yesterday that an attack would be made on the jail last night to take the negroes, Dan Pippen, Jr., 18, Elmore Clark, 28, and A. T. Harden, 16, who were under indictment in the slaying of Miss Vaudine Maddox, in rural Tuscaloosa County several weeks ago.

Pippen and Harden were the two found shot to death shortly before noon today while Clark had vanished.

Officers reported that bodies of the two negroes bore approximately 25 pistol wounds.

Sheriff R. L. Chamblin, in announcing that armed cars had overpowered his deputies and taken the negroes just inside the Jefferson County line, said, "we took many precautions to prevent anything of this nature. I believe the interference of the International Labor Defense lawyers in the case is directly responsible for this violence."

Blames I. L. D.

"Injection of the I. L. D. in the Pippen trial and subsequent declarations of intention to continue in the case had aroused public feeling to an intense pitch."

Judge Foster today said he greatly deplored violence in the State and that an immediate Grand Jury investigation would be ordered. "I did not know the negroes were going to be transferred to Birmingham Saturday night, and did not advise that they be removed," the jurist said.

"Eearlier in the evening officers conferred with me about the rumors of violence, but I did not know the negroes were being taken to Birmingham until 30 minutes after they had left here."

Jack McGuire, one of the attorneys employed by Pippen's parents, said he believed the violence was directly caused by the I. L. D. interference which the defense counsel vigourously opposed.

The deputies, Murray Pate, N. W. Holeman and W. I. Huff, trailed by a second carload of officers left here about 9:30 o'clock last night, taking a circuitous route to Birmingham.

After trailing for 15 miles without incident, the second car turned back.

A mile inside the Jefferson County line, about midnight the deputies said two cars suddenly closed in on them.

The men in the two cars covered the deputies with weapons and ordered the surrender of the negroes. Outnumbered and under threat of the guns, the deputies said they surrendered their prisoners.

Two Bodies Found

The abduction was reported here and to Jefferson County officers in Birmingham, and an immediate search was launched, resulting in the finding of the bullet-riddled bodies by Deputy Sheriff Festus Chamblin near Woodstock in Bibb County.

The negroes were indicted in the slaying of Miss Maddox in rural Tuscaloosa County on July 10. The bodies of the young woman, badly bruised and the head crushed, was found in a ravine near her home two days later by two younger sisters, attracted to the scene by birds congregated at the point. Relatives said the girl had left home to visit a neighbor and no alarm was felt, since it was believed she had decided to remain a few days.

The body was in a ravine a hundred yards off a lonely country road along which the girl was to travel.

The negroes are reported in the neighborhood [illegible] days.

When the Pippen case was called to trial here on Aug. 2, national guardsmen were assembled, Judge Henry B. Foster said, not only to protect the negroes, but to give succor to the attorneys employed by the International Labor Defense.

Subsequently after Pippen and his parents had testified that they did not wish the I. L. D. attorneys, Irving Schwab and Allan Taub of New York, and Frank Irving, of Birmingham, to intercede in the case, judge Foster ruled they were without authority and continued the trial.

The three I. L. D. attorneys were given a National Guard escort out of the city and reports were made to Birmingham police that a mob attempted to molest them at the Tuscaloosa station. These reports subsequently were denied by Maj. Torrey Jemison, commanding the escort.

After Judge Foster's ruling, William L. Patterson, secretary for the International Labor Defense in New York, issued a statement attacking Judge Foster's conduct in permitting "lynch lawyers" to handle the case, and declared the I. L. D. would continue in the case.

SOLICITOR QUIZZES LYNCHING SURVIVOR

Advertiser

deGraffenried Visits Clark At Kilby But Declines To Reveal Result Of Interview

8-30-33

Elmore Clark, only survivor of three negroes charged with attacking and murdering a young white woman, who, while being transferred from Birmingham for safekeeping several weeks ago were seized by a mob which forced Tuscaloosa County officers in charge of the trio, to surrender them, was questioned for some time yesterday at Kilby Prison, by Edward deGraffenried, Tuscaloosa solicitor.

Though he talked for over an hour with Clark who is under treatment at the prison hospital for wounds inflicted by the mob, the Solicitor before leaving here yesterday afternoon declined to discuss the interview or any information it might have yielded. Whether the prisoner will again be brought before the special Tuscaloosa Grand Jury called to investigate the lynching, was not indicated. The inquisitorial body is now in recess but will reconvene Sept. 5.

The other two negroes, Dan Pippen, Jr., and A. T. Harden, who with Clark, were taken over by the mob, were shot to death. Clark was also left for dead with five bullet wounds in his body, but later revived and made his way to the house of a negro friend where he received aid. Several days later he was found there by officers and taken back to Tuscaloosa. After going before the grand jury there, he was transferred to the Montgomery County Jail.

By order of Gov. Miller, the negro was taken from the jail to the Kilby hospital for surgical treatment. For a time his condition was critical, but it is now believed he will recover.

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Negro Assailant Of Woman Slain

Tuscaloosa Sheriff Finds Body And Bullets, But No Trace Of Lynchers

TUSCALOOSA, ALA., Sept. 24.—(AP)—Taken from his home by a group of men posing as officers, Dennis Cross, negro, was shot to earth early today.

Sheriff R. L. Shamblin, who, with police, began an immediate inquiry into the slaying, said officers had found no clues to identity of the slayers.

Sheriff Shamblin said he was told a group of men, six or seven in number, called at the negro's home about 2 a.m. and, telling him they were officers, said he would have to go to the sheriff's office and make a bigger bond.

The party, Sheriff Shamblin said, then drove away. Neighbors of the negro called the Sheriff's office and reported the occurrence and the Sheriff's office called police to ask if city officers had been sent to the negro's home.

When it was learned that no officers had been sent, Sheriff Shamblin said officers were sent to the house for an investigation. The officers failed to find a trace of the negro until daylight when his body, bearing three bullet wounds, was found near the Tuscaloosa Country Club in the direction of the Warrior River.

Sheriff Shamblin said the slayers drove away in an automobile and that prints of the car tires, together with bullets found at the scene were being studied by investigators in an effort to trace the slayers.

The negro was arrested about two weeks ago following a report by a young white woman that she had been seized by a negro near the Country Club. He had been identified by the woman as her assailant.

After being held in jail about a week on an assault charge, the negro was admitted to $300 bail furnished by Claude Hinton, on whose farm the negro lived.

Sheriff Shamblin said the offense with which the negro was charged was a bailable offense and that the woman had not been attacked.

TWO NEGROES LYNCHED BY DIXIE MOBS

Alabama Victim Lured From Home; Louisiana Whites Take Man From 'Law'

Two Negroes were lynched in Dixie this week, Alabama and Louisiana being the bloody states. Both men had been accused of attempted assault.

The first victim, Dennis Cross of Tuscaloosa, Ala., was lured from his home early Sunday morning, September 24, by six or seven white men posing as officers of the law. About 2 a. m. the whites knocked at his door and told Cross, who had been freed on bond, that he would have to accompany them to the sheriff's office to put up a larger bond.

Cross, believing they were officers, drove off with them. Neighbors, suspicious of the visit of "officers" so early in the morning, called the sheriff's office and reported the occurrence.

There it was learned that no officers had been sent to Cross's home. The sheriff then sent several officers out to investigae. But no trace of Cross was found until daybreak when his body, with three bullet wounds lodged in it, was discovered near the Tuscaloosa country club near the Warrior river.

It was stated that no clue to the identity of the slayers had been found.

John White, the second victim, was taken from a deputy sheriff in Opelousas, La., and lynched.

ALABAMA LYNCH QUIZ TO REOPEN NEXT WEEK

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., Sept. 26.—(AP)—An order for the Tuscaloosa county grand jury to reconvene Monday, October 2, to resume its investigation of the lynching of Dan Pippen Jr., and A. T. Harden, negroes, on August 13, was issued today by Judge Henry Foster.

The grand jury probe of the Pippen and Harden lynchings near Woodstock was interrupted early this month when Attorney-General Thomas E. Knight Jr., who was directing the probe, accidentally was shot through the ankle in the grand jury room.

Birmingham, Ala., News
September 25, 1933

SHERIFF PROBING KILLING OF NEGRO ASSAULT SUSPECT

Group Posing As Officers Stages New Lynching In Tuscaloosa

TUSCALOOSA — (AP) — The second lynching in Tuscaloosa County without six weeks was under investigation by the sheriff's department Monday.

Sheriff Shamblin ordered the inquiry Sunday after the body of Dennis Cross, Negro under bond on a charge of assaulting a white woman, was taken from his home by men posing as officers and shot to death.

The sheriff said he was told six or seven men appeared at the Negro's home and told Dennis it was necessary for him to go to Tuscaloosa and post a bond larger than that required when he was released on bail a week ago.

The visit of the group was reported to Shamblin by neighbors of Dennis and a search was started which resulted in the finding of the Negro's body near the Tuscaloosa Country Club Sunday at daybreak. Dennis had been struck three times by pistol bullets.

Shamblin said the charge against Dennis was a bailable offense as the victim of the alleged assault had not been attacked. The woman had identified the Negro as her assailant.

The slaying of Dennis followed by six weeks to the day the lynching of Dan Pippen, Jr., and A. T. Hardin, Negroes under indictment on a charge of murdering the daughter of a Tuscaloosa County farmer.

Pippen and Harden were killed and Elmore Clark, another Negro, was wounded by a group of masked men who seized the prisoners from Tuscaloosa County officers hurrying them to Birmingham for safekeeping.

An investigation into the lynching of Pippen and Harden, ordered by Judge Foster, of Tuscaloosa County, is in recess pending the recovery of Atty. Gen. Knight, Jr., who was wounded by the accidental discharge of a rifle while the Grand Jury's investigation was under way several days ago.

Tuscaloosa Negro Taken From Home, Is Found Lynched

Had Been Out On Bail On Minor Charge; Third Lynching

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., Sept. 25. — Dennis Cross, a young Negro, who was free on small bail following unsupported charges made by a white woman, was early yesterday morning taken from his home and lynched. His body, found at dawn near the Tuscaloosa County Club, was riddled with bullets.

That the charge against Cross was a minor one is clear from the fact that the defendant was out on bail —a rare situation when a Negro is involved.

Third Lynching

Cross is the third Negro to be lynched here in the past few weeks. On August 13, Dan Pippen, A. T. Harden and Ernest Clarke were taken from the county jail by masked men and shot.

Irving Schwab, Allen Taub and Frank Irvin, International Labor Defense attorneys, had been driven out of Tuscaloosa and threatened with lynching after Judge Foster, before whom the three Negro boys were being tried, barred the I.L.D. attorneys from the defense.

Lynching Via Law

Sheriff R. L. Shamblin, following the lynching of Cross yesterday, "explained" that the Negro youth had been seized by "a group of men posing as officers" who came to his home at 2 a.m. and said he would have to go to the sheriff's office to make a bigger bond.

That the county police officers were directly involved in the lynching of Harden and Pippen was charged by the I.L.D., and the present wanton murder of Cross bears a striking resemblance to the earlier lynching.

Palatka, Fla. News
September 25, 1933

Tuscaloosa Has Second Lynching

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., Sept. 25.—(AP)—The second lynching in Tuscaloosa county within the past six weeks was under investigation by the sheriff's department today.

Sheriff R. L. Shamblin ordered the inquiry yesterday aftern Dennis Cross negro under bond on a charge of assaulting a white woman, was taken from his home by men posing as officers and shot to death.

The sheriff said he was told the group of six or seven men appeared at the negro's home and told Dennis it was necessary for him to go to Tuscaloosa to post a bond greater than that required when he was released on bail a week ago.

Shamblin said the charge against Dennis was a bailable offense as the victim of the alleged assault had not been attacked. The woman had identified the negro as her assailant.

TRICKED FROM HIS HOME, TUSCALOOSA NEGRO IS LYNCHED

Tuscaloosa, Ala., Sept. 27.—Early Sunday morning a band of white men went to the home of Dennis Cross, Negro, claiming to be officers bent on having Cross post a larger bond at the sheriff's office, took him near the Tuscaloosa Country Club and riddled his body with bullets.

Cross was at liberty on a $300 bond, posted in a case where a white woman had charged him with attempted assault.

Cross was the third person to be lynched in Tuscaloosa County within six weeks. The other two were Dan Pippen, Jr., and A. T. Hardin, lynched Sunday, August 13th. Elmore Clark, intended as a victim when Pippen and Hardin were murdered, escaped with serious bullet wounds.

Probe To Be Resumed

Announcement is made this week that the probe started several weeks ago into the Pippen and Hardin lynching will be resumed Monday under Attorney-General Thomas E. Knight, Jr. This investigation is being made by a special session of the Tuscaloosa Grand Jury.

$400 Reward Offered

Governor B. M. Miller announced Wednesday a $400 reward for the apprehension and conviction of any or all of the persons who took part in the lynching of Dennis Cross last Sunday morning. The Tuscaloosa Grand Jury will probe this lynching in its regular sesssion which comes October 9, according to Judge Foster of the Circuit Court.

Negro Shot to Death By Mob in Alabama

Constitution 9-25-33 Atlanta Ga.

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., Sept. 24.—(AP)—Taken from his home by a group of men posing as officers, Dennis Cross, negro, was shot to death early today.

The negro was under bond on a charge of assaulting a Tuscaloosa white woman.

Sheriff R. L. Shamblin, who, with police, began an immediate inquiry into the slaying, said officers had found no clues to identify the slayers.

Sheriff Shamblin said he was told a group of men, six or seven in number, called at the negro's home about 2 a. m., and, telling him they were officers, said he would have to go to the sheriff's office and make a bigger bond.

Defender 8-19-33 Chicago, Illinois

Mob's Route

Map shows Woodstock, Ala., where bodies of three lynched boys were found riddled with bullets and chopped almost beyond recognition. In this district, the heart of the Alabama lynching section, over 200 Race men have met death by violence at the hands of the whites in the past five years. Many of the crimes have never been officially reported.

Bodies Found Ri[ddled With] Bullets; Three Stil[l ...]

Chicago Defender 8-19-33

Law Officers Give Over Prisoners

Chicago, Illinois

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., Aug. 18.—White citizens here went on a spree early Sunday morning. Rowdies, just leaving gambling houses and whisky joints, were joined by churchgoers, just out of prayer meeting, and together they staged a party. It was the killing of six Race men.

Unaffected by the stigma and disgrace heaped upon the state by the infamous Scottsboro frame-up, Alabamans, Sunday morning, lynched three men, shot three others to death under mysterious circumstances and now stand before the civilized world boasting of their "good day's work."

Didn't Know Facts

Riding through the night like brigands, a mob of white men, thirsty for human blood, hooted and howled like wild beasts, until the break of day. They had heard something about three Race men having murdered a white woman. None of them knew the facts. None of them sought the facts, and none cared what they were.

It is not enough for Alabamans to know a man has been arrested and indicted for a crime, if the crime involves a white person and a member of the Race. Courts of justice, they said, move too slowly, and a Race man is likely to get a semblance of a fair deal if he goes to trial. Mass pressure may have some effect.

So, through the night the mad mob rode—men, women and children, concerned only about one thing: A white woman had been killed and her death must be avenged. Alabamans, yet in the infancy of civilization, perhaps, hasn't yet heard of law and order.

It was just dawn when the spineless, cruel and inhuman vultures descended upon a not too unwilling sheriff and took from him three defenseless men and riddled their bodies with bullets. Thus Alabama added another black mark to its character, one which only the destruction of the world can blot out.

Governor Demands Probe

Governor B. M. Miller described the mob killing of the trio as a "heinious crime," and sent a telegram to Judge Foster, ordering an immediate grand jury investigation.

Later the governor received a telegram from Judge Foster, which said: "A special session of the grand jury will be drawn and summoned tomorrow and impaneled Tuesday. Grand jury will be fully charged as to duty of sheriff and offense of mob. We will leave no stone unturned to make investigation thorough and complete."

Possibility that Sheriff Shamblin would be held responsible for the three deaths seemed apparent.

Feeling here was kept at fever heat for days, and Sheriff Shamblin decided he would take the prisoners to Birmingham "for safe-keeping." At midnight he and two deputies left with Dan Pippin, 18 years old; A. T. Harden, 16, and Elmore Clark, 28. A few hours after the officers and their charges left here, the bodies of Pippin and Harden were located at Woodstock, 25 miles from Birmingham. Clark was carried away by the lynchers and has not been found.

Lynchings-1933
Cases of.

Alabama.

3823

ALA. LYNCHERS RIDDLE BODIES WITH BULLETS

Deputies Turn Over Pippen, Clark, and Harden to Mob.

SHERIFF BLAMES I.L.D. FOR ACTION

Gov. Miller Orders a Grand Jury Probe.

TUSCALOOSA, Ala.—What looked to many here to be a deliberate trap in which to turn over Dan Pippen, A. T. Harden and Elmore Clark to a mob of whites, resulted in lynching of two of the shackled men as they were being taken from this town to Birmingham for safekeeping early Saturday morning.

Twenty-five miles from Birmingham, the car, in which two deputies were carrying the prisoners, was stopped by a mob, the men taken from the officers of the law and carried to a point near Woodstock, where Pippen and Harden were riddled with bullets and left sprawling under a tree.

Left With Deputies

According to a report made by Sheriff R. L. Shamlin of Tuscaloosa, he decided to remove the men, accused of assaulting and slaying Vaudine Maddox, 20-year-old white girl, whose body was found in a ravine near her home on June 22, when persistent rumors had come to him that a mob would attempt to take them from the jail.

Two cars, he said, one carrying the two deputies and the prisoners and an escort car carrying himself and other deputies, started out from here about midnight. After proceeding about 20 miles, the sheriff allowed the car with the prisoners to proceed and the escort car turned back.

Four Miles Further

Four miles further down the road they were stopped by the mob and the men snatched from the arms of the law and lynched. The deputies declared that the mob members were masked and that they did not have time to draw their guns.

The attitude of the sheriff to the fate of the men was expressed in a statement in which he is quoted as saying that the activities of the International Labor Defense in Alabama were responsible for the lynching of the men.

Arrested On Suspicion

Pippen, Harden and Clark were arrested on suspicion after the body of the girl had been found. They were said to have been seen in the neighborhood. At a preliminary hearing they protested their innocence.

Harden, who was just 16 years of age, was to have been tried in the juvenile court.

When the case was set for hearing several weeks ago, Irving Schwab and Allen Taub, International Labor Defense lawyers, appeared as counsel for the accused. At the time they stated that they had been retained by a mother of one of the men.

Persuaded, it was said, by ministers in Tuscaloosa, this mother went on the stand and declared that she did not want the I.L.D. attorneys to enter the case. Judge Henry M. Foster, who presided, ruled the I.L.D. attorneys out of the case and had them escorted by military guard out of the city because of the feeling against them.

Following this action, William L. Patterson, secretary of the I.L.D., issued a statement attacking Judge Foster's action in appointing what he regarded as "lynch" lawyers to defend the accused men, and stated that his organization would continue in the case.

Without His Knowledge

Judge Foster stated that the men were removed from the Tuscaloosa jail without his knowledge and ordered a grand jury investigation.

Governor B. M. Miller also sent a message to Judge Foster ordering that there be a grand jury probe. "You will appreciate fully the gravity and heinousness of this crime," said the governor.

Demands Officer's Arrest

The International Labor Defense sent a telegram to Governor Miller in which it said: "Hold Judge Foster and Sheriff Shamblin, Tuscaloosa, directly responsible for organization of lynch mob which murdered Pippen, Harden and Clark. Demand immediate arrest of them and of all deputies and private persons concerned, and immediate prosecution and enforcement of death penalty. Can prove mob incitement by officials."

Another Killed in Tuscaloosa

Another man, accused of stealing chickens, was shot to death by

Continued on page 22.

whites here Sunday. Officers said he resisted arrest.

Elmore Clark, telling a bloodcurdling story of his escape by falling beneath his companions as bullets from the mobbers' guns mowed them down, limped back into Tuscaloosa and is now being guarded by soldiers.

Story of the Case

The following account of the incidents in the case preceding the trial was given by the International Labor Defense:

On Monday, June 12, about 9 o'clock in the morning, Vaudine Maddox left home. On Tuesday, she was reported missing. A search begun Wednesday revealed her dead body lying in a ravine.

All the evidence in the case, the local officials said, pointed to a murder by an acquaintance of the girl. It was shown that Vaudine Maddox had sat or stood on a log near the ravine, evidently chatting with someone. A pail of flour she had been carrying was still sitting by the log, undisturbed. The local press went so far as to say that for these reasons, it was impractiable to suspect a Negro. The murderer, the papers pointed out, was without doubt someone whom the girl considered a friend—that is, a white person.

On Friday, June 16, Dan Pippen, Jr., 20, was arrested and charged with attacking and murdering Vaudine Maddox. The arrest was made when a white man, who owed Pippen money, said that he had seen the boy near the scene of the crime on Monday morning.

Young Pippen had been working all of Monday in the field of Willie Jimison, Dan's father. Dan Pippen, Sr., told the officers that his son had been with him in the Jimison field—and was promptly arrested for "interferring with the investigation."

A. T. Harden, 15, a close friend of Pippen and a member of the same singing club, was arrested. Ernest Clarke, another member of the same club, was also arrested. No evidence was offered by the officials as to the possible guilt of Harden or Clarke, and it appears that they were arrestd just to complete a "round up of n—"

Willie Jimison, the owner of the field in which young Pippen was working, came before the grand jury to testify that the boy had been at work with him—and was quickly clapped into jail.

A special grand jury was called. All five were indicted. Pippen, Jr., and Clarke were charged with criminal assault and murder. Harden was charged with being accessory to the crime. Dan Pippen, Sr., was charged with obstructing and interfering with the investigation.

On the evening of June 21, the lynchers stormed the Tuscaloosa County jail. The prisoners, however, had already been removed. Judge Henry Foster gave out a statement the next day to the effect that the crowd was friendly and had been drawn to the jail only by "curiosity."

Citizens of Tuscaloosa asked the I.L.D. to come into the case, Schwab and Irwin went down there from Birmingham and obtained retainers from the relatives of the defendants. Sheriff Shamblin, however, refused to permit them to see the defendants, themselves, and Judge Foster when appealed to, confirmed the sheriff's order with the comment that "he did not want another Scottsboro case."

Since Letters Threatened Death

Since the ejection of the lawyers from Tuscaloosa, letters containing threats of lynching against any I.L.D. lawyer or organizer who went into Alabama have been received by the national office of the organization.

One such letter, mailed at Coffeyville, Ala., was signed by twenty-six names of "citizens of Mitchem Seat."

The letter, with the signatures, was as follows:

"We, the undersigned citizens of Mitchem Seat will hereby give you low browed (N) negro loving skunks a warning to keep out of our Southern (N) negro affairs.

"We believe your next attempt won't be a so-called 'close call,' you will not get to tell of your experiences. Now in case you degraded skalawags don't believe this we will gladly prove same. Signed: E. B. Hudson, John Smith, Tim Berkell, A. J. Brasel, H. F. Shouse, F. H. Robinson, G. M. Filmore, H. M. Clinton, V. L. Stow, K. F. James, J. V. James, C. T. James, J. F. James, L. R. Vann, Habel Burke, Z. L. Pink, T. M. Stokely, F. C. Schoonmaker, L. C. Carnether, L. T. Finkley, H. C. Woodsadley, Jesse Smikers, F. T. Smiley, R. M. Shouse, H. A. Z. Booze.

"Be sure and let us know when you all want to make a visit down here and we will have a grand reception awaiting you."

Tells Story

Although all details of just what happened on the tragic night when his companions were done to death have obviously not been made known, Clark is quoted by officers as saying that he escaped after he had fallen under the other two youths and pretended he was dead.

After being taken from the car, officers quote Clark as saying, they were carried several miles in the automobile by the mob. There, handcuffed together, they were lined up and shot. They all fell, he falling beneath the other two, where he lay still until the mob disappeared.

He knocked the shackle loose from his dead companions and fled.

Wounded Three Times

After wandering all day Sunday and Sunday night, Clark said he came upon a Negro house near Vance where he received food and dressed the wounds in his left arm, left shoulder and right thigh.

He told his interviewer he wanted to come on to town Monday and surrender, but was weak. He said he would not be able to recognize any members of the masked band.

National Guardsmen patrolled the court-house block behind barbed-wire barricades as the Tuscaloosa County grand jury was convened in special session to investigate the lynchings.

TWO LYNCHED AT HUNTSVILLE

Tenn

Two Prisoners Taken From Jail and Bodies Riddled With Bullets

La Follette, Tenn., Press
June 15, 1933

Jerome Boyett and Harvey Winchester of Scott county were taken from the Huntsville Jail Thursday night, and Friday their riddled bodies were found hanging in a tree and in a clump of bushes on the road to Helenwood. A few minutes before midnight a body of approximately twenty five men fought their way into the Scott county jail at Huntsville and beat up the lone jaior, cut the telephone wires, held the wife of Sheriff Esau Laxton at the point of pistols while the men were dragged out and carried away.

The bodies were found Friday morning. Winchester's body was bored with six bullets by Archie Lewallen. Boyett's body was found in a clump of bushes near the place where Winchester's body was found by a deputy sheriff about 3:30 in the afternoon.

The youths were charged with the killing of Sheriff Winningham and Namon Perry and Esker Thompson several months ago. An investigation is being made by Sheriff Laxton.

Lynchings - 1933
Cases of.

California

3896

PARDONS WAIT FOR AVENGERS OF SLAIN MAN

Telegraph

Rolph Heartily Approves Summary Execution of Two Confessed Kidnapers

11-28-33

SHERIFF SERIOUSLY HURT

Macon, Ga.

Chief Jailer and Newspaper Men Also Injured by Mob That Stormed Jail

SAN JOSE, Calif., Nov. 27. (AP)—Frank approval from Governor James Rolph, Jr., and other state officials for giving "a fine lesson to the whole nation" eased the taut nerves of this normally peaceful town today, scene of the lynching last night of James M. Holmes and Thomas H. Thurmond, confessed kidnaper-slayers of Brooke Hart, San Jose youth.

"They'll learn they can't kidnap in this state," were the ringing words from the executive office in Sacramento. "If anyone is arrested for the job I'll pardon them all."

Such was the assurance from the state's chief executive as the tense town came to a realization of the seriousness of the punishment dealt out in pioneer fashion by the mob that stormed the ancient jail and seized Holmes and Thurmond.

In historic St. James park, across the street from the jail, the victims were strung up to separate trees while thousands of men, women and children, looking on in carnival spirit, cheered with a lustiness that could be heard for blocks.

No Pardons for Kidnapers

The governor's attitude brought a flood of messages to his office in Sacramento, some praising and some condemning him.

He went beyond giving his approval by saying he would like to release all San Quentin and Folsom penitentiary inmates serving sentences for kidnaping into the custody of "those fine, patriotic San Jose citizens who know how to handle such a situation."

He even had both prisons checked to determine how many inmates are serving kidnaping sentences.

"No kidnaper will ever be turned loose or pardoned while I am governor," was another statement by the governor, who added that "kidnapers will learn they're not safe even in our penitentiaries."

The executive's attitude was first disclosed before the two men were lynched when he said he would not send national guard troops "to protect those two guys."

"They made a good job of it and I hope this lesson will serve in every state of the union," the governor said emphatically. "I don't think they will arrest anyone for the lynchings. If they do I'll pardon them."

Many Messages Received

"It is about time the people should have comfort in their homes. This kidnaping business has become so bad that mothers and fathers are afraid to let their children out of their homes. Now they have taken to kidnaping men and women for the purpose of extracting money from distracted relatives."

The governor had intended to leave Sacramento Sunday night for a conference of western governors at Boise, Idaho, but remained because trouble was brewing in San Jose.

Telegraph

"If I had gone away," he explained, "someone might have called out the troops on me and I promised I would not do that."

From Colorado, New York, Pennsylvania, and California cities came messages commenting on the governor's lynching stand.

11-28-33

Sheriff in Serious Condition

Sheriff William J. Emig, knocked unconscious while trying to protect his prisoners, was in a serious condition at San Jose hospital.

Macon, Ga.

Dr. H. J. Arnold said the sheriff had not slept since entering the hospital late last night and was extremely restless. He was suffering from a slight brain concussion which might prove to be a fracture, and also from complete nervous exhaustion and shock.

Chief Jailer Howard Buffington also was suffering from shock and from a severe battering.

Newspapermen led in numbers among those injured in the rioting, but none of their injuries was serious.

Officers Resist Mob

The lynching, occurring only a few hours after the torn body of young Hart, son of a wealthy San Jose merchant, had been taken from San Francisco bay, climaxed a spectacular battle between officers barricaded in the jail and the determined mob.

The muttering throng began gathering about the jail about 9 p.m. The jail, an antiquated brick building to the rear of the courthouse, had been prepared against the possibility of a lynch movement but was unable to withstand the improvised battering rams of the attackers. Automobiles, parked across the alleys about the jail building, did little to impede the advances of the besiegers.

Two shots, fired from the crowd as a signal, started the first attack. Officers within the jail let loose with three tear gas bombs. Blinded and weeping, the attackers fell back.

By this time some 3,000 persons had gathered to watch. The blinding tear gas from the first three bombs was still hanging like a thin veil about the building when the second attack began. A steel pipe eight inches in diameter and about 20 feet long was used as a battering ram and the front door broken down.

Sheriff Knocked Senseless

After waiting a few moments for the gas to lift, the mob stormed ahead once more, playing a fire hose on the building as it advanced. A second group seized another pipe and joined the attackers. The steel doors of the jail gave way and the mob poured in, encouraged by cheering thousands outside.

Sheriff William J. Emig, whose quick action had resulted in the arrest of Thurmond while the latter was making a ransom demand by telephone to the Hart home a week after the young victim had been put to death, was knocked senseless. Other officers were manhandled and brushed aside.

Once inside the mob laid hands upon the whimpering Thurmond, dragging him to the street and raining blows upon him.

Holmes likewise was dragged out and pummeled.

The mob selected a limb of a tall tree, looped a rope about the unconscious Thurmond's neck and hoisted him aloft while the crowd of thousands whooped its approval.

The business of choosing a limb for Holmes required about 10 minutes. A tree some 200 yards from where Thurmond was dangling was finally selected. He was stripped of all clothing and jerked upward.

Street lights and flashlights shedding intermittent gleams through the leaves, gave the scene a peculiar ghastliness. The crowd, augmented by thousands who had emerged from the theaters just in time to witness the gruesome climax, quieted. Photographers whose equipment had been seized in the earlier stages of the spectacle were not molested.

The body of Thurmond was cut down finally and the crowd swarmed into the park to break souvenir twigs from the hanging limb. The assembled thousands were beginning to drift away when the body of Holmes was taken down.

Not an arrest was made. The only shots that were fired, with the exception of the charges from tear gas guns and bombs, were the two that started the attack on the jail.

Sheriff Emig, after recovering consciousness, stood by, helpless, until the crowd had wreaked its vengeance. Then he went to a hospital for treatment.

GOVERNOR WOULD SET MOB FREE

Impromptu Hanging Held Good Example For Kidnaping Gangs

VIEW COMMENDED, ALSO CONDEMNED

California Sheriff Is In Hospital As Result Of Resistance

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Age Herald
B'ham, Ala.
11-28-33

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Thousands Cheer

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"They made a good job of it and I hope this lesson will serve in every state of the Union," the governor said emphatically. "I don't think they will arrest anyone for the lynchings. If they do I'll pardon them.

"It is about time the people should have comfort in their homes. This kidnaping business has become so bad that mothers and fathers are afraid to let their children out of their homes. Now they have taken to kidnaping men and women for the purpose of extracting money from distracted relatives."

Rolph Delays Trip

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"If I had gone away," he explained, "someone might have called out the troops on me and I promised I would not do that."

From Colorado, New York, Pennsylvania and California cities came messages commenting on the governor's lynching stand.

"Congratulations on your attitude toward the Hart case," wired a Redlands, Calif., minister.

"Lynching is a sincere demand for law enforcement. I congratulate you on your attitude toward lynching and the people of California for their noble example in dealing with criminals," messaged Harry G. Kyle Kansas City attorney and former judge.

I. L. D. Protests

"We protest your failure to provide adequate protection," wired William L. Patterson, national secretary of the International Labor Defense, New York. "We demand immediate removal and arrest and prosecution with application of death penalty to all officials and private persons responsible."

Clarence Morrill, chief of the state Bureau of Criminal Identification, added his approval to the governor's remarks, saying:

"It is to be regretted, but necessary, that the people took the law into their own hands, but in so doing they served notice on racketeers and gangsters that there is no place for them in California.

"The people have shown they are weary of the technicalities of law and . . . . in favor of speedy action rather than the slow procedure of courts."

Birmingham Age Herald
11-28-33
Birmingham Ala.

Sheriff's Condition Serious

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Dr. H. J. Arnold said the sheriff had not slept since entering the hospital late Sunday night and was extremely restless. He was suffering from a slight brain concussion which might prove to be a fracture, and also from complete nervous exhaustion and shock.

Chief Jailor Howard Buffington also was suffering from shock and from a severe battering.

Newspaper men led in numbers among those injured in the rioting, but none of their injuries was serious.

Finding about noon Sunday of the body of Hart in mud flats of San Francisco Bay by Leonard L. Dalve and Harold E. Stevens, of Redwood City, while duck hunting, was the spark that touched off the indignation that had been smoldering since Holmes and Thurmond were captured Nov. 16. Word spread through the country like a western brush fire and a crowd soon gathered at the courthouse and jail.

Dusk Brings Impatience

Orderly and quiet through Sunday afternoon, the crowd became impatient as dusk fell and soon had pressed beyond the barriers erected between them and the jail. Reinforced by city police, Sheriff Emig and his forces drove the mob back from the jail and across the street into the park, using tear gas bombs. Not a shot was fired.

Surging back with renewed fury, the mob loosed a barrage of bricks, stones and pipe fittings gathered from the postoffice, under construction nearby, and demanded the prisoners. Twice they were repulsed by the tear gas.

Two sections of six-inch steel pipe then were used as battering rams to force the steel jail door. The lynchers took the cell keys from a deputy and seized the prisoners, located on upper floors.

Prisoners Beaten

A howling mob beat the prisoners as they were dragged to the park. Every inch of space in the square, within a block of the principal business corner of San Jose, was filled with pushing humanity. Two trees were selected, and the men hanged.

Thurmond was unconscious when pulled aloft, but Holmes fought his captors desperately. The third time, the rope was pulled his powerful frame shot upward and his struggles were over.

Girls in their 'teens and old women, college youths and wiser heads joined in the deafening bursts of cheers. Thousands milled about in the uncertain light viewing the swinging bodies, that of Holmes stripped of all clothing, while traffic officers not a hundred yards away calmly directed a steady stream of automobiles past the lynching scene.

Crowd Stays Till Dawn

Police took down the bodies an hour later, but the crowd stayed on through the night, with little groups still gathered at dawn beneath the trees that had been divested of many branches by souvenir hunters.

Thurmond's mother and his attorney declared Thurmond was insane and called the lynchings "a blot on the fair name of Santa Clara County which can never be wiped out."

The mother, Mrs. Lillie Thurmond, declared her son had been an exemplary young man, always kind, devoted and loving, but within the last four years a noticeable change had come over him.

Dist. Atty. Fred Thomas characterized as "preposterous" any suggestion that the county may be held responsible for the lynchings.

He said his duty was to prosecute any person against whom charges were filed, but added he did not expect any charges due to the difficulty of identifying the members of the mob.

Lynchings-1933
Cases of.

Georgia.

3874

Body Filled With Bullets in Jail Cell

10-28-33

LUMPKIN, Ga., Oct. 27.—Threats which had been heard about this town for the past few weeks, were put into execution Tuesday night, when Sevie Davis, a 45-year-old farmer, died from bullet wounds inflicted by a mob. Davis had been arrested by N. C. Bruce, a policeman from Richland, and had been placed in the little Richland jail to await trial on a charge of rape.

Tuesday a mob of white men from Lumpkin and Richland appeared at the jail, which had been left unguarded, and poured a hail of bullets into his body. He was then left there to die. Wednesday, when Bruce appeared at the jail, he found Davis' body riddled with bullets.

Although the charge of rape had been placed against Davis, it was freely stated that he had been "too friendly" with a Race girl whose father is a prominent white man of Lumpkin. The mob members, all well-known farmers and business men of this section, made no secret of the fact that Davis was "due to be lynched." There are certain women and girls in this town to whom no Race man is supposed to be caught speaking to. They are "kept" by white men who must have a place to carry on their affairs after dark.

In recent years several men have been beaten by white mobs for getting "friendly" with one of these women. There are also stories told about Race husbands being forced to leave town because some white business man wanted their wives. Race women have absolutely no protection; they are constantly at the mercy of whatever white man happens to desire them.

The case of Davis is only one of the many in this section of Georgia in which Race men have had trouble about Race girls and women. The girl about whom he was lynched, although unnamed by the authorities, is well known here. She made no charge against the mob victim, the whole affair being conducted by white men. The lynching of Davis will go down as another "unsolved" slaying, and no one will ever be punished for it.

Lynched For Assaulting Negro Girl

Sevis Davis Taken From Jail by PARTY OF WHITE MEN

10-26-33

Man Also Had Assaulted Arresting Officer

Lumpkin, Ga., Oct. 23—Sevis Davis, 45 year old Negro died today of wounds received at the hands of a mob that took him from the Richland city jail and shot and beat him.

Sheriff S. W. Worthington tonight said he had not been able to learn the identity of any members of the mob but that it was "not a large one."

Davis was arrested early today by Patrolman N. C. Bruce of Richland on charge of criminally assaulting a 10 year old Negro girl. Bruce reported Davis beat him over the head while he was making the arrest.

Davis was placed in the small, unguarded Richland jail and about 9 a. m. a group of men broke the outside lock and made their way into Davis' cell.

Sheriff Worthington said he was notified and trailed the mob to a point about two miles from Richland where he found the Negro in a woods. Members of the lynching party had disappeared.

Davis had been beaten about the head and shot four times. He was brought to the county jail here for safekeeping but died late in the day. Members of the mob were white men the sheriff said he was told.

Bruce was taken to a hospital at Columbus for treatment but was allowed to return home after the wounds inflicted by Davis had been treated.

Negro Girl's Attacker Slain by Georgia Mob

10-24-33

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Columbus, Ga. Enquirer-Sun
October 24, 1933

PROVED RICHLAND MOB SLAYS NEGRO AFTER ATTACK

Sevis Davis Lynched After Wounding Policeman Monday Morning

Sevis Davis, 45-year-old Richland negro, died in the Stewart county jail at Lumpkin yesterday afternoon about 2 o'clock as the result of injuries he received when he was taken from jail at Richland and shot and beaten by a mob.

Davis was arrested Monday morning on charges of criminally assaulting a 10-year-old negro girl and striking Patrolman N. C. Bruce, of Richland, with an iron pipe. Officer Bruce went to the negro's residence to place him under arrest early Monday morning and was struck by the negro with the piece of pipe. Davis was later arrested by Police Chief N. R. Marshall, of Richland, and placed in the Richland jail.

Mob Gathers

Incensed over the negro's attack on the policeman, a group of white persons gathered and went to the Richland jail about 9 o'clock. They broke an outside lock to gain entrance to the hall in the jail and then broke a second lock to get into the cell occupied by Davis.

The negro was taken to a point about two miles from Richland where he was shot four times and beaten and apparently left for dead. He had evidently been struck over the head with heavy instruments.

After they had learned that the negro had been taken from the jail by the mob Chief Marshall, Sheriff S. W. Worthington, and B. F. Edwards, special agent for the Seaboard railroad, found Davis in a wooded section where he had been left by the mob. He was in a critical condition and was removed to the county jail at Lumpkin for safe-keeping.

When Officer Bruce went to the negro's residence to place him under arrest on the charge of assaulting the negro girl, Davis requested that he be given time to put on some shoes. The officer granted the request and while the negro was putting on his shoes, James Davis, his nephew, entered. The officer turned and was talking to the nephew when he was struck by Sevis Davis. He was struck over the head seven times with a piece of pipe about two feet in length, according to Chief Marshall.

Officers Notified

Officer Bruce made his way from the house and informed other officers what had happened. The arrest of the two Davises followed. The nephew was also taken to the county jail at Lumpkin but was released after the officers had questioned him and were convinced that he was not implicated in the attack on Officer Bruce.

The injured policeman was brought to Columbus Monday afternoon and was given an X-ray examination at the city hospital, where it was determined that he had not suffered a fractured skull. He was returned to his home at Richland. His condition was considered serious but not critical.

Chief Marshall stated that the number of persons taking part in the lynching had not been determined. He also said that the identity of none of the persons in the mob had been determined by officers. The chief said that he had been busy on other matters since the negro was taken from the jail and that he had not had time to make a complete investigation. Chief Marshall brought Officer Bruce to the hospital in Columbus. The trip required several hours and he did not return to Richland until Monday night.

Chief Talks

"You know how things like this are. It is hard to find out anything," the chief said when asked by an Enquirer reporter if the identity of any of the mob had been determined.

He said that he had found out in an indirect way that members of the mob believed that Davis was dead when they left him and that they expressed surprise when they learned that he was alive when found by officers and removed to the county jail at Lumpkin.

Chief Marshall said that he and another officer were called on several months ago to take a shot gun away from Davis after he had fired into another negro's house. He served a few months of a sentence received in that case and was paroled.

NONE IDENTIFIED

Lumpkin, Ga., Oct. 23.—(AP)—Sevis Davis, 45-year-old negro, died today of wounds received at the hands of a mob that took him from the Richland city jail and shot and beat him.

Sheriff S. W. Worthington tonight said he had not been able to learn the identity of any members of the mob but that it was "not a large one".

Davis was arrested early today by Patrolman N. C. Bruce, of Richland, on charges of criminally assaulting a 10-year-old negro girl. Bruce reported Davis beat him over the head while he was making the arrest.

Davis was placed in the small, unguarded Richland jail and about 9 a. m. a group of men broke the outside lock and made their way into Davis' cell.

Sheriff Worthington said he was notified and trailed the mob to a point about two miles from Richland where he found the negro in a woods. Members of the lynching party had disappeared.

Davis had been beaten about the head and shot four times. He was brought to the county jail here for safe-keeping but died late in the day. Members of the mob were white men, the sheriff said he was told.

Bruce was taken to a hospital at Columbus for treatment but was allowed to return home after the wounds inflicted by Davis had been treated.

Buena Vista, Ga., Patriot
October 26, 1933

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Talbotton, Ga., New Era
October 26, 1933

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Lynchings - 1933
Cases of.

3875

FIGHTS ARREST, MAN LYNCHED

5-13-33

ST. MARYS, Ga. (ANP)—John Williams was lynched in Camden County last week. He was alleged to have stolen a hog.

Seventy-five men in a mob lead by Sheriff Gartley explained the murder on the basis of Williams resisting arrest. Newspapers have ... conspicuously silent.

"Resists Arrest"; Lynched

ST. MARY'S, Ga., May 8.—(ANP) John Williams was lynched in Camden county last week. He was alleged to have stolen a hog. Seventy-five men in a mob lead by Sheriff Gartley explained the murder on the basis of Williams resisting arrest. Newspapers have been conspicious...

"RESISTS ARRES[T]" HOG STEALER LYNC[HED]

ST. MARY'S, Ga., May 11.—(A. N. P.)—John Williams was lynched in Camden county last week. He was alleged to have stolen a hog. Seventy-five men in a mob, led by Sheriff Gartley, explained the murder on the basis of Williams resisting arrest. Newspapers have been conspicuously silent.

OFFICERS FIND BODY OF ABDUCTED NEGRO.

(Rec.)

WARRENTON, Ga., May 13.-(AP).A mob abducted a wounded negro last night after a gun battle in which his brother and a white planter were killed and early today officers found his body lying at a roadside just outside the city.

The negroes, Lamar Kinsey and Will Kinsey, were tenants of the planter, Charlie English, and the fight took place at their home. Sheriff George P. Hogan said he learned the battle occurred when the planter went to question them about trouble with his nephew.English and Lamar Kinsey were killed instantly in an exchange of shots.

Will Kinsey, wounded,was brought here by relatives and Dr. W.A.Davis said he treated him in his office and left him with a deputy sheriff.J.A. Bray, a druggist, reported he saw a mob enter the physician's office a little later,bring Kinsey out,shove him into an automobile and drive off. Sheriff Hogan said he did not learn of the abduction until he returned from investigating the shooting.A search disclosed the Negro's body lying about 40 feet from the highway a little less than two miles from town on the Warrenton-Gibson road. He said he could not say how the negro died but was pushing an inquiry. The Sheriff added that Kinsey had not been arrested. He said he had been informed. however. that Lamar Kinsey fired the first shot and that when English retaliated, Will Kinsey shot the planter.He added he had been informed the negroes were the aggressors in the trouble with English's young nephew.

Atlanta Constitution

May 14, 1933
Atlanta, Ga.

Note:original clipping; Lynchings, Side Lights (Georgia)

Georgia.

MOB LYNCHES NEGRO SLAYER OF PLANTER

Wounded Man Is Taken From Office of Physician.

5-14-33

WARRENTON, Ga., May 13.—(AP)—A mob abducted a wounded negro last night after a gun battle, in which his brother and a planter were killed, and early today his body was found at a roadside just outside the city.

The negroes, Lamar Kinsey and Will Kinsey, were tenants of the planter, Charlie English, and the fight took place at their home. Sheriff George P. Hogan said that he learned the battle occurred when the planter went to question them about trouble with his nephew. English and Lamar Kinsey were killed instantly in an exchange of shots.

Will Kinsey, wounded, was brought here by relatives. Dr. W. A. Davis said that he treated him in his office and left him with a deputy sheriff. Later J. A. Bray, a druggist, said that he saw a mob enter the physician's office, bring Kinsey out, shove him into an automobile and drive off.

Sheriff Hogan did not learn of the abduction until he returned from investigating the shooting.

Negro Lynched In Georgia By Mob Of Forty Men Who Take Him From Sheriff

Age

WARRENTON, Ga.—Will Kinsey, 25-year-old Negro farmer, was lynched by a mob of men here Friday night, May 1?, after he had been taken from the office of Dr. A. W. Davis, a physician, where he had been given treatment for wounds sustained in a shooting affray. Kinsey was in charge of a deputy sheriff when the mob broke into the office and lynched him.

Kinsey's brother, Lamar, was killed in a gun battle with Charles English, white land owner, who had gone to their home after the brothers had ordered John Pierce, nephew of English, off the farm. English was also slain.

Mob Led by Best Whites

Defender
5-20-33
Chicago Def.

WARRINGTON, Ga., May 19.—(Special.)—Headed by a minister, three college students and a half dozen leading farmers and business men, a mob of angry whites rushed into a physician's office and lynched Will Kinsey, a wounded farmer, who had been taken their for medical treatment.

After they had riddled his body with bullets as he lay on a small cot in the office the mob dragged Kinsey down the stairs, placed a rope around his neck, tied it to the rear of an automobile, then with more than a 15-car procession started a parade to the outskirts of town.

News to the Sheriff

Sheriff George P. Hogan said he did not learn of the lynching until the next day. He did admit that he had visited the wounded man in Dr. W. A. Davis' offices, but he had left him in charge of a deputy sheriff whom he had instructed to guard carefully against mob violence.

Kinsey and his brother, Lamar Kinsey, were killed, but not until they had sent Charlie English, white planter, to the happy hunting ground. The Kinsey boys were tenants on English's plantation.

The story of the triple killing, as told exclusively to The Chicago Defender, is as follows:

The Kinsey boys were share cropping on English's plantation, that is, they worked on a percentage basis. Saturday they checked up with English, and much to their surprise, they found they were $200 in arrears.

"I think there must be some mistake, Mr. English," declared Lamar. "Our books show that you owe us $100.

To this statement English yelled, "The very idea of you Niggers trying to keep books on me." He then pulled an army revolver from his pocket and fired a bullet which pierced Lamar's heart. Will Kinsey, witnessing the slaying of his brother, lunged at English, but was shot through the left shoulder. He did succeed, however, in wresting the gun from English and killed him.

Lynched Within Hour

Other tenants on the plantation took Kinsey to Dr. Davis' office. In the meantime news spread that English had been slain and within an hour the mob, headed by the city's most prominent white men, had lynched Kinsey.

It is understood that since so many prominent men and women were members of the mob no effort will be made to identify them. The case is virtually closed.

3875

Asheville, N. C., Times
May 13, 1933

Mob Lynches Negro After Fatal Fight

WARRENTON, Ga., May 13.—(AP)—A mob abducted a wounded negro last night after a gun battle in which his brother and a white planter were killed and early today his body was found at a roadside just outside the city.

The negroes, Lamar Kinsey and Will Kinsey, were tenants of the planter, Charlie English, and the fight took place at their home. Sheriff George P. Hogan said he learned the battle occurred when the planter went to question them about trouble with his nephew. English and Lamar Kinsey were killed instantly in an exchange of shots.

Will Kinsey, wounded was brought here by relatives. Dr. W. A. Davis said he treated him in his office and left him with a deputy sheriff. Later J. A. Bray, a druggist, said he saw a mob enter the physician's office, bring Kinsey out, shove him into an automobile and drive off.

Sheriff Hoagn did not learn of the abduction until he returned from investigating the shooting, which he said he was told the negroes started. A search disclosed Will Kinsey's body. Sheriff Hogan said he could not say how the negro died but was pushing an inquiry.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Eagle

MAY 13 1933

Negro Is Lynched After Fatal Row

Warrenton, Ga., May 13 (AP)—A mob abducted a wounded Negro last night after a gun battle, in which his brother and a white planter were killed and early today his body was found at a roadside just outside the city.

The Negroes, Lamar Kinsey and Will Kinsey, were tenants of the planter, Charlie English, and the fight took place at their home. Sheriff George P. Hogan said he learned the battle occurred when the planter went to question them about trouble with his nephew. English and Lamar Kinsey were killed instantly in an exchange of shots.

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Burlington, N. C. Times
May 15, 1933

Georgia Negro Is Slain By Mob As Farmer Is Killed

Warrentown, Ga., May -(UP)—Will Kinsey, negro tenant farmer about 25 years old, was taken from the office of Dr. A. W. Davis and shot to death by a mob of approximately 40 men last night after he had figured in a shooting affray in which his brother, Lamar Kinsey, and Charles English, well known white farmer ,were slain.

Will Kinsey was taken by the mob after the physician had dressed wounds he received in the gun battle, it was said. Dr. Davis said he was not in the office when the negro was taken and that he left him in the hands of a deputy sheriff.

The shooting resulted from a quarrel between the two negroes and John Pierce, English's nephew. Pierce, owner of the land on which the negroes were tenants, went to the negroes' home, a quarrel ensued, and one of the negroes threatened to strike Pierce with a plow fender.

Pierce notified his uncle and the shooting took place when he approached the negroes' home. Both English and Lamar Kinsey were killed almost instantly. The shooting occurred shortly after sundown.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
May 13, 1933

WARREN COUNTY MOB HAS NEGRO

Wounded Man Taken From Doctor's Office After Two Men Are Shot to Death

WARRENTON, Ga., May 12 (AP)—A mob of about 50 men took Will Kinsey, Negro, from the office of a physician here Friday night and disappeared after Kinsey had been wounded in a gun battle in which Charlie English, leading white farmer of this section, and Lamar Kinsey, a Negro, had been killed.

Will Kinsey was wounded in the battle on English's farm where the two Negroes were tenants.

Dr. A. W. Davis, a physician, said Will Kinsey was brought to his office and treated for his wounds. He said he left the Negro in charge of a deputy sheriff.

Dr. J. A. Bray, a drug store owner across the street from the physician's office, said he saw a mob of about 50 men enter the office and leave with the Negro. They threw Kinsey into the back seat of an automobile and disappeared, he said.

Sheriff Investigating

When informed of the abduction of the Negro late Friday night by newspaper men, Sheriff George P. Hogan said he had just returned from an investigation of the shooting and had not been informed of the mob's action. He began an investigation at once.

The sheriff said he had learned English and another man went to the home of the Negroes and the shooting followed. He said Lamar Kinsey and English were killed instantly.

Relatives had already taken Will Kinsey to Warrenton when the sheriff arrived.

N. Y. SUN

MAY 13 1933

MOB SEIZES NEGRO

Victim Found Dead After Slaying of Two Other Men

WARRENTON, Ga., May 13 (A. P.).—A mob abducted a wounded Negro last night after a gun battle in which his brother and a white planter were killed, and early today his body was found at a roadside just outside the city.

The Negroes, Lamar Kinsey and Will Kinsey, were tenants of the planter, Charlie English, and the fight took place at their home. Sheriff George P. Hogan said he learned the battle occurred when the planter went to question them about trouble with his nephew. English and Lamar Kinsey were killed instantly in an exchange of shots.

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Sheriff Hogan did not learn of the abduction until he returned from investigating the shooting, which he said he was told the Negroes started. A search disclosed Will Kinsey's body. Sheriff Hogan said he could not say how the Negro died, but was pushing an inquiry.

Mobile, Ala., Press
May 13, 1933

GEORGIA MOB LYNCHES NEGRO FOR SLAYING

WARRENTOWN, Ga., May 13.—(U.P.)—Will Kinsey, negro tenant farmer about 25 years old, was taken from the office of Dr. A. W. Davis and shot to death by a mob of approximately 40 men last night after he had figured in a shooting affray in which his brother, Lamar Kinsey, and Charles English, well known white farmer, were slain.

Will Kinsey was taken by the mob after the physician had dressed wounds he received in the gun battle, it was said. Dr. Davis said he was not in the office when the negro was taken and that he left him in the hands of a deputy sheriff.

N. Y. EVENING POST

MAY 13 1933

MAN IS SLAIN BY MOB

WARRENTON, Ga., May 13 (AP).—A mob abducted a wounded Negro last night after a gun battle in which his brother and a white planter were killed, and early today his body was found at a roadside just outside the city.

The Negroes, Lamar Kinsey and Will Kinsey, were tenants of the planter, Charlie English, and the fight took place at their home. Sheriff George P. Hogan said he learned the battle occurred when the planter went to question them about trouble with his nephew. English and Lamar Kinsey were killed instantly in an exchange of shots.

LYNCHING PROBE BRINGS THREATS

Constitution

NEWTON, Ga., June 27.—(AP)—Sheriff Jud Griffin, of Baker county, investigating the lynching of two negroes near here two weeks ago, said tonight he wasn't worried much about threats made against his life "but my wife is upset a little bit."

The sheriff has been investigating the lynching of T. J. Thomas, negro, who was killed by a mob after a fight between some white boys and negroes. A white boy was killed in the fight.

The fight occurred more than two weeks ago, and the night of June 12 a mob called at the negro's house, forced him into woods nearby and lynched him.

Five days later, Richard Marshall, negro, also was lynched not far from where Thomas was killed.

Sheriff Griffin said tonight he believed the fight between the white boys and negroes led to the lynching of Thomas, "but I don't know why they killed Marshall."

His investigations, he said. brought threats that he would be killed if he got "too nosey."

"But I'm not afraid of them," the south Georgian said tonight. "They haven't got the nerve to shoot me in the day time, but they may try to bushwhack me at night."

Bushwack means ambush down here.

"Anyhow," said Sheriff Griffin," I'm going to keep investigating."

Albany, Ga., Herald
June 18, 1933

Second Negro Is Lynched in Baker

Richard Marshall Is Victim Of Mob Violence—No Arrests Made.

NEWTON, Ga., June 17.—For the second time this week, Newton and Baker County this morning awoke to learn that a middle-aged Negro man had been lynched.

The latest victim of mob violence, who is believed to have been lynched about 10 o'clock Friday night, was Richard Marshall, 42. Monday night T. J. Thomas was lynched, the reason for which, sheriff's officials say, has not yet been determined. No arrests have been made in the first lynching and none had been made Saturday afternoon in connection with the second crime.

Natives of Newton, as well as the sheriff, were reluctant today to discuss the lynching, and as a result information concerning the affair was meager.

The body of Marshall was discovered this morning near the spot where Copeland Jarvis, bailiff, and Bill Long, deputy sheriff, were killed several months ago. Whether or not there was any connection between the double slaying and last night's lynching is not known.

When found the body was tied to a tree with a grass rope hanging from the neck, indicating that the Negro had first been hanged and then the body riddled with bullets. Nine bullet holes were discovered in the corpse.

Louisiana

Lynchings-1933 Cases of

3876

NEGRO IS LYNCHED BY LOUISIANA MOB

LABADIEVILLE, La., Oct. 12.—(AP)—A negro, arrested yesterday for questioning in connection with the slaying of Miss Louisiana Larose, 15-year-old white girl whose body was found in a canefield, was taken from the Labadieville jail early today and lynched by a mob of unidentified men.

Te negro, whose name was not disclosed at the time of his arrest, was seized quietly by the mob and hanged from a girder of the bridge over Bayou LaFourche. When early rises in the community saw the body at dawn and officers cut it down, they found a roughly written not epinned to the clothing warning "all persons" against attacks on women of the section.

The body of the Larose girl was found amid the tall sugar cane of an outlying plantation on Monday. She had been beaten and apparently had been dragged through the sharp-leaved cane for some distance, but Coroner T. B. Pugh reported that she had not been criminally attacked.

Louisiana Mob Lynches Negro

Advertiser

LABADIEVILLE, LA., Oct. 12.—(AP)—Moving so stealthily that sleeping residents of this little town were not disturbed, a mob of unidentified men early today seized Freddy Moore, young negro murder suspect, from the Labadieville jail and hanged him from a bridge over Bayou Lafourche after pinning a placard to his body warning "all persons" against attacks on women of the community.

Moore had been arrested yesterday for questioning in connection with the slaying of Miss Louisiana Larose, 15-year-old school girl, whose bruised body was found in tall sugarcane of an outlying plantation last Monday.

After early risers discovered Moore's body hanging from the bridge at dawn, Lafourche Parish authorities said the negro had confessed during yesterday's examination to the slaying of the young girl and that charges were to have been filed today.

Examination of Miss Larose's body indicated she had been struck and dragged through the knife-edged leaves of the sugarcane for some distance, but the coroner reported she had not been criminally attacked.

Authorities said an investigation was being made into how the lynchers got into the jail to seize Moore, who apparently was marched through the town and pushed off the bridge after a rope, suspended from a girder, had been tied about his neck.

Morristown, Tenn., Gazette
September 27, 1933

Negro Youth Lynched

(By Associated Press)

Opelous, La., Sept. 27. — John White, a young negro sought for an attempted criminal attack on a farm matron, was taken from a deputy sheriff yesterday by a group of white men and lynched.

The negro's body, riddled with bullets, was found in a thicket ear the scene of the alleged attack. The woman viewed the body and identified the negro as her assailant.

La. Negro Seized In Jail; Lynched By Armed Mob

10-13-33

Worker Was Arrested for Questioning in Murder Case

New York, N.Y.

LABADIEVILLE, La., Oct. 12.—A lynch gang, which found easy access to his cell, last night lynched a Negro plantation worker, arrested yesterday for questioning in connection with the slaying of Louisiana Larose, 15-year old white girl. The victim, whose name was not disclosed at the time of his arrest, was taken out of the jail and strung up to a girder of the bridge over Bayou Lafourche.

The lynching makes the 33rd reported lynching for the year. Only two days ago, a similar lynching occurred in the town of Ninety-Six, S. C., with one of the self-confessed lynchers admitting that local Chief of Police Rush had conveniently left the prison doors open for the lynch gang.

The Labadieville authorities profess to be "mystified" over the manner in which the lynchers entered the local jail.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
September 27, 1933

Accused Negro Youth Lynched in Louisiana

OPELOUS, La., Sept. 26 (AP)—John White, a young Negro sought for an attempted criminal attack on a farm matron, was taken from a deputy sheriff today by a group of white men and lynched.

The Negro's body, riddled with bullets, was found in a thicket near the scene of the alleged attack. The woman viewed the body and identified the Negro as her assailant.

Columbia, S. C. Record
October 12, 1933

LOUISIANA MOB LYNCHES NEGRO

Small Town Not Awakened as Prisoner Is Taken From Jail, Hanged

LABADIEVILLE, La., Oct. 12.—(AP)—A negro, arrested yesterday for questioning with the slaying of Miss Louisiana LaRose, 15-year-old white girl whose body was found in a field, was taken from the Labadieville jail early today and lynched by a mob of unidentified men.

The negro, whose name was not disclosed at the time of his arrest, was seized quietly by the mob and hanged from a girder of the bridge over Bayou LaFourche. When early risers in the community saw the body at dawn and officers cut it down, they found a roughly written note pinned to the clothing warning "all persons" against attacks on women of the section.

So stealthily did the lynchers move on the jail and seize the prisoner after midnight that no one in the little town was awakened.

The body of the LaRose girl was found amid the tall sugar cane of an outlying plantation on Monday. She had been beaten and apparently had been dragged through the sharp-leaved cane for some distance, but Coroner T. B. Pugh reported that she had not been criminally attacked.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
October 13, 1933

NEGRO IS LYNCHED BY LOUISIANA MOB

LABADIEVILLE, La., Oct. 12.—(AP)—A negro, arrested yesterday for questioning in connection with the slaying of Miss Louisiana Larose, 15-year-old white girl whose body was found in a canefield, was taken from the Labadieville jail early today and lynched by a mob of unidentified men.

Te negro, whose name was not disclosed at the time of his arrest, was seized quietly by the mob and hanged from a girder of the bridge over Bayou LaFourche. When early rises in the community saw the body at dawn and officers cut it down, they found a roughly written not epinned to the clothing warning "all persons" against attacks on women of the section.

The body of the Larose girl was found amid the tall sugar cane of an outlying plantation on Monday. She had been beaten and apparently had been dragged through the sharp-leaved cane for some distance, but Coroner T. B. Pugh reported that she had not been criminally attacked.

N. Y. HERALD
OCT 13 1933

Louisiana Negro Lynched

Confessed Slayer of White Girl, 14, Hanged From Bridge

LABADIEVILLE, La., Oct. 12 (UP).—The body of Fred Moore, eighteen-year-old Negro plantation worker, who confessed killing Louisiana Larose, fourteen, a white girl, was lynched by a mob of 100 men last night.

The mob marched in orderly manner to the jail and demanded the keys from Deputy Sheriff Adel Landry about 10:30 o'clock last night. Landry surrendered the Negro, who was rushed to a bridge and hanged from the railing. The Negro youth was jailed Tuesday and subsequently confessed killing the girl in a sugar cane field near town.

Jackson, Miss., News
October 12, 1933

NEGRO JAILED IN LOUISIANA QUIZ LYNCHED

Mob Enters Jail Secretly Lynch Negro on Bridge In Girl's Death

LABADIEVILLE, La., Oct. 12—A negro, arrested yesterday for questioning in connection with the slaying of Miss Louisiaan Larose 15-year-old white girl whose body was found in a cane field, was taken from the Labadieville jail early today and lynched by a mob of unidentified men.

The negro, whose name was not disclosed at the time of his arrest, was seized quietly by the mob and hanged from a girder of the bridge over Bayou Lafourche. When early risers in the community saw the body at dawn and officers cut it down, they found a roughly written note pinned to the clothing warning "all persons" against attacks on women of the section.

So steathily did the lynchers move on the jail and seize the prisoner after midnight that no one in the little town was awakened. Authorities said they were investigating the manner in which the negro was removed from the jail.

The body of the Larose girl was found amid the tall sugar cane of an outlying plantation on Monday She had been beaten and apparently had been dragged through the sharp-leaved cane for some distance, but Coroner T. B. Pugh reported that she had not been criminally attacked.

The negro suspect, a plantation worker, was arrested yesterday and held in the Labadieville jail for examination. Parish officers said today they had planned to file definite charges against him this morning.

Lynchings-1933

Cases of

Louisiana.

3877

N. Y. EVENING POST

FEB 20 1933

KIDNAP SLAYER LYNCHED IN SOUTH

RINGGOLD, La., Feb 20 (AP).—A Negro who kidnaped a bank cashier and his wife in an attempted robbery and killed the man for defending the woman against attack was lynched by a band of angry citizens at the scene of the slaying.

Officers said the Negro, identified as Nelson Nash, twenty-four, of Leesville, La., entered the home of J. P. Bachelor, fifty, cashier of the Ringgold Bank, and forced Bachelor and his wife to take himto the bank and open the doors.

When Mr. Bachelor told the Negro he could not open the vault the bandit forced the couple, still in their nightclothes, to accompany him about a mile north of the town, where he allegedly attempted to attack the woman.

Mr. Bacelor grappled with the Negro as his wife ran to a nearby cabin to summon aid. The husband was severely beaten about the head, and died of his injuries.

As news of the crime spread several hundred citizens organized posses and captured Nash fifteen miles away and brought him back to Ringgold where officers said he confessed the slaying.

The crowd spirited the Negro away to the scene of the slaying, hanged him from a tree, and riddled his body with bullets.

Lynch Negro In Louisiana

2-25-33

RINGOLD, La. — Nelson Nash, 24, of Leesville, La., was lynched here Sunday, February 19, by several score men after he had been arrested for kidnaping and killing a bank cashier and attempting to assault his wife in a frustrated robbery.

Posses captured Nash 15 miles from here and he was placed in the custody of Sheriff Henderson Jordan of Bienville Parish. Shortly afterwards the lynching mob seized Nash, hanged him from a tree and riddled his body with bullets.

New York,

NEGRO IS LYNCHED BY LOUISIANA MOB

Ringgold, La., Feb. 23.—A mob of more than 500 men lynched Nelson Mash, 24-year-old Negro, who was said to have confessed the killing of J. P. Batchelor, 50-year-old bank cashier, of the Bank of Ringgold, and the attempt to criminally assault his wife. It is reported that the mob took him from Sheriff Jordan of Arcadia Parish, hanged him to a tree and fired more than 50 shots into his body.

A recent rain thwarted the announced plan of mob leaders to burn Mash at the stake. Wood and brush around the place were too wet to burn.

It is reported that Mrs. Batchelor hysterically related that she and her husband had been awakened at 4 o'clock Sunday morning and marched to the bank, in an attempt to rob it, the distance is said to be a mile, then marched another mile to the edge of town, where her husband was clubbed to death when he remonstrated with the attacker about assaulting his wife.

About 4 o'clock Sunday afternoon Nelson Mash was captured, it is reported, about 15 miles out from the town of Ringgold, where the lynching took place. It is said that Rev. B. McMillen of the Methodist Church of Ringgold made an impassioned plea to save Mash's life.

Reporter 2-25-33 Birmingham, Ala.

N. Y. HERALD

FEB 20 1933

Negro Hanged by Posse For Murder and Attack

Wife of Slain Banker Fails to Identify Victim Definitely

RINGGOLD, La., Feb. 19 (AP).—Less than fourteen hours after J. P. Bachelor, fifty-one years old, cashier of the Ringgold Bank, was beaten to death by a Negro near here, Nelson Nash, twenty-four, who, officers said, confessed to the slaying, was lynched by a group of several score men who hanged him from a tree.

Nash was captured this morning by a citizen posse. Officers said Mrs. Batchelor failed to identify him definitely as the Negro who killed her husband and attempted to attack her.

Authorities said, however, that Nash confessed. After he was hanged, about fifty bullets were fired through his body.

Mr. Batchelor and his wife were aroused from their beds early today by a Negro, who compelled them to take him to the bank, where he attempted to make the cashier open the door to the money vault. The time lock was on, however, and the man then forced the couple, still in nightclothes, to walk to a point about one mile north of here on the railroad track.

Officers said they learned the man attempted to attack Mrs. Batchelor, but her husband grappled with him and she escaped. Mr. Batchelor was beaten on the head. Nash was captured about fifteen miles from the scene of the slaying.

Surviving are the widow and a son who is a student in the Medical College of Baylor University at Waco, Tex

N. Y. SUN

FEB 20 1933

LOUISIANA NEGRO KIDNAPER LYNCHED

Fatally Beat Bank Cashier Who Defended Wife.

RINGGOLD, La., Feb. 20 (A. P.). —A Negro who kidnaped a bank cashier and his wife in an attempted robbery and killed the man for defending the woman against attack was lynched by a band of angry citizens at the scene of the slaying yesterday.

Officers said the Negro, identified as Nelson Nash, 24, of Leesville, La., early yesterday morning entered the home of J. P. Bachelor, 50, cashier of the Ringgold Bank, and forced Bachelor and his wife to take him to the bank and open the doors.

When Bachelor told the Negro he could not open the vault the Negro forced the couple, still in their nightclothes, to accompany him about a mile north of the town, where he allegedly attempted to attack the woman.

Bachelor grappled with the Negro as his wife ran to a nearby cabin to summon aid. The husband was severely beaten about the head and died of his injuries.

As news of the crime spread several hundred citizens organized posses and captured Nash fifteen miles away and brought him back to Ringgold, where officers said he confessed the slaying.

The crowd spirited the Negro away to the scene of the slaying, hanged him from a tree and riddled his body with bullet

New York Evening Journal

FEB 20 1933

LYNCH SLAYER IN LOUISIANA

RINGGOLD, La., Feb. 20.—A tense quietude hung over this little community today, following the lynching of a Negro, Nelson Nash, 24.

The victim was arrested on a charge of having awakened J. P. Batchelor, 51, and forced him and his wife to accompany him to the Ringgold Bank Saturday night in their nightclothes. He was said to have ordered Batchelor to open the vault and, when a time lock prevented this, to have marched them into a field. There the Negro was declared to have attempted to attack the banker, and when the latter grappled with him, crushed in his skull.

Mrs. Batchelor could not identify Nash, when he was arrested, but the authorities say he confessed.

STANDARD UNION

B'klyn - N.Y.

FEB 20 1933

MOB IN LOUISIANA LYNCHES SLAYER

Crowd Tries in Vain to Burn Victim at the Stake.

Ringgold, La., Feb. 20. — Nelson Nash, 24, colored, was hanged and shot last night by a mob of 500 persons who abandoned an attempt to bunr him at the stake because brushwood was too wet to burn.

After he was hanged to a tree, 50 shots were fired into his body.

Nash was alleged to have killed J. P. Batchelor, 50, banker, and to have attacked Mrs. Batchelor. He was taken from sheriff's forces after his capture.

Florence, S. C., News
Monday, February 20, 1933

NEGRO LYNCHED BY ANGRY MOB

Confessed Slayer of Bank Cashier Hanged to Tree In Louisiana

RINGGOLD, La., Feb. 19 —(AP)— Less than 14 hours after J. P. Batchelor, 51, cashier of the Ringgold Bank, was beaten to death by a negro near here, Nelson Nash, 24, who officers said confessed to the slaying, was lynched by a group of several score men who hanged him to a tree.

Nash was captured shortly before noon today by a citizen posse. Officers said Mrs. Batchelor failed to identify him definitely as the negro who killed her husband and attempted to attack her.

Authorities said, however, that Nash confessed. After he was hanged, about 50 bullets were fired through his body.

Batchelor and his wife were aroused from their beds early today by a negro who compelled them to take him to the bank where he attempted to make the cashier open the door to the money vault.

The time lock was on, however, and the negro then forced the couple, still in nightclothes, to walk to a point about one mile north of here on the railroad track.

Officers said they learned the negro attempted to attack Mrs. Batchelor, but her husband grappled with him and she escaped. Batchelor was beaten over the head.

Nash was captured about 15 miles from the scene of the slaying.

Batchelor is survived by his widow and a son, who is a student in the Medical College of Baylor University in Waco, Texas.

3877

Columbus, Ga. Enquirer-Sun
Monday, February 20, 1933

NEGRO HANGED SUNDAY BY MOB IN LOUISIANA

Lynching Occurs After Bank Cashier is Beaten To Death

Ringgold, La., Feb. 19.—(AP)—Less than 14 hours after J. P. Bachelor, 51, cashier of the Ringgold bank, was beaten to death by a negro near here, Nelson Nash, 24, who officers said confessed to the slaying, was lynched by a group of several score men who hanged him from the limb of a tree at the scene of the killing.

Nash was captured shortly before noon today by a citizen posse. Returned here, officers said that Mrs. Batchelor failed to identify him definitely at the negro who killed her husband and attempted to attack her.

Authorities said, however, that Nash confessed, and within an hour was taken and hanged. About 50 bullets were fired through his body.

Batchelor and his wife were aroused from their beds early today by a negro who compelled them to take him to the bank where he attempted to make the cashier open the door to the money vault.

The time lock was on, however, and the negro forced the couple, still in nightclothes, to walk to a point about one mile north of here on the railroad track.

Officers said they learned the negro attempted to attack Mrs. Batchelor, but her husband grappled with him, and she escaped to a negro cabin. Batchelor was beaten over the head.

Mrs. Batchelor spread the alarm and several hundred citizens combed th narby woods. Nash was captured about 15 miles from the scene of the slaying.

Batchelor is survived by his widow and a son, who is a student in the medical college of Baylor University in Waco, Texas.

Spartanburg, S. C., Herald
September 27, 1933

NEGRO IS LYNCHED BY LOUISIANA MOB

Opelousas, La., Sept. 26 (AP).—John White, a young negro, sought for an attempted attack on a farm matron, was taken from a deputy sheriff today by a group of white men and lynched.

The negro's body, riddled with bullets, was found in a thicket near the scene of the alleged attack. The woman viewed the body and identified the negro as her assailant.

NEGRO MAN LYNCHED AS WOMAN'S ATTACKER

OPELOUSAS, La., Sept. 26.—(AP) John White, a young negro, sought for an attempted criminal attack on a farm matron, was taken from a deputy sheriff today by a group of white men and lynched.

The negro's body, riddled with bullets, was found in a thicket near the scene of the alleged attack. The woman viewed the body and identified the negro as her assailant.

NEGRO ATTACKER LYNCHED

Victim Identifies Bullet-riddled Body of Assailant.

OPELOUSAS, La., Sept. 26.—(AP)—John White, a young negro, sought for an attempted criminal attack on a farm matron, was taken from a deputy sheriff by a group of men and lynched.

The negro's body, riddled with bullets, was found in a thicket near the scene of the alleged attack. The woman viewed the body and identified the negro as her assailant.

Birmingham, Ala., News
September 27, 1933

NEGRO IS LYNCHED

Group Overpowers Officers To Take Accused Man

OPELOUSAS, La.—(AP)—John White, a young Negro sought for an attempted criminal attack on a farm matron, was taken from a deputy sheriff Tuesday by a group of white men and lynched.

The Negro's body, riddled with bullets, was found in a thicket near the scene of the alleged attack. The woman viewed the body and identified the Negro as her assailant.

The Negro was captured near Bristol, La., by Deputy Sheriff John Durio and a posse and confessed, officers said. A group of white men took the Negro from the officers' custody.

The Negro was reported to have attempted the attack Saturday when he went to the woman's home. He was frightened away when her father appeared with a shotgun.

No arrests have been made.

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

SEP 27 1933

ATTACK SUSPECT IS SLAIN BY MOB

Opelousas, La., Sept. 26 (AP).—John White, colored youth, sought for an attempted attack on a farm matron, was taken from a deputy sheriff today by a group of white men and lynched. The body was found riddled with bullets. The woman viewed the body and identified the youth as her assailant.

NEW YORK TIMES

SEP 27 1933

NEGRO IS LYNCHED.

Accused of Attacking White Woman at Opelousas, La.

OPELOUSAS, La., Sept. 26 (AP).—John White, a young Negro, sought for an attempted attack on a farm matron, was taken from a deputy sheriff by a group of white men today and lynched.

The Negro's body, riddled with bullets, was found in a thicket near the scene of the alleged attack. The woman viewed the body and identified the Negro as her assailant.

He was captured today near Bristol, La., by Deputy Sheriff John Durio and a posse, and confessed, officers said.

No arrests had been made tonight in connection with the lynching.

NEW YORK WORLD Telegram

SEP 27 1933

DEPUTY'S CAPTIVE LYNCHED.

By the Associated Press.

OPELOUSAS, La., Sept. 27.—John White, a young Negro accused of an attempted attack on a farm matron, was taken from a deputy sheriff yesterday by a group of white men and lynched.

Winchester, Ky. Sun
September 27, 1933

LOUISANA MOB LYNCHES NEGRO

OPELOUSAS, La., Sept. 27.—John White, a young negro, accused of an attempted attack on a farm matron, was taken from a deputy sheriff Tuesday by a group of white men and lynched.

The negro's body, riddled with bullets, was found in a thicket near the scene of the alleged attack. The woman viewed the body and identified the negro as her assailant.

He was captured Tuesday near Bristol, La., by Deputy Sheriff John Durio and a posse, and confessed, officers said.

SHREVEPORT, LA.
JOURNAL

SEP 28 1933

SOUTH LOUISIANA NEGRO IS LYNCHED

(Associated Press.)

OPELOUSAS, La., Sept. 27. — The lynching yesterday of John White, a negro sought in connection with an attempted criminal attack upon a white woman last Saturday, was investigated by officers today.

Deputy Sheriff John Durio said he captured the negro near Bristol, La., but was overpowered by a group of men who took the prisoner from him. The negro's body, riddled with bullets, was found in a thicket near the scene of the alleged attack.

The woman identified the negro as her assailant. She said he attempted to attack her at her farm home, but was frightened away when her father appeared with a shotgun.

Alexandria, La. Town Talk
September 27, 1933

Negro Lynched in Louisiana; Charge Attempted Attack

OPELOUSAS, La., Sept. 27.—(By A. P.)—The lynching yesterday of John White, a negro sought in connection with an attempted criminal attack upon a white woman last Saturday, was investigated by officers today.

Deputy Sheriff John Durio said he captured the negro near Bristol, La. but was overpowered by a group of men who took the prisoner from him. The negro's body, riddled with bullets, was found in a thicket near the scene of the alleged attack.

The woman identified the negro as her assailant. She said he attempted to attack her at her farm home, but was frightened away when her father appeared with a shotgun.

Negro ... ged By Stealthy Mob

Murder Suspect Removed From Jail in Louisiana

LABADIEVILLE, La., Oct. 12. (AP) Moving so stealthily that sleeping residents of this little town were not disturbed, a mob of unidentified men early today seized Freddy Moore, young Negro murder suspect, from the Labadieville jail and hanged him from a bridge over Bayou Lafourche, after pinning a placard to his body warning "all persons" against attacks on women of the community.

Moore had been arrested yesterday for question in connection with the slaying of a 15-year-old school girl, whose bruised body was found in tall sugar cane of an outlying plantation last Monday.

Lafourche parish authorities said the Negro had confessed.

MOB LYNCHES NEGRO KILLER OF YOUNG GIRL

Hundreds View Body Hanging From Bridge Span

LABADIEVILLE, La., Oct. 12.—(AP)—From a bridge high over Bayou LaFourche, a lynch mob early today hanged Brome Moore, negro, for the alleged murder of Louisiana LaRose, a 15-year-old girl.

The mob stole stealthily upon the jail shortly before midnight, overpowered the jailer and snatched the negro from his cell.

Monday the body of comely Louisiana LaRose, her throat slashed, was found in a sugar cane field.

The mob rushed the frightened, jabbering victim to the Bayou LaFourche bridge and, authorities charged, tortured him into an admission of guilt. Then, a rope loop around his neck, the negro was hurled into space.

The body was cut down shortly before noon by Coroner Thomas Pugh after hundreds had flocked to the scene. Meanwhile authorities took precautions to guard Andrew Jackson, negro named by Moore in his alleged confession to the mob as an accomplice in the murder, from a similar fate.

Lynchings-1933 Cases of

Louisiana

3878

Three White Men Named For Fatally Flogging Negro

Advertiser 1-12-33

HOMER, LA., Jan. 11.—(AP)—A report that a negro, Fell Jenkins, 20, found dead here, had died as a result of a whipping administered by three white men was returned by a coroner's jury today.

The report named the white men as Clyde Carter, Tommie Sanders and Luther Gardner, farmers living near Homer, but Dr. E. B. Middleton, parish coroner, said no arrests had been made. The report was submitted to the district attorney without recommendation.

Three Farmers Held For Slaying Negro

1-31-33

Three white farmers of Aycock La., were held for manslaughter during the past week in connection with the fatal flogging of Fell Jenkins, 20. The three men were named by a coroners jury which said Jenkins died from the beating he received at the hands of L. C. Gardner, Clyde Carter and Tommy Sanders.

BANKER'S SLAYER LYNCHED BY MOB

Macon Telegraph

Negro Is Hanged at Spot Where He Beat Man to Death After Robbery Attempt

Macon, Ga

RINGGOLD, La., Feb. 19 (AP).—Less than 14 hours after J. P. Batchelor, 51 cashier of the Ringgold bank, was beaten to death by a Negro near here, Nelson Nash, 24, who officers said confessed to the slaying, was lynched by a group of several score men who hanged him from the limb of a tree at the scene of the killing.

2/20/33

Nash was captured shortly before noon Sunday by a citizen posse. Returned here, officers said that Mrs. Batchelor failed to identify him definitely as the Negro who killed her husband and attempted to attack her.

Authorities said, however, that Nash confessed, and within an hour was taken and hanged. About 50 bullets were fired through his body.

Batchelor and his wife were aroused from their beds early Sunday by a Negro who compelled them to take him to the bank, where he attempted to make the cashier open the door to the money vault.

The time lock was on, however, and the Negro forced the couple, still in their nightclothes, to walk to a point about one mile north of here on the railroad track.

Officers said they learned the Negro attempted to attack Mrs. Batchelor, but her husband grappled with him, and she escaped to a Negro cabin. Batchelor was beaten on the head.

Mrs. Batchelor spread the alarm and several hundred citizens combed the nearby woods. Nash was captured about 15 miles from the scene of the slaying.

Batchelor is survived by his widow and a son, who is a student in the medical college of Baylor university in Waco, Texas.

Negro Slayer Of Banker Lynched

Advertiser

RINGGOLD, LA., Feb. 19.—(AP)—Less than 14 hours after J. P. Batchelor, 51, cashier of the Ringgold Bank, was beaten to death by a negro near here, Nelson Nash, 24, negro, who, officers said, confessed to the slaying, was lynched by a group of several score men who hanged him from the limb of a tree at the scene of the killing.

2-20-33

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Authorities said, however, that Nash confessed, and within an hour was taken and hanged. About 50 bullets were fired through his body.

Batchelor and his wife were aroused from their beds early today by a negro who compelled them to take him to the bank where he attempted to make the cashier open the door to the money vault.

The time lock was on, however, and the negro forced the couple, still in the nightclothes, to walk to a point about one mile north of here on the railroad track.

Officers said they learned the negro attempted to attack Mrs. Batchelor, but her husband grappled with him, and she escaped to a negro cabin. Batchelor was beaten over the head.

Mrs. Batchelor spread the alarm and several hundred citizens combed the nearby woods. Nash was captured about 15 miles from the scene of the slaying.

Confessed Murderer Lynched in Louisiana

RINGGOLD, La., Feb. 19.—(AP)—Less than 14 hours after J. P. Batchelor, 51, cashier of the Ringgold bank, was beaten to death by a negro near here, Nelson Nash, 24, who officers said confessed to the slaying, was lynched by a group of several score men who hanged him from the limb of a tree at the scene of the killing. About 50 bullets were fired into his body.

2-20-33

Nash was captured shortly before noon today by a citizen posse. Returned here, officers said Mrs. Batchelor failed to identify him definitely as the negro who killed her husband and attempted to attack her, but that Nash confessed.

TRENTON N. J. TIMES
FEBRUARY 20, 1933

KIDNAPER-SLAYER LYNCHED BY POSSE

Abduction of Bank Cashier and Wife Alleged—Lynchers Wring Confession

RINGGOLD, La., Feb. 20 (AP).—A Negro who kidnaped a bank cashier and his wife in an attempted robbery and killed the man for defending the woman against attack was lynched by citizens at the scene of the slaying yesterday.

Officers said the Negro, identified as Nelson Nash, 24, of Leesville, La., yesterday morning entered the home of J. P. Bachelor, 50, cashier of the Ringgold Bank, and forced Bachelor and his wife to take him to the bank and open the doors.

When Bachelor told the Negro he could not open the vault, the bandit forced the couple, still in their nightclothes, to accompany him about a mile north of the town, where he allegedly attempted to attack the woman.

Bachelor grappled with the Negro as his wife ran to a nearby cabin to summon aid. The husband was severely beaten about the head, and died of his injuries.

As news of the crime spread several hundred citizens organized posses and captured Nash 15 miles away and brought him back to Ringgold where officers said he confessed.

The crowd spirited the Negro away to the scene of the slaying, hanged him from a tree and riddled his body with bullets.

TRENTON N. J. GAZETTE
FEBRUARY 20, 1933

Negro Is Lynched by Mob After Slaying

RINGGOLD, La., Feb. 19 (AP).—Less than 14 hours after J. P. Batchelor, 51, cashier of the Ringgold bank, was beaten to death by a Negro near here, Nelson Nash, 24, who officers said confessed to the slaying, was lynched by a group of several score men who hanged him from a tree.

Nash was captured shortly before noon today by a citizen posse. Officers said Mrs. Batchelor failed to identify him definitely as the Negro who killed her husband after attempting to attack her.

Authorities said, however, that Nash confessed. After he was hanged, about 50 bullets were fired through his body.

Lynchings, Attempted Assault, And Explanations Hold Spotlight In News

Journal

RINGGOLD, La.—(ANP)—Acting upon the flimsiest sort of evidence, several score men and women, seized Nelson Nash, 24 from police officers here Sunday and hanged him to a tree. Afterwards they sent more than 50 bullets thru his body.

Nash had been arrested in connection with the murder of J. P. Batchelor, white cashier of the Ringgold bank, and attempted rape upon his wife.

2-2-33

According to the police, a Negro went to the home of Batchelor during the night, forced him and his wife to get out of bed and walked them, in their night clothes, through the streets, to the bank, where he tried to compel Batchelor to open the safe.

Frustrated in this attempt at robbery, this bold Negro is supposed to have compelled Batchelor and his wife to walk more than a mile to the edge of town, where he attempted to rape Mrs. Batchelor. Her husband remonstrated against this and the would-be assailant killed him.

In a few hours young Nash was picked up 15 miles away. Although the woman failed to identify him as her assailant, the mob was allowed to string him up.

It is the theory among many persons here that a former employee of the bank blackened himself up and attempted the robbery.

PLAINFIELD N. J. NEWS
FEBRUARY 20, 1933

Angry Crowd Lynches Man

Ringgold, La.—(AP)—A Negro who kidnaped a bank cashier and his wife in an attempted robbery and killed the man for defending the woman against attack was lynched by citizens at the scene of the slaying.

Officers said the Negro, identified as Nelson Nash, 24, of Leesville, La., early yesterday morning entered the home of J. P. Bachelor, 50, cashier of the Ringgold bank, and forced Bachelor and his wife to take him to the bank and open the doors.

When Bachelor told the Negro he could not open the vault the bandit forced the couple, still in their nightclothes, to accompany him about a mile north of the town, where he allegedly attempted to attack the woman.

Bachelor grappled with the Negro as his wife ran to a nearby cabin to summon aid. The husband was severely beaten about the head, and died of his injuries.

As news of the crime spreal several hundred citizens organized posses and captured Nash 15 miles away and brought him back to Ringgold, where officers said he confessed the slaying.

The crowd spirited the Negro away to the scene of the slaying, hanged him from a tree, and riddled his body with bullets.

NEWARK N. J. LEDGER
FEBRUARY 20, 1933

Killer Lynched 14 Hours After Slaying Banker

Husband Loses Life After Foiling Attempt to Attack Wife

RINGGOLD, La., Feb. 19 (AP).—Less than 14 hours after J. P. Batchelor, 51, cashier of the Ringgold Bank, was beaten to death by a colored man near here, Nelson Nash, 24, who officers said confessed to the slaying, was lynched by a group of several score men who hanged him from a tree.

Nash was captured shortly before noon today by a citizen posse. Officers said Mrs. Batchelor failed to identify him definitely as the man who killed her husband and attempted to attack her.

Authorities said, however, that Nash confessed. After he was hanged, about 50 bullets were fired through his body.

Batchelor and his wife were aroused from their beds early today by a colored man who compelled them to take him to the bank where he attempted to make the cashier open the door to the money vault.

The time lock was on, however, and the man then forced the couple, still in nightclothes, to walk to a point about one mile north of here on the railroad track.

Officers said they learned the man attempted to attack Mrs. Batchelor, but her husband grappled with him and she escaped. Batchelor was beaten on the head.

Nash was captured about 15 miles from the scene of the slaying.

Batchelor is survived by his

widow and a son, who is a student in the medical college of Baylor University in Waco, Texas.

HACKENSACK N. J. EVE. RECORD
FEBRUARY 20, 1933

Lynch Negro For Killing Man Who Defended Wife

Kidnaped Louisiana Bank Cashier, Wife in Attempt To Open Vaults—Captured in 15-Mile Flight

(By Associated Press)

Ringgold, La., Feb. 20.—A Negro who kidnaped a bank cashier and his wife in an attempted robbery and killed the man for defending the woman against attack, was lynched by citizens at the scene of the slaying yesterday.

Officers said the Negro, identified as Nelson Nash, 24, of Leesville, La., early yesterday morning entered the home of J. P. Bachelor, 50, cashier of the Ringgold Bank, and forced Bachelor and his wife to take him to the bank and open the doors.

When Bachelor told the Negro he could not open the vault, the bandit forced the couple, still in their nightclothes, to accompany him about a mile north of the town, where he allegedly attempted to attack the woman.

Bachelor grappled with the Negro as his wife ran to a nearby cabin to summon aid. The husband was severely beaten about the head, and died of his injuries.

As news of the crime spread several hundred citizens organized posses and captured Nash 15 miles away and brought him back to Ringgold where officers said he confessed the slaying.

The crowd spirited the Negro away to the scene of the slaying, hanged him from a tree, and riddled his body with bullets.

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
FEBRUARY 20, 1933

MOB LYNCHES NEGRO IN LOUISIANA SLAYING

Police Say Prisoner Confessed Killing of Bank Cashier, Who Died Protecting His Wife.

RINGGOLD, La., Feb. 19 (AP).—Less than fourteen hours after J. P. Batchelor, 51, cashier of the Ringgold Bank, was beaten to death by a Negro near here, Nelson Nash, 24, who, officers said, confessed to the slaying, was lynched by a group of several score men who hanged him from a tree.

After he was hanged, about fifty bullets were fired through his body.

Police said Mr. Batchelor and his wife were routed from their beds about 4 A. M. by a Negro who forced them to go, while still in their night clothing, to the bank and open the doors. When Mr. Batchelor explained that he could not open the safe, the Negro marched them more than a mile north of town on the railroad track, where he attempted to attack Mrs. Batchelor.

When Mr. Batchelor went to his wife's rescue he was beaten to death. Mrs. Batchelor escaped by running into near-by woods.

The Negro was arrested by a posse of 500 men and placed in custody of Sheriff Henderson Jordan of Bienville Parish.

Mr. Batchelor is survived by his widow and a son, who is a student in the Medical College of Baylor University in Waco, Texas.

AIKEN, S. C., Feb. 19 (AP).—George Jeter, Negro, died today from the effects of a beating administered by a group of white men last Tuesday and four men, his alleged assailants, were arrested.

The men, who are in jail pending an inquest, are Stamp Floyd, Jim Hancock, Jim Patterson and W. M. Hitt, all of the northern section of the county where Jeter lived.

Officers quoted members of Jeter's family as saying he named those arrested as the men who beat him and said the flogging was inflicted after they had accused him of stealing liquor from them.

NEW YORK TIMES
FEB 20 1933

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CARTHAGE, MO.
PRESS
FEB 21 1933

A Negro was lynched in Louisiana Sunday after he had confessed to the murder of a banker. A community such as Jasper county which within a few years has seen three men who should have been hanged—i. e., Albert McCann, Pete Stevenson and James Creighton—go to the penitentiary instead because of the ineffectiveness of justice, is perhaps inclined to hesitate a little before getting horrified about lynchings elsewhere, yet it may be mentioned that lynchings are decreasing. Where there used to be many, there now are few. Whereas a few years ago most of the people lynched were Negroes there are now almost as many white men summarily executed as there are black. Most lynchings now are because of the crime and not of the color.

Louisiana Mobbers Murder Innocent Man for Crime

Defender 3-4-33
Chicago

RINGGOLD, La., March 3.—Latest reports here are to the effect that the sheriff's posse which took part in the lynching of Nelson Nash, accused of murdering J. P. Batchelor, a white banker, erred in selecting its victim. Rumor is current here that Batchelor was slain by a white man.

Nash, who was 24 years old, was known to be peaceful and had never been arrested prior to being taken into custody by the possemen. He proclaimed his innocence after being shot five times before the final volley of bullets took his life. When Nash asked could he pray he was told to open his mouth and stick out his tongue. Doing this an auto plier clinched his tongue and it was severed by a razor.

Never Identified

The banker, J. P. Batchelor, was killed by an unidentified burglar, who invaded the Batchelor home and forced the Batchelors to accompany him to the Ringgold bank, where he attempted to effect entrance to the safe. Batchelor refused to open the safe, and in the struggle which followed Batchelor was killed. The burglar wore no mask, and Mrs. Batchelor had had full opportunity to study his face. She refused to identify Nash as the burglar when the sheriff brought him before her.

In the first reports of the crime there was no mention that the burglar was a black man, which in itself exposes the set-up nature of the arrest of young Nash. Undeterred by this lack of identification, the posse took Nash into the woods and strung him up from a tree, after first attempting to burn him at the stake but finding the wood and brush too wet to accommodate that form of lingering death and torture.

The lynching was carried out exclusively by the posse, which numbered some 40 local white business men and landowners. In the first reports of the lynching the attempt was made to give the crime a "popular character" with the deliberate lie that 500 persons took part in the lynching.

Second Lynching

The second lynching in the same day occurred at Aiken, S. C., where George Jeter was beaten to death by a gang of four white men, who accused him of "stealing liquor from them." Before he died Jeter identified the following men as his murderers: Stamp Floys, Jim Hancock, Jim Patterson and W. M. Hitt. The local authorities have made the gesture of arresting the four men "pending an inquest," but hardly anyone in Aiken is so naive as to expect the courts of the white ruling class to convict them.

INVESTIGATION TURNS LIGHT ON HIDEOUS CRIME

Recorder 3-4-33
Indianapolis

Reports Reveal Possibility Original Murderer Was White; Mob Number Reduced to 40

RINGGOLD, La., March 1.—Nelson Nash, who was brutally lynched here February 19, was the wrong man. The perpetrator of the crime for which Nash was an unwillnig victim was probably a white man.

This was revealed today after careful investigation of the circumstances surrounding the lynching had been made.

According to the investigators the wife of the man for whose murder Nash was lynched positively refused to identify the lynched man as the one who murdered her husband J. P. Batchelor, white local banker.

Batchelor and his wife were forced to leave their home by his murderer and accompany him to the Ringgold bank. Batchelor was killed by the man when he refused to open the safe at his command.

The man wore no Mask and Mrs Batchelor had full view of his face and profile. Tho she would not say whether her husband's assailant was white or colored, she did, however, refuse to identify Nash when he was brought before after his arrest by the county sheriff.

Reports Falsified

The first reports of the lynching approximated the number of the lynchers as five hundred citizens of this town of fifteen hundred people. A more careful check-up based upon corroborating testimony of eye witnesses places the number at 40 and their class identification not as hoodlums but business men and land owners, probably associates of Batchelor.

Nash was caught shortly after the murder of Batchelor became known and placed in the county jail by the sheriff on the charge of murdering Batchelor. Shortly thereafter the mobbers formed a posse proceeded to the jail and demanded and took Nash therefrom with no show of resistance on the part of the sheriff.

Even tho Mrs. Batchelor failed to connect Nash with the crime the posse remained determined to avenge with their own hands the bankers death.

Protesting and proclaiming his innocence, Nash was strung to a tree and more than fifty shots fired into his body.

The body was left hanging to the tree for 18 hours.

Lynchings-1933
Cases of.

Maryland

3879

Courier 10-28-33 Pittsburgh Pa

MOB OF 1,000 STAGE ANOTHER VICIOUS "ROMAN HOLIDAY" AS THEY BREAK INTO JAIL, LYNCH SUSPECT AND THEN BURN HIS BODY IN ALCOHOL

25 State Troopers, On Guard, Fail To Fire Their Guns As Blood Lust Rules Princess Anne—"A Throw Back To Barbarity."

(By Staff Correspondent)

PRINCESS ANNE, Md., Oct. 26—They lynched George Armwood, a mental defective, here last Wednesday night, while 25 State troopers, stationed before Somerset County jail failed to fire a shot!

And today, almost a week later, no arrests have been made, and Maryland's latest atrocity, which has once again disgraced American civilization, threatens to be relegated into the limbo of forgotten deeds.

There have been charges and counter-charges. Ministers have denounced the "Red Wednesday." But the lynching of that mental defective, the twenty-first of the year, has some peculiar angles.

AND THEY DIDN'T FIRE A SHOT!

Armwood had been imprisoned in Baltimore. Last Tuesday he was sent back to Princess Anne, on the Eastern shore of Maryland . . . sent back to the "rebel" town which just two years ago had brutally lynched Matthew Williams . . . sent back to a town seething with race hatred and the lust to lynch.

All day Wednesday the mob-spirit ran high. The Governor was informed by Baltimore dailies of the spirit of unrest. Judge Robert F. Duer, who later listened to a football game as reporters questioned him about the atrocity, knew of the determination of the mob. He was called by Governor Ritchie several times. He assured him that there was nothing to fear. Judge Duer, a southern type called "colonel" in the old days, had a dinner engagement, and such a thing as the life of a Negro, especially one who had been accused of raping a 71 year old white woman, was of no importance.

State's Attorney John B. Robins of Somerset County, who demanded the change be made because grand jury action was expected soon, also is "on the spot."

Both of these men, it is said, thought that 25 or 30 State troopers, armed with tear bombs and heavy service revolvers, should be able to hold off a mob.

But when the mob came charging down the street, and tear bombs failed to halt them, the state troopers failed to fire a shot.

Following the tragedy, Colonel Baughman, head of the Maryland state police, made a mathematical calculation, in which he praised the men for "failing to fire."

Said he: If thirty state policemen drew their revolvers and each fired six times into this mob, a total of 180 shots would have been fired by the state police. If we assume that each shot found a fatal target, and that the mob did nothing in the meantime, 180 men, women and children would have been killed. With their revolvers empty the 30 state policemen would have been powerless before the remaining approximately 1,000 rioters. Then 30 state policemen would have died. Mob psychology is like quicksilver.

Governor Ritchie wanted Armwood removed to Baltimore. He so informed me and I passed his instructions on to Captain Johnson. Unfortunately, the local authorities refused to release their prisoner. There is no law that gave us the authority to bring Armwood into Baltimore without this permission.

I think Captain Johnson and his men used cool judgment in the face of a grave emergency. Too much blood was shed in Princess Anne Wednesday night. To have shed more in vain, and to have had a long death list resulting from this unfortunate affair, would, I am sure, have been justly condemned by the people of Maryland.

Judge Listening to Grid Game Broadcast, Shuns Lynch Queries

PRINCESS ANNE, Md., Oct. 26—When approached in connection with the gruesome local lynching orgy, Judge Duer also refused to comment on the case.

This afternoon, however, Judge Duer was seen. Sitting in a rocking chair in the bay window of his living room, he was listening to radio broadcasts of various football games.

Questioned in regard to the lynching case, Judge Duer said:

"Do you want to listen to these games or to ask questions? I want to listen to the games."

Not once did the jurist answer a single question asked him in regard to the lynching. He did reveal that he had played football while attending college and was still interested in it.

Lynchings-1933
Cases of.

Maryland

3880

LYNCHERS PROTECTED, IS CHARGE

Daily Worker
10-24-33
New York, N.Y.

Officials Anxious as Anger of Negro, White Workers Grows

BALTIMORE, Md., Oct. 23.—State and Somerset County officials joined yesterday in an hysterical attempt to pass the buck for responsibility for the fiendish lynching of George Armwood, as indignatnt protests from white and Negro workers and intellectuals developed into a nation-wide thunder of denunciation of the lynch-murder and the officials responsible for the convenient removal of Armwood from Baltimore to Princess Anne a few hours before the lynching. They likewise blocked all attempts at investigation and punishment of the known leaders of the mob.

Workers Electing Delegations

The uneasiness of the State and County lynch governments was further increased by reports that workers and intellectuals in Maryland, New England, Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey cities were electing delegations to visit Governor Ritchie this Wednesday with demands for the removal and prosecution for murder of the guilty officials and the death penalty to the known members of the mob. The delegations, which will arrive in Baltimore Wednesday to join a local delegation, will go on to Washington to place the demands of an aroused working-class on President Roosevelt. They will demand the impeachment of Governor Ritchie, and a halt to the plans for the legal lynching of Euel Lee this Friday.

Negroes of Baltimore, boiling with resentment, are militantly supporting the organization of the local delegation, despite the attempts of the reformist misleaders to disrupt the growing struggle of Negro and white workers against the violent suppression of the oppressed Negro Nation. Resentment is almost universal in the Negro district against the belly-crawling tactics of Rev. C. Y. Trigg, local leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People who, as a member of a united front delegation which visited Ritchie last Friday told the lynch governor that when he heard his "Excellency was from Richmond I knew that everything was all right." With this cue from the N.A.A.C.P., Governor Ritchie refused to revoke the order for the hanging of Euel Lee on Friday.

Ritchie Had Ample Warning

Governor Ritchie, Pilate-like, continued today to wash his hands of the blood of George Armwood. He insisted again that sole responsibility for the removal of Armwood to Princess Anne rests with Judge Duer and State's Attorney Robins. Ritchie's alibi is challenged even in the local bourgeois press. The Baltimore Sun on Saturday, published a tabulation of phone calls to the governor on the day of the lynching which clearly show that Ritchie had had ample warning and could have prevented the lynching. At one o'clock in the afternoon, he was advised "there might be trouble in Princess Anne that night." At 7:50 he was informed by the Baltimore Sun that the crowd was attacking the jail. At 8:30 he was notified by the Associated Press that the crowd looked like trouble. A few minutes later General Reckford informed the governor he had had a call for reinforcements from the 50 state troopers and deputy sheriffs at Princess Anne. The governor refused to act.

It was not until 9 o'clock that the crowd gained access to the jail, with the admitted co-operation of the jailers, and took out Armwood for a prolonged torture, leisurely dragging him behind an automobile through the main streets of the town, pummeling and tearing his clothes from him, before they finally hanged him on a tree in front of Judge Duer's home.

Officials Make No Arrests

Today, five days after the lynching, no arrests had been made nor are any anticipated in the near future.

With the Negro masses and white workers boiling with resentment, an attempt is now being made to center attention on the inquest to be held in Princess Anne tomorrow by Coroner Edgar A. Jones. Promises are also made of a grand jury inquiry. Both the coroner's jury and the grand jury are hand-picked all-white juries. The social composition of the jurors are being kept secret. Neither their occupations nor their addresses are on the court records.

KATMAN——monday

Bar Negroes from Juries.

Bourgeois newspaper reporters, remembering the fierce fight made by the International Labor Defense against the barring of Negroes from juries in the Euel Lee Case, questioned State's Attorney Robins as to whether Negroes were being considered for the grand jury. Robins, reddened and hastily replied: "Now, don't bring that up. It hasn't anything to do with the case. Armwood is dead."

Pressed by the reporters, Robins declared:

"I know all about the Euel Lee case and the law. But that hasn't anything to do with this case and I don't want to discuss it, and it isn't any use bringing it up. We have enough to do now and that question hasn't anything to do with this case because Armwood is dead."

Judges Refuse to Aid Inquiry.

Meantime, Judges Duer, Bailey and Pattison, told reporters they would refuse to co-operate with the grand jury inquiry. Asked by a Baltimore Sun reporter, "Will you three judges participate in the investigation?" Judge Pattison emphatically replied for all three:

"Of course not."

Asked if the grand jury would conduct the inquiry, Judge Pattison replied:

"No, Mr. Lane and Mr. Robins will, and if they obtain any information that will be laid before the grand jury."

"Will the judges take part in the grand jury inquiry?"

"Of course not," Judge Pattison replied. "Sam Dennis, I mean Chief Judge Dennis, in Baltimore, doesn't do that."

Judge Duer and State's Attorney Robins are implicated in the lynching of Armwood. Together with Judges Pattison and Baily he also helped in railroading Euel Lee to legal lynch verdict.

Openly Contemptuous

Both State's Attorney Robins and Judge Duer are openly cynical in their attitude on the lynching and contemptuous to the demands of the Negro People and the working class for the punishment of the known mob leaders and officials involved in the lynching of Armwood. Asked if he had signed the order bringing Armwood back to Princess Anne, State's Attorney Robins refused to answer, or to discuss any aspect of the case.

Judge Duer, visited by reporters at his home, was found listening to radio broadcasts of various football games. Questioned in regard to the lynching, Judge Duer answered:

"Do you want to listen to these games or to ask questions. I want to listen to the games."

He refused to answer the questions of the reporters.

Lynch Victim and One of His Jailers

Daily Worker 10-24-33

John Armwood, being taken to cell in Princess Anne jail, following his convenient removal from Baltimore city jail to the lynch-infested Maryland Eastern Shore town. Responsibility for his presence in Princess Anne on the day of the lynching rests with Judge Duer, State's Attorney Robins, and Governor Ritchie, all of whom had ample notice of the gathering of the mob.

3880

"Battered" Jail Door at Princess Anne, Md.

Jail from which George Armwood, Negro worker, was taken by howling mob and lynched, while 50 heavily-armed state troopers and deputy sheriffs looked on. Capitalist press dispatches on the day after the lynching admitted that the inner gate was opened from inside. The appearance of the outer gate (shown above), photographed immediately after the crime, indicates that this gate as well was opened from the inside.

82-Ye... ld Woman Attacked by Negro

PRINCESS ANNE, Md., Oct. 16. (AP)—Officers and armed civilians on Maryland's eastern shore searched tonight for a negro accused of attacking an 82-year-old white woman.

Assembling after the news spread that Mrs. Mary Denston, the aged wife of a Somerset county farmer, had been attacked today, the group variously estimated at numbering from 500 to 1,000, began a systematic combing of woods and swamplands. Nightfall did not halt the search.

Mrs. Denston said she did not know the man who attacked her as she returned home after spending the night at her daughter's, but a 24-year-old negro was sought after a hat said to belong to him was found near the scene of the attack. The negro's name was given by officers as George Armwood.

NEW YORK MIRROR

OCT 19 1933

NEGRO HANGED, BURNED BY MOB IN MARYLAND

PRINCESS ANNE, Md., Oct. 18 (US).—Mob violence ran wild here tonight and George Armwood, 35, a Negro, was lynched while 2,000 persons watched.

He was dragged from jail, strung up and as a final climax his body burned on the lawn in the rear of the Somerset County Court house.

Armwood had confessed an attack on an 80-year-old white woman. He shrieked as he was dragged from his cell a... sight of the mob:

"Lord have mercy, God help me, God save me."

Ten State police under command of Capt. Johnston stood by powerless as the lynching party proceeded. They were unwilling to use their pistols, it was said, for fear of provoking a more serious riot.

The lynching had been most carefully and secretly planned. The sheriff was alone in his office on the first floor of the jail when te attack was made.

Members of the mob had quietly gathered at a rendezvous outside the town during the afternoon.

At 9 o'clock there was a rush of automobiles through the streets. Horns were blown, as the machines converged on the jail and the courthouse lawn. People poured from their houses and ran to the jail.

As the autos reached the jail, armed men with cloths tied over their faces leaped out and raced for te jail door. From a truck a battering ram, a timber 20 feet long and eight inches thick, was unloaded. And seized by a score of men. Within a minute the heavy jail door was smashed in.

MARYLAND MOB ROUTS COPS AND LYNCHES VICTIM

Alleged Attacker Dragged Through Main Street

and Burned

PRINCESS ANNE, Md.—In one of the wildest lynching orgies the state has ever witnessed, a frenzied mob of 3,000 men, women and children, sneering at guns and tear gas, overpowered 25 state troopers, tore George Armwood, 35, from his cell, Wednesday night, lynched him, and then burned his body.

Armwood was accused of attacking an elderly white woman. He had been brought back from Baltimore, where he was taken on Monday night following threats of violence. County authorities assured the governor there would be no trouble in face of the gathering of the menacing crowds.

Judge Asks Mercy

After battering its way into the jail, the mob stripped Armwood of his clothing and wrapped a rope around his neck. He was then pulled behind an automobile through the town to the home of Judge Robert F. Duer, who attempted to dissuade the mob. Screaming and cursing, those nearest Armwood beat and kicked his body as he was pulled along. He was apparently dead when dragged into the judge's yard. Not finding a tree large enough in Judge Duer's yard, they strung Armwood up in a neighboring yard. As he dangled in the air he was made the target of bricks, stones, and other missles.

He was left hanging about 20 minutes and then dropped to the ground. The tattered remains were then dragged down the main street to the court house, where someone produced a five-gallon can of gasoline. A match was struck, the fire ate through the roof, and the charred body fell to the ground. It remained there for hours until a reinforcement of troops came too late.

Third in 20 Years

Governor Ritchie is said to have already telegraphed Judge Deur and State's Attorney Robins to get all forces of law in motion to apprehend members of the mob. The two are being held responsible for Armwood's being in Princess Anne.

A white man with whom Armwood was riding when he was caught in Baltimore, also held, narrowly escaped being lynched along with the mob's colored victim.

The Princess Anne Academy is located near the scene of the lynching. Armwood was the third colored victim to die at the hands of a mob on Maryland's Eastern Shore during the past 20 years.

Lynchings-1933
Cases of.

Maryland.

3881

Negro Accused in Attack Lynched by Maryland Mob

Constitution 10-19-33

PRINCESS ANNE, Md., Oct. 18. (AP)—A negro accused of attacking an aged white farm woman was dragged from the Somerset county jail tonight by a mob of more than a thousand men, women and children and was lynched.

Atlanta, Ga.

He was hanged to an oak tree just outside the town after the mob had stripped him of part of his clothing, attached a rope to his neck, and pulled him behind an automobile through the main streets of the town.

As the mob made its slow progress toward the scene of the hanging, various members leaped at the negro, and repeatedly knocked him down.

He apparently was dead when the crowd finally reached the oak tree.

Later, the body was cut down and was taken to the public square, where it was burned. The rope was cut into small pieces and distributed among members of the mob as souvenirs.

The negro, George Armwood, was accused of attacking Mrs. Mary Denston, an 81-year-old woman, as she returned to her home Monday after spending the night with her daughter.

He was brought to Princess Anne early today from Baltimore, where he was taken Monday night for safekeeping. County authorities informed Governor Albert C. Ritchie yesterday there would be no trouble and reiterated this belief this afternoon in the face of rumors that a mob would attempt to seize the negro.

In breaking into the jail, the mob overpowered a detail of 25 state police who had been sent to Princess Anne to guard Armwood. A number of the police were injured, but the seriousness of their injuries could not be determined soon after the lynching.

The hanging occurred next to the home of Judge Robert F. Duer, who had attempted to dissuade the crowd early tonight when it first formed at the jail.

The crowd, apparently incensed at the judge's remarks, first went to the judge's home but moved to the neighboring house when they were unable to find a tree sufficiently large.

NEGRO IS LYNCHED BY MOB OF 1,000

Times 10-19-33

Body Is Dragged in Streets of Princess Anne, Md., After Jail Door Is Battered.

New York, N.Y.

TEAR GAS ROUT IS FUTILE

Cursing Throng Returns to Overwhelm State Police—Attack Laid to Victim.

By The Associated Press.

PRINCESS ANNE, Md., Oct. 18.—A mob of more than a thousand men broke into the Somerset County Jail tonight, dragged from his cell a Negro accused of attacking an aged white woman, and lynched him.

The Negro, George Armwood, was hanged. His body then was cut down and dragged about the main streets of the town by the shouting, cursing throng.

The mob, which had been reported forming all afternoon, assembled soon after nightfall and gradually closed in on the jail. Overpowering the State police, the crowd broke into the building, shouting "Lynch him! Lynch him!" The members seized the Negro and surged down the main street.

Injuries Are Reported.

A number of the defending officers were reported injured. Several of them were lying on the ground, apparently unconscious, after the crowd passed on.

Sheriff Luther Dougherty, who arrived at the scene just after the mob was inside the jail, rushed to Armwood's cell, calling:

"Don't take that Negro out of here."

He was pushed aside and the locks of the cell were broken.

Earlier a mêlée occurred outside after the twenty members of the State police guarding the jail had dispersed the mob with tear-gas bombs.

All streets in the vicinity of the jail were then blocked off and the crowd, milling about in the distance and booing and shouting, assembled at some distance from the jail and made no immediate effort to get closer.

Members of the attacking group soon returned with battering rams, however, and made an effort to beat down the only door to the prison. Police attempted to seize the rams and a general fight followed.

Captain Edward McK. Johnson, in charge of the guard detail, immediately called for reinforcements and twenty other men were ordered to report to Princess Anne at once.

Circuit Judge Robert F. Duer, who earlier in the day had assured Governor Ritchie at Annapolis there was little likelihood of any difficulty in keeping the Negro safe, was hissed and booed when he attempted to make a talk. He was unable to continue.

Ritchie Refused Removal.

Just a short time previous to the assembling of the mob, Governor Ritchie had announced that the Negro would not be removed, as he had been assured by Judge Duer and State's Attorney John B. Robins that they were convinced there would be no trouble tonight.

But rumors were current this afternoon that a mob would attempt to take the Negro from the jail and the State officers came to Princess Anne late today to augment the Somerset County officers.

The alleged attack occurred Monday morning about ten miles from Princess Anne. Mrs. Mary Denston, the wife of a farmer, said she was dragged to a clump of woods by a Negro as she was returning home after spending the night with her daughter.

10-19-33

Somerset County was deeply stirred by Mrs. Denston's story and the crowd of men searching for her assailant on Monday was estimated as high as [illegible] persons.

Steps were taken today, before the mob acted, to give Armwood a speedy trial. Judge Duer announced the grand jury would be recalled next Monday and the State's attorney said he would be prepared to commence the actual trial by Tuesday.

Armwood was said by Captain Johnson to have signed a confession. The confession was made in the Baltimore jail, the officer said, after several hours of questioning.

Negro Is Lynched By Maryland Mob

Advertiser 10-19-33

PRINCESS ANNE, MD., Oct. 18—(AP)—A mob of more than a thousand men tonight broke into the Somerset County Jail, dragged a negro accused of attacking an aged white woman from his cell and lynched him.

Montgomery, Ala.

The negro, George Armwood, was hanged and his body then was cut down and was dragged about the main streets of the town by the shouting, cursing throng.

RITCHIE IMPEACHMENT SOUGHT IN LYNCHING

Constitution

Socialists Accuse Maryland Governor of "Criminal Neglect."

10-20-33

BALTIMORE, Oct. 19.—(AP)—While investigations were launched today into last night's lynching in Princess Anne, a demand was made here for the impeachment of Governor Albert C. Ritchie.

Atlanta, Ga.

The demand came from the state committee of the socialist party of Maryland in a special meeting. Ritchie was charged with "criminal neglect of duty."

The committee also asked for removal from office of Judge Robert F. Duer and State's Attorney John B. Robins, of Somerset county, and called for their prosecution "on charges of second-degree manslaughter."

The governor was criticized for having permitted the removal to Princess Anne from Baltimore of George Armwood, a negro, held for assaulting an 81-year-old white farm woman.

"Apparently few people understand the governor's authority in such matters," said Ritchie when informed of the socialists' resolution and the general criticism. "So I have asked the attorney-general to set them straight."

"Governor Ritchie had no authority in the matter," said Attorney-General William Preston Lane Jr. "As a matter of fact, under the Maryland law neither did the judge nor the state's attorney. There is just one individual responsible for the custody of a prisoner, just one individual that can order his removal, and that's the sheriff.

"All Governor Ritchie could do, in fact all anybody except Sheriff Luther Dougherty could do, was to advise the sheriff. And when Sheriff Dougherty came to Baltimore to get that prisoner, he was acting within his rights and neither the governor nor anyone else could stop him. The Maryland law does not give the governor as much authority as some other states."

Armwood was lynched by a mob that stormed the jail and overpowered state police. He was hung to a tree after being dragged behind an automobile through the town's main streets, and his gasoline-saturated nude body was burned in front of the courthouse.

The negro was arrested Monday after Mrs. Mary Denston, the farm woman, was attacked near her home in lower Somerset county. Police said Armwood confessed.

He was brought to Baltimore immediately after his arrest but after spending Tuesday in jail here was taken back to Princess Anne.

In placing the blame on Judge Duer and State's Attorney Robins for the lynching, Ritchie said the state's attorney had insisted that Armwood be returned to Somerset county and Judge Duer had assured him the negro would be safe.

THE MARYLAND LYNCHING.

Times 10-21-33

A Negro who had attacked a woman of 71 was taken out of the Princess Anne jail, whose doors had been beaten in by a mob said to have been composed of "the lowest elements in Somerset County." He was dragged for a mile. One of his ears was almost cut off. He was hanged a block away from the house of the judge who had pleaded in vain with the crowd an hour before. His body was burned. The small squad of State police on duty at the jail did its best. Many of them were injured. Governor RITCHIE has ordered an investigation.

New York, N.Y.

Governor RITCHIE holds the judge and the State's Attorney of Somerset County accountable. Relying on their advice, he did not order the prisoner removed to Baltimore for safety. The Baltimore Sun says that the public officials of Somerset County and the State "are under the necessity of demonstrating that they are not to blame for the success of this crime of mob law," and is uncertain if the Governor was as circumspect as the facts required. But whether the authorities were vigilant enough or used good judgment is a side question. The instant question is the detection, arrest, indictment and punishment of the lynchers. The State Police got the names of seven or eight of them. These are being watched. The arrests of these and others are promised.

The last lynching in the lamentably backward southern region of the Eastern Shore of Maryland occurred last December. The manifestations of the mob spirit are strictly local. In other parts of the State they stir shame and anger. "In this crime of a mob," says The Sun, "is the lynching of civilization in this State." If the local authorities misapprehend their duty or are weak-kneed, "then the law-abiding and honorable citizens of Maryland are entitled to demand that the Governor of the State use the power of the State to protect the laws of the State. And this time they will not tolerate dodging of responsibility."

Negro Accused in Attack Lynched by Maryland Mob

10-19-33

PRINCESS ANNE, Md., Oct. 18. (AP)—A negro accused of attacking an aged white farm woman was dragged from the Somerset county jail tonight by a mob of more than a thousand men, women and children and was lynched.

He was hanged to an oak tree just outside the town after the mob had stripped him of part of his clothing, attached a rope to his neck, and pulled him behind an automobile through the main streets of the town.

As the mob made its slow progress toward the scene of the hanging, various members leaped at the negro, and repeatedly knocked him down.

He apparently was dead when the crowd finally reached the oak tree.

Later, the body was cut down and was taken to the public square, where it was burned. The rope was cut into small pieces and distributed among members of the mob as souvenirs.

The negro, George Armwood, was accused of attacking Mrs. Mary Denston, an 81-year-old woman, as she returned to her home Monday after spending the night with her daughter.

He was brought to Princess Anne early today from Baltimore, where he was taken Monday night for safekeeping. County authorities informed Governor Albert C. Ritchie yesterday there would be no trouble and reiterated this belief this afternoon in the face of rumors that a mob would attempt to seize the negro.

In breaking into the jail, the mob overpowered a detail of 25 state police who had been sent to Princess Anne to guard Armwood. A number of the police were injured, but the seriousness of their injuries could not be determined soon after the lynching.

The hanging occurred next to the home of Judge Robert F. Duer, who had attempted to dissuade the crowd early tonight when it first formed at the jail.

The crowd, apparently incensed at the judge's remarks, first went to the judge's home but moved to the neighboring house when they were unable to find a tree sufficiently large.

NEGRO LYNCHED

Telegraph

Maryland Jail Is Stormed and Prisoner Put to Death

10-19-33

PRINCESS ANNE, Md., Oct. 18 (AP)—A mob of more than a thousand men tonight broke into the Somerset county jail, dragged a Negro accused of attacking an aged white woman from his cell and lynched him.

The Negro, George Armwood, was hanged and his body then was cut down and was dragged about the main streets of the town by the shouting, cursing throng.

Mob of 1,000 Storm Jail, And Lynch Colored Man

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

OCT 19 1933

Princess Anne, Md., Oct. 18 (AP). —A mob of more than a thousand men tonight broke into the Somerset County Jail, dragged a colored man from his cell and lynched him. A number of defending officers were injured.

The victim, George Armwood, was hanged and his body then was cut down and dragged about the main streets of the town by the shouting, cursing throng. Armwood was accused of attacking an aged white farm woman.

Several State policemen were lying on the ground unconscious after the mob passed on.

Sheriff Luther Dougherty, who arrived at the scene just after the mob was inside the jail, rushed to Armwood's cell, calling:

"Don't take that Negro out of here."

He was pushed aside and the locks of the cell were broken.

In an earlier melee five State police and one civilian were injured.

After the twenty members of the State police guarding the jail had disbursed the mob with tear gas bombs.

Members of the attacking group returned with battering rams and made an effort to beat down the only door to the prison. Police attempted to seize the rams and a general fight followed.

Capt. Edward McK. Johnson, head of the State patrolmen, was among those hurt.

Circuit Judge Robert F. Duer, who earlier in the day had assured Gov. Albert C. Ritchie there was little likelihood of any difficulty in keeping the prisoner, was hissed and booed when he attempted to make a talk.

MOB OF 2,000 HANGS NEGRO IN MARYLAND

NEW YORK TIMES

Body Is Dragged in Streets of Princess Anne After the Jail Door Is Battered.

OCT 19 1933

THEN HURLED ON A PYRE

Five Officers Are Hurt as Tear Gas Fails to Repel Crowd—Attack Laid to Victim.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PRINCESS ANNE, Md., Oct. 18. —A mob of nearly 2,000 battered its way into the county prison tonight, dragged out a Negro prisoner accused of attacking an aged white woman and lynched him before a judge's home.

Then the mob cut down the body, dragged it through the main thoroughfares for more than half a mile and tossed it on a burning pyre.

Fifty State policemen and deputies battled vainly with the crowd in front of the jail, tossing tear bombs in an effort to disperse it.

Five policemen were beaten to the ground and the others were swept aside by the fury of townsmen and farmers, who used a heavy wooden battering ram to smash three doors and reach the cell of the terrified prisoner, George Armwood, 24 years old.

Armwood was dragged by the neck through the streets to the home of Judge Robert F. Duer who, earlier in the day, had called the Somerset County grand jury in special session next Monday to hear testimony against the Negro.

Victim's Pleas Futile.

While the prisoner pleaded desperately for his life and members of the mob shouted "lynch him!" A rope was placed about his neck. The other end was swung over the limb of a tree directly in front of the judge's dwelling.

To accompanying shouts of "let him swing," the struggling Negro was hoisted into the air. Five minutes later he was cut down, dead.

Then members of the mob, shouting, seized the loose end of the rope and dragged the body half a mile on Main Street to a blazing pile in the centre of the thoroughfare. The dead man was lifted high by half a dozen men and flung to the flames.

Hundreds of persons, packed so thickly about the fire that police could not fight their way through, watched the body burn.

Armwood, who was arrested on Monday night, confessed to police that he had waylaid Mrs. Mary Denston, 82, on a lonely road near Monokin, eight miles from this place, and had attacked her.

He was smuggled into the county prison this morning, but word soon spread that he was here. Men by the hundred began to gather about noon. They marched about the jail, shouting and demanding that the prisoner be surrendered to them.

A guard of twenty-five men, augmented by Deputy Sheriffs, surrounded the prison. In the afternoon an emergency call for State police was sent to Governor Ritchie at Baltimore. A score of troopers reported in the late afternoon, armed with riot sticks and tear bombs.

In addition, the Governor directed that the American Legion be asked to guard the prisoner. E. C. Young, local post commander, spurned the appeal.

"I have no authority, as commander of this [illegible] Page [illegible] its members as a military unit or for police duty," he said.

"I am willing as a legionnaire to protect the townspeople and their property. However, I have no desire personally as a citizen, as a legionnaire or as a commander of a Legion post to engage in a police duty for the protection of a Negro charged with such an atrocious crime. The laws of our organization forbid such use."

Mr. Young promised that the Legion would patrol the streets to protect the lives and property of citizens in the event of trouble.

Hoping to allay mob feeling, Judge Duer had recalled the grand jury to hear evidence against Armwood and announced that the Somerset court would convene in special session a week from tomorrow to try Armwood.

The crowd became more and more unruly as the afternoon and evening wore on, however, and about 9 o'clock the attack on the jail began.

Boy Slashes Negro's Ear.

By The Associated Press.

PRINCESS ANNE, Md., Oct. 18.—The march to the scene of the lynching of Armwood was wild in the extreme. The mob members seemed crazed, continually leaping on the Negro, even after he fell to the ground and was unable to rise.

One boy, apparently about 18 years old, slashed the Negro's ear almost off with a knife.

Under the oak tree, despite the presence of women and children, all the victim's clothes were torn from his body and he hung there for some minutes nude.

After they had burned the body, the mob members disbanded. In the meantime John Richardson, a white man who was under arrest charged with being an accessory after the fact in the assault on the farm woman, was taken from the jail by officers and was started for Baltimore.

He was accused of taking the Negro away from the vicinity of the alleged attack and transporting him to another section of the country. Threats made by the mob members caused officers to take this precaution.

Governor Refused Removal.

Earlier in the day, while the mob was forming, Governor Ritchie talked to Judge Duer and State's Attorney John D. Robbins and was assured by them that there would be no difficulty. After this, the Governor issued a statement saying he would not have the negro removed.

Governor Ritchie, after being informed of the lynching, said he had telegrapher Judge Duer and the State's Attorney that the State was looking to them to set in motion all the forces of law to apprehend the mob members.

He ordered Police Commissioner Charles Gaither of Baltimore to send four officers to begin an outside inquiry.

The last lynching in Maryland occurred in the same section of Maryland's Eastern shore two years ago. Matthew Williams, a Negro who had shot his employer, was taken from the Peninsula Hospital at Salisbury and hanged on a tree in the courthouse lawn. He had received a wound when he attempted suicide after shooting his employer.

Tonight's lynching was the fifteenth lynching in Maryland since 1885.

Maryland

Lynchings-1933
Cases of.

3882

NEWS
Princess Anne -
OCT 21 1933 Md.

Negro Lynched By Infuriated Mob

Jail Besieged By Vast Crowd That Overwhelmed State Police and County Authorities That Sought In Vain to Protect Woman's Assailant.

5,000 PERSONS SAID TO HAVE WITNESSED EXECUTION

Actual Lynchers Said to Have Come From Adjoining Counties and The Eastern Shore of Virginia Who Arrived Shortly Before Assault On Jail.

Shortly before 9:00 o'clock last Wednesday night, George Armwood twenty-three-year-old Negro farm hand, was dragged from the county jail here and hanged on the limb of a tree on a Main Street lawn.

The crowd started gathering in the county seat shortly after six o'clock and by eight o'clock it is estimated that a crowd of approximately five thousand persons had assembled on the several streets leading to the jail. About this hour they started milling around the jail and the State police and deputy sheriffs guarding the building were forced to use tear gas bombs to disperse the mob. For a while the efforts of the officers were successful, but this was before the arrival of several hundred grim-faced men, said to have been mostly from Worcester county and the Eastern Shore of Virginia.

In the first crowd there were mostly young men bent on excitement. They were more or less good-natured and were certainly not the kind to take the lead in a lynching. As proof of this fact, they turned in the fire alarm and attempted to take out the fire engine, their purpose being to give the deefnding officers a drenching with the hose. When the local fire chief refused permission for the engines to be used for that purpose they left the scene.

Perhaps thirty minutes before the jail was entered Judge Robert F. Duer appealed to the crowd to disperse and let the law take its course. He said that the Grand Jury would be reassembled on Monday and that the accused Negro would be given a speedy trial. Dr. George W. Jarman made a similar appeal but the crowd yelled them down, saying that there would be no need for the jury, and yelling that they wanted no more Euel Lee cases.

Judge Duer left and the crowd gre wthicker. Some twenty-five State patrolmen stationed on the outside of the jail, tried in vain to push the beseigers away. They threw one tear-gas bomb that was caught by a member of the mob, who tossed it back at the officers, where it exploded as it struck one of them. Finally bricks started flying in the general direction of the officers. Some bystanders say that these were first thrown after one of the patrolmen had used his blackjack on a member of the mob. Others say that the blackjacks were not brought into play by the officers until they started using their clubs. No matter when the bricks started flying, they were used with accuracy and some ten members of the force were injured, some of them seriously. Captain Johnson, in charge of the police, was knocked out on his feet when a brick hit him on the head. Several others were seriously injured and were rushed in an unconscious condition to local physicians.

At a few minutes of nine the complection of the mob seemed to undergo a complete change. Seevral hundred men drove up Beckford Avenue in trucks and cars from the South. They got out of their machines and marched steadily on the jail. Heavy battering rams were secured from a nearby lumber yard and were immediately put into play on the heavily barred front door of the jail. The few defending officers that were left were pushed rudely aside and the timber was turned on the door. One officer caught in the jam was struck in the stomach by the timber and was so seriously injured that he had to be rushed to the hospital.

The door soon gave way and the leaders of the mob surged into the building where they were met by Sheriff Luther Daugherty, who attempted to stay their progress by appeals to let the law take its course. These, of course, were unavailing. The keys to the cell in which Armwood was confined were found and the door opened. Armwood was rushed out the front door and thrown to the crowd assembled there. A rope was thrown around the man's neck and he was ordered to get up and walk. When he made no move to do this a dozen hands grabbed the rope and started dragging him up the street. Those who saw this procession say that he was dead before he had been taken a hundred yards. Up Broad street and down Main Street the procession moved. Down the latter thoroughfare the man was dragged some six blocks to the home of Judge Duer. When no suitable tree was found in his yard on whcih the victim could be hung he was dragged to the next yard, where he was strung up to a large maple.

He was only allowed to stay there a few minutes before he was released and the body taken back up town to the Court House Square, where gasoline was poured over the then nude body. As this was lighted the body was hoisted over an electric cable where it hung a few minutes before the rope burned in two and the crumpled mass of flesh fell to the road, where it stayed until town authorities had it moved away.

In the mob were persons of all types, men, women and even children, many of whom cheered first as the jail was broken into, then when the victim was thrown out of the building. Again a roar went up when the limp figure was strung up to the tree and finally when the corpse was burned.

After the violence was all over, parts of two companies of State militia were rushed up from Crisfield and Pocomoke. State authorities were not in any sense to blame for the tardy arrival of troops as they had been advised that there was no occasion for undue alarm and even an hour before the lynching the State Commander was told that the crowd was not in an angry mood and probably nothing would happen.

Last Monday morning Armwood committed one of the most atrocious crimes in the history of Somerset county. Sitting on a store front porch in the village of Manokin, he saw Mrs. Mary Denston, a seventy-one year-old resident of Manokin walking down a road that leads to her home. He got up and deliberately followed her until she entered a piece of woods that borders the road where he caught up with and overpowered her, dragging her bodily into the woods where he accomplished his dastardly purpose after stripping her of every vestage of clothing.

Leaving her alone in the woods he gathered up her clothing and fled with them, concealing them some half a mile distant in the woods. Later Mr. Marion Stacey, working on the road, heard Mrs. Denston's screams. Investigating, he found her badly bewildered. Wrapping his coat about her, he carried her to her home and notified authorities. Mrs. Denston knew her assailant, so no time was lost in following useless trails. Sheriff Daugherty summoned all his deputies. Wicomico and Worcester counties sent officers and a number of State police responded to the call for assistance.

For a while it was thought that the Negro was in hiding in the nearby woods, but finally the trail led to the home of John Richardson, by whom Armwood had been employed. Richardson at first denied any knowledge of his whereabouts but in the face of a threatening mob and close questioning by police he admitted having carried Armwood to Pocomoke City and agreed to direct the officers to the home of his (Richardson's) brother-in-law, just above the Virginia line, where Richardson "thought" the Negro might be. Sure enough, he was found in hiding there. Handcuffing the man he was rushed to Salisbury by way of Snow Hill, avoiding a posse of civilian searchers who were congregated in Pocomoke. Fearing violence ,the prisoner was soon started on his way to Baltimore where he was lodged in jail until late Tuesday night.

Somerset county authorities feared no violence, so they ordered the man brought back to the local jail. Escorted by the Sheriff and some twenty--six State police, he was placed in the Somerset county jail during the early hours Wednesday morning. The State police stayed around all day, but there was no evidence of violence and no threats were heard. But this proved to be the lull before the storm.

Mexico

Lynchings-1933
Cases of.

3883

Three Chinese Lynched By Enraged Mexicans

Advertiser

MEXICO CITY, May 24.—(AP)—Three Chinese were lynched early today at Villa Aldama, near Chihuahua City, when anti-Chinese committees launched a drive throughout the State of Chihuahua.

5-25-33

The Chinese, Alfonso Yong, Jose Huie, and Indefonso Fong, were reportedly held as suspects in a criminal attack [illegible] year-old girl, whose body was found yesterday.

Montgomery, Ala.

The Chinese were dragged from jail and beaten to death. Police sent from Chihuahua City restored order.

At Chihuahua City Mexicans with clubs refused to allow Chinese ranchers to enter the city to sell vegetables, while others picketed Chinese stores. Chinese closed their stores and asked for guarantees.

Chinese Lynched by Mexican Mobs

MEXICO CITY, May 24 (AP)—Three Chinese were lynched early today at Villa Aldama, near Chihuahua City, when anti-Chinese committees launched a drive throughout the state of Chihuahua. The Chinese were reportedly held as suspects in a criminal attack and murder of a 13-year-old girl whose body was found yesterday.

The Chinese were dragged from jail and beaten to death.

Advertiser
5-25-33
Montgomery, Ala.

Lynchings-1933
Cases

Mississippi

MOB LYNCHES NEGRO NEAR COLUMBUS, MISS.

COLUMBUS, Miss., July 22—(AP) Officers here today were advised that a negro whose identity was not immediately established had been hanged by a mob at Caledonia, small Lowndes county town 15 miles north of here.

The message to county authorities said the negro had been lynched after he was alleged to have "insulted a white woman."

Mob in Mississippi Hangs Negro Accused of "Insulting Woman"

CALEDONIA, Miss., July 23.—On the excuse that he had "insulted a white woman," a Negro whom authorities did not trouble to identify was hanged by an organized mob here Friday.

NEW YORK, July 23.—A telegram to the sheriff of Lowndes County, Miss., from William L. Patterson, national secretary of the International Labor Defense, today, demanded the immediate arrest and death penalty for all officials and other persons implicated in the lynching of a Negro at Caledonia. A similar telegram was sent to Governor Mike Sennet Conner of Mississippi.

Negro Hanged By Mississippi Mob

COLUMBUS, MISS., July 22.—(AP)—The lynching of a negro by a mob at Caledonia, small town 15 miles north of here was reported to authorities here this morning but officers said late today they were without details of the affair.

What official action, if any, was planned, was not disclosed. Deputy Sheriff Homer Kilpatrick said this afternoon that no officers had been sent to the scene to investigate, so far as he knew.

The original message to Lowndes County authorities said the negro had been hanged to a tree by a band of unidentified men after he had "insulted a white woman."

Efforts of news men to secure details from residents of the remote Caledonia community were met in some instances by outright denials that any lynching had occurred. Others questioned, however, admitted that a negro had been hanged but these declined to give the negro's name or to discuss the case.

Information gathered by piece-meal said the negro had made an improper proposal to a white woman after calling at her home and that the woman had sent the negro away with a promise to meet him in a nearby cotton field. The negro, reports said, went to the field at the designated time and was there met by a band of men who were waiting for him. The band was alleged to have seized the negro and hanged him with a rope to a tree limb, afterwards dispersing quietly.

Mystery Enshrouds Alleged Lynching

COLUMBUS, Miss.—Mystery shrouds what may be the "lynching of the year" which is reported to have taken place in Caledonia, 15 miles north of here. Reports were made that a Negro was lynched last Friday for "insulting a white woman."

Officials have made no effort to investigate the rumor. Attempts to obtain details from residents of Caledonia resulted in some making outright denials that the lynching had taken place while others admitted that the rumors were true.

It is said that the Negro went to a farm house and made an improper proposal to the woman. The woman sent him away with the understanding that he was to meet her later in a nearby cotton field. When he appeared at the designated time, he was met by a band of white men, who seized him and hanged him to a tree.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
July 23, 1933

LYNCH REPORT UNCONFIRMED

Mississippi Hears Negro Died For 'Insult.'

COLUMBUS, Miss., July 22 (AP)—The lynching of a Negro boy by a mob at Caledonia, small town 15 miles north of here, was reported to authorities here this morning, but officers said late today they were without details of the affair.

What official action, if any, was planned, was not disclosed. Deputy Sheriff Homer Kilpatrick said this afternoon that no officers had been sent to the scene to investigate, so far as he knew.

The original message to Lowndes county authorities said the Negro had been hanged to a tree by a band of unidentified men after he had "insulted a white woman."

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Information gathered by piecemeal said the Negro had made an improper proposal to a white woman after calling at her home and that the woman had sent the Negro away with a promise to meet him in a near-by cotton field. The Negro, reports said, went to the field at the designated time and was there met by a band of men who were waiting for him. The band was alleged to have seized the Negro and hanged him with a rope to a tree limb, afterwards, dispersing quietly.

Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel
July 22, 1933

NEGRO IS LYNCHED

Mississippi Mob Hangs Alleged Insulter of Woman

By Associated Press

COLUMBUS, Miss., July 22.—Officers here today were advised that a negro whose identity was not immediately established had been hanged by a mob at Caledonia, small Lowndes County town 15 miles north of here.

The message to county authorities said the negro had been lynched after he was alleged to have "insulted" a white woman.

N. Y. EVENING POST

JUL 22 1933

MAN IS REPORTED LYNCHED IN SOUTH

Victim of Mob at Caledonia, Miss., Alleged to Have "Insulted a White Woman"

COLUMBUS, Miss., July 22 (AP).—Officers here today were advised that a Negro, whose identity was not immediately established, had been hanged by a mob at Caledonia, small Lowndes County town fifteen miles north of here.

The message to county authorities said the Negro had been lynched after he was alleged to have "insulted a white woman."

NEW YORK WORLD—Telegram

JUL 22 1933

NEGRO REPORTED LYNCHED.

By the Associated Press.

COLUMBUS, Miss., July 22.—Officers here today were advised that an unidentified Negro had been hanged by a mob at Caledonia. He was alleged to have "insulted a white woman."

Huntsville, Ala., Times
July 23, 1933

NEGRO IS LYNCHED BY MISSISSIPPIANS

COLUMBUS, Miss, July 22 (AP)—The lynching of a negro by a mob at Caledonia, small town 15 miles north of here, was reported to authorities here this morning but officers said late today they were without details of the affair.

The original message to Lowndes county authorities said the negro had been hanged to a tree by a band of unidentified men after he had "insulted a white woman."

Efforts of news men to secure details from residents of the remote Caledonia community were met in some instances by outright denials that any lynching had occurred. Others questioned, however, admitted that a negro had been hanged, but these declined to give the negro's name or to discuss the case.

Sheriff Homer Kilpatrick said no officers had been sent to the scene to investigate, so far as he knew.

The original message to Lowndes County authorities said that the Negro had been hanged to a tree by a band of unidentified men after he had "insulted a white woman."

Efforts to obtain details from residents of the remote Caledonia community were met in some instances by outright denials that any lynching had occurred. Others however, admitted that a Negro had been hanged, but declined to give the man's name or to discuss the case.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
July 23, 1933

Jacksonville, Fla., Times-Union
July 23, 1933

NEGRO IS LYNCHED

COLUMBUS, Miss., July 22, (AP) Officers here today were advised that a negro whose identity was not immediately established had been hanged by a mob at Caledonia, small Lowndes County town 15 miles north of here.

NEW YORK TIMES

JUL 23 1933

REPORT NEGRO HANGED.

But Villagers in Mississippi Withhold Lynching Details.

COLUMBUS, Miss., July 22 (AP).—The lynching of a Negro by a mob at Caledonia, small town 15 miles north of here, was reported to authorities here this morning, but officers said late today that they were without details of the affair.

What official action, if any, was planned, was not disclosed. Deputy

NEGRO LYNCHED BY MISSISSIPPI GANG IS REPORT

Caledonia Scene Of Alleged Affair; Authorities Are Without Details

COLUMBUS, Miss., July 22.—(AP)—The lynching of a negro by a mob at Caledonia, small town 15 miles north of here, was reported to authorities here this morning but officers said late today they were without details of the affair.

What official action, if any, was planned, was not disclosed. Deputy Sheriff Homer Kilpatrick said this afternoon that no officers had been sent to the scene to investigate, so far as he knew.

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LYNCHED MAN APPARENTLY NOT SLAYER OF CROSBYS

The negro man lynched Saturday in Lowndes County, 15 miles from Columbus, Miss., is apparently not Jesse Patterson, the confessed slayer of Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Crosby. Relatives of the Crosby people here were notified by Columbus officers Saturday night. Patterson had been kept placed "in one of the safest jails in Mississippi." Various rumors as to Patterson's whereabouts have been secret by authorities since they announced he was returned to Mississippi after his arrest last Monday. The Crosbys were slain in Lowndes county on a farm six miles from Columbus. the negro's whereabouts and possible violence to him have proven without foundation, according to official sources.

Jackson, Miss., News
July 22, 1933

LOWNDES MOB HANGS NEGRO AT CALEDONIA

Lynching Aftermath Of "Insult," County Authorities Told

COLUMBUS, July 22—Officers here today were advised that a negro whose identity was not immediately established had been hanged by a mob at Caledonia, small Lowndes county town 15 miles north of here.

The message to county authorities said the negro had been lynched after he was alleged to have "insulted a white woman."

Columbus, Miss., Dispatch
July 23, 1933

REPORT LYNCHING NEAR CALEDONIA

Official Confirmation Lacking That Negro Had Been Hanged

The reported hanging of a negro whose identity was never learned, at Caledonia, last night appeared to be a closed incident.

Officers were advised that the negro was hanged by a mob from the limb of a tree because he was alleged to have "insulted a white woman."

Other than that there was little to be learned.

Homer Kilpatrick, deputy sheriff, said the hanging had not been officially reported, and that no investigation had been made by his office. He said apparently no action would be taken by authorities.

Residents of Caledonia who came to Columbus confirmed reports of the lynching but would not reveal the name of the victim.

Leading citizens of Caledonia declared over the telephone there had been no lynching.

No one would say what had been done with the body of the negro.

Authentic reports reaching officers said the negro attempted to make a date with a white woman at Caledonia, telling her to meet him in a little while in a cotton field near her house.

The woman reported her conversation and when the negro reached the rendezvous instead of the woman he found a band of men.

Clarksville, Tenn., Leaf-Chronicle

July 22, 1933

NEGRO LYNCHED

COLUMBUS, MISS., JULY. 22.—(AP)—Officers were advised that a negro whose identity was not immediately learned, had been hanged by a mob at Coledonis, a small town 15 miles north of here. The message to county authorities said the negro had been lynched after he was alleged to have insulted a white woman.

Nashville, Tenn. Tennessean
July 23, 1933

NEGRO REPORTED LYNCHED

Mississippi Officers, However, Have No Word of Affair.

COLUMBUS, Miss., July 22—(AP)—The lynching of a negro by a mob at Caledonia, small town 15 miles north of here, was reported to authorities here this morning but officers said late today they were without details of the affair.

What official action, if any, was planned, was not disclosed. Deputy Sheriff Homer Kilpatrick said this afternoon that no officers had been sent to the scene to investigate so far as he knew.

The original message to Lowndes county authorities said the negro had been hanged to a tree by a band of unidentified men after he had "insulted a white woman."

Clarksdale, Miss., Register

July 22, 1933

Negro Lynched Near Columbus

COLUMBUS, Miss., July 22.—(AP)—Officers here today were advised that a negro whose identity was not immediately established had been hanged by a mob at Caledonia, small Lowndes county town, 15 miles north of here. A message to county authorities said the negro had been lynched after he was alleged to have

Church Deacon Lynched by Mob

Bullet-Riddled Body Thrown on Steps

Minter City, Miss., Sept. 22.—(Special.)—"Let this be a lesson to all darkies." Thus read a sign painted in red on a large cardboard which was placed beside the bullet-riddled body of Richard Roscoe, 39 years old, deacon of a Baptist church here and a well-known farmer, as it lay in the front yard of his home.

A mob of white men, women and children lynched Roscoe Monday afternoon after news spread throughout the community that he had attacked a white man, J. E. Matthews, dragged him from his bed and fired 35 bullets into his body.

Not satisfied, the bullet-riddled form of the victim was tied to the rear of the sheriff's automobile and paraded through principal streets as though the members of the mob were bent on having a Roman holiday.

Later, in order to add insult to injury and to show their contempt and disregard for the law, the mob proceeded to Roscoe's home where they deposited the ghastly corpse on the steps of the house.

Deacon Lynched; Dragged Through St. Behind Sheriff's Car

MINTER CITY, Miss.—Richard Roscoe, 39-year-old Negro deacon, was lynched here last week, his body dragged through the streets tied to the sheriff's automobile, and deposited on the steps of his house with a sign saying "let this be a lesson to all darkies."

According to eye witnesses, Roscoe was attacked by J. F. Matthews, an agent of the B. G. Humphries plantation, as he was picking cotton in the fields. When Roscoe resisted the attack, Matthews fired three bullets into him, but Roscoe, wounded as he was, took the gun away from him and struck back. Friends took him home to have his wounds dressed.

Matthews came back in an hour later with a gang of white landlords, took Roscoe out of bed, and fired 35 bullets into his body.

His body was dragged behind the sheriff's automobile through the principal streets of the town, and then thrown onto the steps of his home.

The lynching of Roscoe is the 28th reported this year in the United States, and the third reported from Mississippi.

Lynchings - 1933
Cases of.

Mississippi.

3868

Special to The Commercial Appeal.
LOUISVILLE, MISS., July 12-Accused of slaying a 70-year old negro man as retaliation for a slap given a youth by the negro, 17 men were indicted here by the Winston County grand jury and 15 men are in jail here now awaiting trial Monday.

The body of Reuben McCou, the victim, was found riddled with bullets in a drainage canal four miles southwest of here three months ago and an investigation conducted by District Attorney Ford resulted in the arrests and the indictments.

Commercial Appeal
July 13, 1933
Memphis, Tenn.

Lynchings - 1933
Cases of.

Missouri.

3884

BUFFALO, N. Y.
TIMES
NOV 29 1933

Hanging of Attack Suspect 'Bungled,' Says Witness

Man Who Watched Wrecking of Jail Asserts Negro Was Given No Chance for Statement Before Noose Was Put Around Neck

Lloyd Warner, who was hanged by a mob at St. Joseph, Mo., last night, was burned alive, A. M. (Pat) Olmsted says in the following eye-witness account written for the United Press.

By A. M. (PAT) OLMSTED
Copyright, 1933, United Press

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., Nov. 29.—They didn't hang Lloyd Warner. They burned him alive. I saw it all from start to finish.

The mob started to gather about 5 p. m. but they were good-natured then. The sheriff was kidding them and nothing would have happened had not three river workers taken taken charge of things. They didn't say much except "Get me that" or "Do this" as they went about breaking into the jail. It was very business like.

Of course, excitement mounted and permeated the mob of at least 10,000. There were lots of women along and many sightseers who didn't take part. There was at least 1000 from out of town.

Cheers Greet Surrender

About 9 o'clock, the mob tried to enter the jail through the courthouse next door. Through a passageway they got to the second floor of the jail but were unable to go further. So they went back to batter their way in.

On the third floor were Sheriff Otto Theisen, his deputies, two newspapermen and National Guardsmen. They were armed with tear gas and pistols but not a shot was fired except by the mob.

"You are plenty of Irishmen and I am but one German. You are too many for me boys. I'll turn him over to you." the sheriff said.

The mob cheered and shouted.

Hanging Bungled

The Negro, clinging to every object [redacted] reach, tried to hold himself back. Warner was dragged a block toward the center of town to a small tree across from the hotel Robidoux (the city's leading hotel.)

They tied a heavy rope, I believe it was an inch and a half rope around his neck. But for a hanging, the job was bungled.

It was tied so that it only threw his head back instead of forward so as to break it. He hung and struggled as the crowd yelled. Laughter rang out on all sides.

Warner wanted to talk but they wouldn't let him.

Certain He Still Lived

Then someone ran across the street, got seven gallons of gasoline from a filling station. Warner had on pants, shoes and socks which they drenched and set afire.

I think Warner still was conscious. I know he was still alive.

He was burned alive.

He didn't cry out.

The fire went out. More gas was thrown on him and lighted again. Then the rope burned in two.

As the body slumped, wood was piled around and the fire was lighted a third time.

STANDARD UNION
B'klyn, N.Y.
NOV 29 1933

Colored Attacker of Girl Taken From St. Joseph Jail and Hanged in Street.

MOB IGNORES SOLDIERS

State Starts Investigation But County Makes no Move to Punish the Killers.

Missouri was the third State this week to experience mob violence. A throng of citizens at St. Joseph fought police officers and National Guardsmen and hanged and burned Lloyd Warner, 19-year-old colored youth, accused of attacking a white girl.

Some eye-witnesses of the incident said the youth was still alive when he was thrown on a fire and burned.

In Maryland four men accused of being members of a mob that lynched an aged negro last month were to be turned over to County authorities, today by Governor Ritchie after habeas corpus writs were obtained. This probably means the four alleged lynchers will never go to trial.

San Jose, Cal., quieted down from the excitement that attended the lynching of Thomas Thurmond and John Holmes, kidnapers and slayers of Brooke Hart.

By DAN ROGERS
(United Press Staff Correspondent)

St. Joseph, Mo., Nov. 29.—A mob of 9,000 persons defied a tear gas barrage and a national guard tank corps early today and lynched a 19-year-old colored youth, who had confessed to attacking a white girl. Many women, who laughed and screamed wildly were in the mob.

Gasoline was thrown on the still breathing body of Lloyd Warner, swung eight feet above the pavement of a downtown intersection in the heart of St. Joseph. An approving roar went up from the throng when flames leaped over his clothing.

It was the second outbreak of mob violence in widely separated parts of the country since the lynching of two white men for the Hart kidnaping in California Sunday night. As in California, the mob battered jail doors with a long section of heavy pipe. The jail was virtually wrecked in the battle before Warner was surrendered to the mob.

No Arrests or Clues

Police Chief Charles Enos said today he had made no arrests and that he had no clues as to the identity of the mob leaders.

Assistant Attorney General William Sawyer came to St. Joseph from Jefferson City, the State Capital, to conduct an investigation. Attorney General Roy McKittrick had ordered him to investigate reports that the lynching was planned yesterday at a luncheon at a local hotel.

The youth was surrendered by Sheriff Otto Theisen when but one thin door remained between the prisoner and the mob.

The bitter battle had been waged for five hours. Defending officers had exhausted their tear gas. Theisen said he feared for the lives of ten other colored men and 60 white prisoners confined in the jail.

The boy's victim, a Jewess 21 years old, is in a hospital here in a critical condition. The attack, which occurred Sunday night, became known after Warner's confession late yesterday. She will be mutilated for life if she recovers, physicians said. Her name was withheld.

Governor Tries Hard

Gov. Guy B. Park, who had previously said a lynching was "impossible" in Missouri, tried strenuously to save Warner. National Guardsmen summoned from nearby cities to reinforce the St. Joseph Tank Company arrived too late to help.

The Governor and Attorney General Roy McKittrick said a thorough investigation would be made today. St. Joseph authorities, however, planned no action against the mob or its leaders.

Warner had dragged his victim into an alley after she alighted from a bus near her home.

The mob started forming at 5 P. M. yesterday. At first they were good natured. The sheriff talked to them, called them by name. He feared no serious trouble.

When the temper of the mob changed, the sheriff concealed his prisoner, told them he had been removed to another city and admitted a committee to search for Warner. They reported that the negro could not be found but the mob refused to believe its own representatives.

Three hours later the crowd numbered several thousand and determined leaders moved on the jail. The mob had grown to almost 10,000 when the sheriff was forced to surrender his prisoner. He slipped out the back door to address the mob.

"I won't go into the story about how it takes 20 Irishmen to beat a Dutchman. But I'm just one Dutchman and you are too many for me. You can have him, boys, I know when I'm licked," he said.

Mob Cheers Wildly

The mob cheered wildly.

"Clear out of here, send in four men and I'll give him to you," the Sheriff said. This was done, the terrified negro clutching the bars and door facings as he was dragged out.

The howling mob had thrown bricks through jail windows and wrecked the Sheriff's home, in the front of the same building. Furniture, vases and statuary were smashed. The jail property room was looted of prisoners' personal belongings and clothing. The building reeked of tear gas.

The heavy barred front door of the jail was pulled from the brick wall by a truck hitched to a log chain. A second door was battered down with a long section of iron pipe.

Tear gas bombs and cartridges which officers poured into the mob failed to stop its progress. Participants, gasping and crying from its effects, relieved each other so that the attack on the prison was constant.

The Government tanks, with machine guns trained, were ignored. Drivers were compelled to stop or crush members of the throng jammed in front of the tanks.

Tanks Are Demanned

When they stopped, infuriated citizens pulled open doors of the tanks and dragged crews out. Motors were smashed and gasoline drained from the engines of war. At no time did the guardsmen fire on the mob. They were under orders not to do so.

A tree on the courthouse lawn was selected. Objection was raised that there was no light. He was dragged a half block farther to a street light, across the street from the leading hotel, the Roubidoux.

Slow to move, the youth was struck in the nose and stabbed in the back twice. He screamed once. Blood flowed down his naked chest as he was hauled up on the rope's end.

Gasoline was thrown up on him as he kicked. A match was applied. It flashed up, went out. The process was repeated and this time the rope burned through. Doors and window sills from a vacant house were torn out, piled around him and fired as the body lay on the pavement.

Many Women in Mob

Women spat in his face. His charred body was kicked repeatedly. A member of the mob seized a smoking arm and turned the body about when a photographer wanted a good view. As the photographer's flash boomed, the crowd cheered and asked that pictures be sent them for Christmas.

Their frenzy spent, hundreds of the mob remained about the body after the burning corpse was extinguished by the Fire Department. Many women were among the remaining members of the mob.

Sighteeers paraded the block between the wrecked jail and the tree on which Warner had been hanged. The demolished jail remained open and many of the mob, their task completed, wandered through the building chatting with the Sheriff and his deputies.

They congratulated the Sheriff for surrendering the man.

Lynchings - 1933
Cases of.

Missouri.

3885

NEGRO LYNCHED BY MISSOURI MOB

Telegraph

Mob Storms Jail at St. Joseph and Takes Man Accused of Assault on White Girl

11-29-33

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., Nov. 28 (AP) —Lloyd Warner, 19-year-old Negro, who confessed an attack on a white girl, was hanged to a tree on the courthouse lawn tonight by a mob which seized him in the Buchanan county jail.

Macon, Ga.

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., Nov. 28 (AP)—Members of a crowd of 4,000 tonight attacked the Buchanan county jail with the asserted purpose of lynching Lloyd Warner, 19, a Negro quoted by police as confessing he attacked a 21-year-old white girl here Sunday night.

One group seized a piece of five-inch pipe and stormed the jail entrance. Sheriff Otto Theisen, declining to call for the aid of the national guard, said he believed the prisoner was amply protected.

The crowd had swelled rapidly from a throng the sheriff estimated an hour earlier at 600 persons.

Officers said Warner, who seized the girl on her way home from a theater, dragged her into an alley and left her bound with her stockings after the attack, had assaulted a Negro woman six months before, but escaped prosecution.

The group with the pipe soon abandoned the attack on the jail door and the crowd surged aimlessly about, apparently lacking leaders.

At 8:40 o'clock it was reported an agreement had been reached with the sheriff's office whereby three mob members would be admitted to the jail to ascertain whether the Negro was there.

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., Nov. 28.—(AP)—Lloyd Warner, 19-year-old negro, who confessed an attack on a white girl, was hanged to a tree on the courthouse lawn tonight by a mob of [illegible] which seized him in the Buchanan county jail.

While the body swung in the air, members of the mob applied torches, flaming gasoline soaked rags.

Birmingham, Ala., News
November 29, 1933

NEGRO IS LYNCHED AS SOLDIERS FAIL

Maryland Suspects To Ask Habeas Corpus Release In Armwood Case

(By The Associated Press)

Another lynching was added Wednesday to two which preceded it early this week.

A 19-year-old Negro was taken from jail in St. Joseph, Mo., and hanged from an elm tree to the cries of "string him up" from a crowd of 7,000, including many women. The crime for which he was under arrest was an attack upon a white girl Sunday night.

After the hanging the body was soaked with gasoline and set afire.

The week's previous lynchings were those at San Jose, Calif., of two men who had confessed the kidnaping and murder of Brooke Hart.

Echoes of still another lynching were heard from Maryland where efforts were made Wednesday to release by habeas corpus proceedings four men arrested by state soldiers Tuesday. The four are charged with participating in the lynching of a Negro several weeks ago.

TWO DIE, ONE A HERO

KANSAS CITY — (AP) — Two Negroes died violent deaths in the sister states of Missouri and Kansas Tuesday night, within 100 miles of each other.

One was a hero; the other the object of a mob's hatred.

At St. Joseph, Mo., Lloyd Warner, 19, confessed attacker of two women, was hanged and burned to death.

In Topeka, the capital city of Kansas, Benjamin J. Davidson, night jailer, lost his life as he frustrated the escape of Cecil Thornburgh, Kansas desperado.

Lloyd Warner, the 19-year-old Negro, died in flames at the end or a rope Tuesday night before the eyes of a mob of 7,000 which battered its way through national guardsmen and peace officers to seize him in the Buchanan County Jail, St. Joseph, Mo.

Warner was hanged to an elm tree near the courthouse, drenched with gasoline and set afire. Women and children watched him die. Some were friends of the white girl of 21, who, officers said, Warner assaulted in an alleyway here Sunday night.

"String him up," shouted from many throats, drowned out the last attempt of the muscular young Negro to speak.

Terror-stricken and stripped to the waist, he was pulled from a third floor cell by four young members of the mob, beaten, kicked and cursed.

"I'm a fighting Dutchman," said Sheriff Otto Theisen, 60, "but there are too many Irishmen here for me."

Tear gas fumes, remnant of the defense of 40 city and county officers and the hastily mobilized members of the Thirty-Fifth Tank Company, Missouri National Guard, floated on the stairway down which the Negro was dragged to death.

He was hanged and burned about a block from the jail after impatient members of the throng decided against a plan to lynch him at the scene of the assault, a mile away.

The girl victim of the attack, waylaid on her way home from a motion picture theater, was reported near hysteria. Battered and bruised by her assailant, she was found in the alley tied with her own stockings.

Officers said she was the second woman Warner had attacked. He was accused of assaulting a Negro girl six months ago, but there was no prosecution.

Machines was called into play for both the offense and defense in the jail warfare, started soon after dusk with the hurling of stones and a vain attempt to break in the front door with a 5-inch pipe as a battering ram.

Officers scattered the crowd with tear gas.

Gov. Park ordered out the tank company.

The mob obtained a truck and moved it around to the grilled back door. A chain was attached and the truck took the door away.

Sheriff Theisen drew a revolver as the mob started in. He held the leaders at bay momentarily. They brushed passed him as tear gas fogged the corridor.

Police and sheriff's deputies battled hand to hand with the crowd, but were pressed back by the heavy odds. Tear gas bombs exploded at intervals. A few wild shots were fired.

State highway patrol headquarters appealed to Northwest Missouri peace officers to "rush all available men to St. Joseph." The mob had won, however, before reinforcements arrived.

The noose was placed on Warner's neck, gasoline obtained from a nearby filling station was hurled upon his trousers and a torch was applied. Later men built a fire beneath the body. The flames burned the rope and the body fell upon the embers.

At 1:05 a.m. Fire Chief Leo J. Urbanksi drove to the scene and extinguished the fire. The body was taken to an undertaking establishment.

Officers said Warner sought to plead guilty Tuesday to the assault charge. Judge J. V. Gaddy, however, directed postponement of the case until Wednesday.

"I don't want to rush things," he said.

Gov. Park, in a statement Wednesday, said that "there is no justification" for the lynching Tuesday night of Lloyd Warner, Negro, at St. Joseph.

"While it appears from press reports that Lloyd Warner, the Negro boy lynched by a mob in St. Joseph Tuesday night, confessed to a heinous crime, punishable by death, yet there is no justification for the action of the mob," said the governor.

"Mob violence, whether in the punishment of crime or in attempts to obtain alleged civil rights, is always wrong and is destructive of good government," the chief executive said.

"To condone such an offense is to encourage lawlessness, deny the efficiency of the courts and the power of constituted authorities."

The jail wrecked Tuesday night three years ago withstood the assault of a mob seeking Raymond Gunn, a Negro accused of the brutal slaying of Velma Colter, a young Maryville, Mo., school teacher.

A few days later, however, Gunn was seized by a crowd on his way from jail to court at Maryville. He was taken to the frame schoolhouse where Miss Colter was slain, chained to the roof and burned with the building.

At Baltimore a hearing for the release off two alleged participants in the Negro lynching at Princess Anne Oct. 18 on habeas corpus writs Wednesday laid the way for Atty. Gen. Lane to make public the evidence on which he sought the arrest of the lynching mob.

William H. Thompson and Irving Adkins, residents of Princess Anne were returned to their home town in the company of Sheriff Luther Daugherty and three deputies and escorted by Harry C. Martin, warden of the Baltimore jail.

The hearing set for 3 p.m., before Judge Robert R. Duer, presented the opportunity for the attorney general to reveal his information. He has declared he did not want to take it into the secret deliberations of the Grand Jury.

David C. Winnebrenner, secretary of state, announced in Annapolis Wednesday that affidavits of witnesses against the Princess Anne lynch suspects will be delivered at Princess Anne Wednesday afternoon and that the witnesses themselves will not be sent.

Thompson, a druggist, and Adkins, a special officer, with William P. Hearn, of Shad Point, and William S. McQuay, of Pocomoke City, were brought to the Baltimore jail late Tuesday after 300 national guardsmen sent by Gov. Ritchie, had battled off an infuriated crowd at Salisbury, which sought to free the four prisoners.

The guardsmen, bruised and many of them soaking wet from the battle with the mob, ended their day's work with the order to disband and return home. After the withdrawal of the troops, the newspaper men were driven from Salisbury by the threats of the mob.

Reports came out of Princess Anne that the grave of George Armwood, the Negro who was lynched last month, had been "tampered with" by a crowd late Tuesday night. Steve Hopkins, superintendent of the Somerset County Almshouse, on whose grounds the Negro was buried said the grave was covered with fresh dirt.

Citing the laws of the state to defend his action for sending the troops after the lynch suspects, Gov. Ritchie from his sick bed in Annapolis said the county authorities had failed to arrest the men named to them and it was his duty to act.

His action, meanwhile, drew the fire of members of the state Legislature, meeting in a special session. Conferences were held at the State House and plans were discussed by Eastern Shore representatives for the release of the prisoners. The protests were not general as many declared the governor's action was the only course left.

Armwood was accused of attacking an aged white woman and the second night after his arrest, a mob beat off a detail of defending state police, broke down the door of the Somerset County Jail and dragged the Negro to the town limits where he was hanged.

Some 30 witnesses at a coroner's inquest failed to identify any members of the mob and State's Atty. John B. Robins, of Somerset County, refused to cause the arrest of nine men whom Atty. Gen. Lane had informed him had taken part in the lynching.

A picked battalion of the "Dandy Fifth," Baltimore's regiment of the National Guard, descended on Princess Anne and quickly rounded up four men named by Lane. A mob, collecting in Salisbury, sought to break into the armory where the quartet were held, but the militiamen drove them back by tear gas and fixed bayonets.

A dozen newspaper and cameramen experienced an exciting time as members of the Salisbury crowd sought them in a hotel where they were staying. They were slipped out of the building through a side door and fled into Delaware and their home offices.

The mob, illustrated Edmund G. Monk, a Washington reporter, "hunted us like so many foxes."

Wreckage of their automobile, attacked by the crowd, was scattered here and there about the streets. Another car rested in the bed of the Wicomico River where it was plunged in the height of the crowd's fury.

The chief of police at Salisbury informed some of the newspaper men who wanted to return, it was not safe for them to come into town.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES BLAMED

By L. HERBERT HENEGAN

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., Dec. 8.—Lloyd Warner, 19-year-old youth, was lynched here Tuesday night, Nov. 28, and his body burned to a crisp by a howling mob of 10,000 for a crime he did not commit.

The daily newspapers had printed lurid and mob-inciting stories the morning before the grim tragedy that he had raped a 21-year-old girl Sunday night. One headline read, "Attacker Confesses to Police; Brute Tries to Enter Plea."

Further on in the story an ominous hint was dropped by the roperter saying, "There has not been a legal hanging in Buchanan county since March 11, 1904." The stage was all set for the lynching. Hadn't Governor James Rolph of California given his sanction of lynching as a means of dealing with crime? Wasn't Warner, a black man, charged with the unpardonable crime of having attacked a white woman? And hadn't the newspapers fanned the flames by posting bulletins of the confession and saying in so many words that it was about time for Buchanan county to kill somebody since it has been 2? years since the law had exacted a life for crime?

Alleged Victim Sorry

But the alleged victim, a 21-year-old girl, the daughter of a Jewish tailor, admitted after the lynching that she was unharmed and that she was sorry that the mob had put the boy to death. The statement is all the more significant because the girl was unaware during the interview that she was talking to a representative of a Negro newspaper.

The facts concerning the lynching itself are well known. Sheriff Ott Theisen, failing to send the boy to Kansas City when he saw the crowd growing larger around the jail, surrendered the prisoner to the mob after they tore out the front entrance, saying to the mob yelling for the prisoner, "Boys, you are too many for me. I'll give him to you." He was encouraged in his decision by John Duncan, chief of detectives, who is said to be the power behind the throne in the police department.

Warner was given to the mob late Tuesday night and was carried across the street to Fifth and Jule, where he was strung up. The lynching was bungled and one fiend climbed into the tree where he jumped down upon the shoulders of the victim to make sure that his neck was broken. One eye witness said that the boy did not die when he was hanged but was breathing when his clothes were soaked with gasoline and set on fire.

Looks Like War

The tanks of the Missouri national guard were dispatched to the scene but as the guardsmen as well as officers had orders not to shoot members of the mob dismantled the fierce looking war engines as if they had been baby carriages.

The alleged attack, according to the girl, Ruthine Aronson, took place about 11:30 p. m. Sunday, Nov. 26, in an alley near her home. According to the police, she said that her attacker cut her breast, tied her hands and legs with her own stockings after he had attacked her in the alley. The girl denied all this in a statement to a representative of a newspaper Saturday.

"I'm all right," she said, and exhibited a small abrasion on her neck when asked if she had been hurt. Warner was arrested by means of a knife that had been found at the scene of the alleged attack. The knife was the property of Otto Stone, another boy, it is said. When both Warner and Stone were carried to be identified, she admitted that neither one was the attacker. But Warner had a police record. He was below normal mentally, according to his teachers, and he had served time in the boys' reformatory at Booneville. The crime had to be pinned upon some one and persons well informed in police circles said the arresting officers, Detectives A. P. Hardin and Charles Stroud, saw an opportunity for advancement in solving the case. He was given the third degree and "signed a confession."

Races Mix Freely

It is generally known that the races mix freely in St. Joseph where white women and Race men are concerned. From statements gathered indiscriminately from whites here, there is a strong resentment to the liberties that exist between the two groups.

"Sure, he got what he deserved," is the way one white drug clerk put it. "It ought to teach the black —— to stop fooling with our women, but it don't seem to do no good, so we keep on burning 'em."

The better and thinking class of whites deplore the tragedy. They blame Sheriff Theisen for the lynching in that he preferred to give up a prisoner in his keeping rather than stand his ground and let the law take its course. Prominent ministers, both white and Race, throughout this section deplored the savagery in forceful language from their pulpits Sunday. One man, an alleged leader of the mob, had been arrested in connection with an investigation ordered by Governor Guy S. Park.

Warner's body was buried by the city late Friday in potter's field.

BUFFALO, N. Y.
TIMES
NOV 29 1933

SHERIFF TELLS OF FIGHT WITH LYNCHING MOB

Had to Submit to Demands or Risk Innocent Lives, He Declares

By OTTO THEISEN
Sheriff of Buchanan County
Copyright, 1933, United Press

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., Nov. 29.—When I surrendered Lloyd Warner to the mob that burned him last night I did what I thought was best for all concerned.

Last January I began serving my second term in Buchanan county. I was sheriff when this jail I now preside over was dedicated in 1909 serving four years until 1912. I am now 68 years old.

No one in St. Joseph will charge that I have not always done my utmost to preserve law and order. The rioting came to a climax where I either had to submit to demands or risk the chance of some innocent man falling into the mob's hands.

Battled Four-Hours

Four hours we battled to prevent them from entering the jail. The wreckage around the jail is the best evidence of this. We used tear gas until we had no more. I could have opened up on the mob with machine guns, but I believed that would only further infuriate the mob.

Remember, there were 10,000 people jammed out in front of this jail for almost five and one-half hours.

We used every effort to urge the mob to disperse. When they started breaking down the doors, I had to make a decision under stress. I believe innocent lives were saved by my decision to surrender Warner.

Bricks were falling in my dining room, in the living room, in the jail office. Everywhere glass was clattering. My wife, her mother, Mrs. Hannah Flaherty, my wife's sister, Miss Nellie Flaherty, and Joe Connors, a nephew, were in the residence. Bricks were falling all about them.

Pound in Jail Door

Members of the mob were pounding on the jail door. Presently an iron pipe was thrust through. The door gave way. I and my deputies were in the office. We saw them coming through despite tear gas, state militia tanks, our guns and all other hindrances. We could have opened fire, but why?

When I saw the mob was going to get into the jail, I decided it was time to act. I had 10 Negroes and 60 white men behind the bars. I feared the mob would get the wrong man if I didn't surrender Warner. So I went out the back door, got on the porch, held up my arms, and shouted to the crowd:

"You all know the story about how it took 20 Irishmen to whip a Dutchman. I'm not going into that now because there are more than 20 Irish in this crowd and a Dutchman knows when he is whipped."

Turns Over Prisoner

I told them I was going to give them Warner. I went back into the jail. I unlocked Warner's cell and took him to the door and turned him over to the mob. It wasn't long before the mob had the poor Negro hustled off to a nearby tree. I saw them light the body. That was all I could stand.

I returned to the jail residence. There was the wreckage of my home —furniture scattered helter skelter, valuable vases broken, everything in ruins.

"I believe I did the best for all concerned."

Lynchings-1933 Cases of.

North Carolina

3886

BULLET-RIDDLED CORPSE OF LYNCHED NEGRO DRAGGED OVER COURTHOUSE LAWN IN CAROLINA

Oklahoma City, Okla.

MOB OF DEPUTIZED MEN AND BOYS, WITH CORONER AND SHERIFF LYNCH STARVED NEGRO IN INSANE DEFIANCE OF JUSTICE

Black Dispatch

"News and Observer" Hits Coroner's Presence and Verdict

9-7-33

RALEIGH, N. C., Sept. 7.—(By Samuel Tice for ANP)—What to do! What to do! Thursday night, starting at midnight, three white men rode from one boundary of Harnett county to the other, and worked until dawn in a desperate effort to save the life of a Negro, Johnnie Lee.

Sunday night, three days later, in Pender county, a mob of these same stripe of whites, seized a wounded Negro from a posse, which included the sheriff, sheriff's deputies, the coroner, and plain citizens, deputized on the spot, riddled him with bullets and, after he was dead, carried him to Burgaw, where in fiendish glee, they dragged his torn and bullet-riddled corpse over the courthouse lawn in insane defiance of all the law's majesty which the courthouse symbolized.

Who can understand these whites! Friday morning, working with desperate zeal to save the life of a Negro. Sunday, murdering a wounded man in cold blood and mocking God in their bestiality.

Two thousand years ago, the Jews lynched a Man on Friday and three days later, Sunday, He rose from the dead.

And what had this man whom "civilized" white North Carolinians murdered, done? His name was Dock Rogers. He was a 45-year-old farmer. Once he had done odd jobs for the family of Tom Piner, white. Sunday, Rogers was hungry. He went to the home of Piner and asked him for something to eat. Piner said later that Rogers had insisted on eating with him and his wife (a very foul crime indeed to seek to eat at the same table with white people) and Piner refused him food.

Rogers complained. Piner continued to refuse him and berated him until Rogers was angered. It is easy to turn the head of a hungry man. Rogers obtained a gun. He is alleged to have returned and shot Mrs. Piner as she stood in the door of her house.

Then the mob formed. They call them posses down here. But you know what they are. All the whites gang together and the sheriff pins the vocal badge of authority on them. That makes every white a hunted Negro might run into an officer of the law. If an innocent fugitive should meet a scrawny white school boy in the road and should object to his effort to intercept him, the white boy might shoot him down and be absolved of crime because the Negro was "resisting arrest."

Such a posse sought Rogers. He fought back, wounding one deputy. For three hours a battle raged between Rogers and the "officers." His house was set afire and he fled to a cornfield. There he was wounded and captured.

After he was taken into custody he was placed in a conveyance, with all these "officers" to be taken to jail. On the way to the jail, a posse of undeputized citizens met those who were deputized, seized the wounded man and shot him to death.

Hitler's troops could have done no worse.

Of this crime, the editor of the News and Observer, this city, writes:

"North Carolina justice has been riddled on the highway and dragged in bloody mutilation across the very lawn of the courthouse as if the lynchers wanted to throw their corpse in mockery in the very lap of the courts.

"Yet so far as the coroner's jury is able to determine all this was done by "a person or persons unknown." The coroner himself was present at the wounding of the Negro and there is no evidence that he was absent when the wounded man was seized for lynching. Yet out of a mob of 'several hundred citizens' neither he nor his jury is able to identify a man. Such a verdict amounts to a mockery of the law added to the violence done the law on Sunday.

"As . . . a public enemy this mob must be identified and its members tried as the criminals which they are. The justice of the state is either superior to the attack they made upon it or it is not. Either the members of the mob must be punished or North Carolina will demonstrate that its officers and its courts are too feeble or too cowardly to cope with mob defiance.

"The state and its decent citizenship is shamed. North Carolina can cleanse itself of the shame only by the swiftest and sternest demonstration that no man or set of men in it can with impunity fling their murder into the courthouse yard with arrogant contempt for the justice of the state."

9-7-33

North Carolina

3887

Lynchings-1933
Cases of

Monroe, N. C. Enquirer
August 31, 1933

NEGRO LYNCHED AFTER HIS CAPTURE BY POSSE

Mob Takes Him Out of Truck Enroute To Burgaw Jail and Riddles Body With Bullets.

Burgaw, Aug. 29.—Dock Rogers, negro, who was killed by a posse of citizens after he had wounded two white persons, a woman and a deputy sheriff, near Williard on Sunday afternoon, came to his death "at the hands of a person or persons unknown," according to a verdict returned Monday by a coroner's jury.

The inquest was conducted by A. C. Blake, justice ofthe peace and acting coroner, who was one of the leaders of the posse which surrounded the house in which the negro had barricaded himself and routed him out to his death.

The persons wounded by the negro, Mrs. Tom Piner, about 60 years of age, and R. T. Murray, about 35, a special deputy sheriff, were reported not in serious condition today.

After Rogers had shot the woman as an aftermath of his rejected demand that he be allowed to eat a meal with the Piner family at their farm house, he withdrew to his own house and felled the deputy sheriff when he attempted to dislodge him. A large crowd of citizens gathered and fired into the house for several hours finally firing the building. The negro emerged firing, and later was felled but not killed in a close-up fusillade in the garden adjoining his house.

The man was placed in a truck, but before the vehicle had traveled far on toward the jail here, it was stopped and the negro, still alive, was dragged out onto the road and riddled with hundreds of bullets. Later the mangled corpse was dragged about the court house before being turned over to an undertaker for burial.

FARMER IS LYNCHED IN NORTH CAROLINA

Amsterdam News

Man Shot to Death by Mob Which Throws His Body on Public Highway

9-30-33

New York, N. Y.

BURGAW, N. C., Aug. 28. — The lynching record continued to climb as Doc Rogers, a farmer near here, was victimized by a posse at his home last night. Before he was slain, however, he wounded a deputy sheriff and a woman.

Rogers is alleged to have tried to partake of breakfast with Tom Piner, white, yesterday morning. In the argument which ensued he is reported to have shot Mrs. Piner in the arm. A posse raised to search for Rogers tracked him to his home, where he was shot to death.

His body was brought back to Burgaw, where a mob of citizens dumped the lifeless form upon the roadway and filled it with bullets.

Landlords Lynch Negro Farmer in Burgaw, N. C.

Daily Worker

Negro Wounds Sheriff In Defending Self Against Arrest

9-30-33

BURGAW, N. C.—A Negro farmer identified as "Doc" Rogers was lynched at Willard, ten miles north of here, Sunday by a posse of landlords and deputy sheriffs. His body was dumped from a truck by an organized gang as it was being brought into town, and riddled with bullets.

Rogers was charged with firing a rifle and wounding Mrs. Tom Piner, 60, in the shoulder, while he was in the Piner home. Defending himself against murder by Deputy Sheriff R. T. Murray, Jr., who went gunning for him, he shot and seriously wounded his assailant.

New York, N. Y.

A gang was organized which cornered him in his home and killed him.

In this section of the cotton belt the Ku Klux Klan has been especially active, under the name of "Cotton K.K.K." in terrorizing the Negro farmers, croppers and renters to force them to plow under their cotton for the landlord's benefit, in the Roosevelt plow-under program.

North Carolina Enters The Lynching Column

Journal and Guide

Norfolk, Va.

9-2-33

IT WOULD be technical to say that the recent performance at Burgaw, North Carolina, last Sunday was not a lynching. Even though the victim was dead when the mob took him—or his remains—in charge, he was handled in the manner of a live subject, with allowances for variations in fiendishness, depending on the temper of the mob. The man's dead body was placed in the road and riddled with bullets. It was then carried to the court house green where it was dragged around and displayed to the populace.

The lynchee had been killed by a sheriff's posse with which he staged a gun battle. Under such circumstances the killing was inevitable and would be pronounced justifiable. Any man who wages a gun battle with a posse will be killed. Having been killed by the sheriff's deputies it would appear that nothing would be left for a mob to do. But mobs are not inspired by merely a desire to make punishment sure. Mobs afford their members an opportunity to give expression to pent up hatreds and base passions, murderous instincts and barbarous natures. That is why mob law is the lowest form of civilized law.

This North Carolina lynching may be attributed to something which the people in that particular community may be able to explain when their passions have subsided and their heads have cooled off. To us it looks like an insane man was lynched. The newspaper accounts say that the man, a colored farmer, wanted to eat breakfast with a white farmer, and when refused the privilege, he went away, returned with a gun, fired upon the white farmer, went off again, returned a second time, and shot the farmer's wife. The accounts state that the intruder was under the influence of whiskey. Unquestionably, and under the influence of very potent liquor, or stark insane, for how else could anyone explain the actions of a 45-year-old Negro farmer, living at Burgaw, North Carolina, who tried to get a breakfast in that manner.

North Carolina has not had a lynching prior to this one in a long time. There has developed in the state a strong sentiment against lynching. The race war that has been going on in Alabama recently has been roundly condemned by the North Carolina press, which must now, as it surely will, direct its powerful attacks upon mob violence to an occurrence at home. The Burgaw lynching of a corpse will have the effect of strengthening the opposition to lynching in North Carolina, and that should be good for the whole South, where the lynching spirit seems to be undergoing something in the nature of a rennaisance.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
August 31, 1933

Need for Self-Analysis

IF the following incident had happened in Zanzibar or wildest Africa, we would be revolted by it. What if it had happened in England? We would class it as incredible ghoulishness. But it happened in Pender county, North Carolina.

A drunken Negro who had wounded a white woman was killed by deputies who went to arrest him and found him barricaded in a house. What happened subsequently is described by the Raleigh *News & Observer* in these words:

> After Rogers had been killed, possemen put his body in a truck and started to bring it to Burgaw, the county seat. They were met on the way by several hundred citizens, who took the body and placed it in the road, where scores of bullets were fired into it.
>
> The possemen finally arrived here, but shortly afterwards the badly mutilated body had disappeared. Sheriff J. T. Brown said he did not know where it was taken.

The killing of the Negro in a gun battle could not be called a lynching. But what are we to say about the lynching of a corpse, an outrage which the *News & Observer* characterizes as ghoulishness and "the expression of the most brutish instincts." It was seemingly a surrender to sadistic urges which apparently are strong in an appalling percentage of our population.

If the outrageous affair had occurred in England, we would be quick in our condemnation. What right have we, then, to resent the horror which other civilized countries show towards our lynching wave?

The brutishness of this incident reminds us how badly the South needs to acquire the habit of self-analysis. Southern hearts are as sympathetic; Southern sensibilities are as delicate as the average anywhere, and crime in far away places stirs us to protest. But when it comes closer home, we are prone to fall back on rationalization, to explain away such things.

We hear the following:

"Our courts are too slow."

"The criminals escape the death penalty and either go free altogether or serve just a few years in prison."

"It is the illiterate, the backward elements of 'poor whites' which do these things. We, the educated city folks, have no interest in them."

"Crime occurs everywhere. It is not something peculiar to the South."

And so the rationalization goes on. We do not get down to bedrock and analyze our shortcomings.

It is true that our courts are slow. It is true that criminals escape the death penalty—bank bandits who killed an innocent man escaped with prison sentences at McMinnville only a few days ago. It is true that the average reader of The News has nothing to do with lynching.

And yet, we cannot dismiss our collective guilt of indifference and inaction with such generalities.

The rest of the civilized world does not accept our weak excuses.

If we had a sense of self-analysis, we would view these things objectively, and would remedy them. Strange and bizarre and brutal things occur in other countries, but nowhere so frequently as in ours.

Imagine what the foreign eye calmly viewing the American scene witnesses as the panorama of the years goes by; the good people of Salem applying the torch to the fagots, as the witches vainly cry their innocence; the Hester Prynnes wearing their letter "A"; the slave trade; John Brown's body; the Mormon flight; Cripple Creek and Eldorado, frontier towns of bloody memory, and the graves on Boot Hill cemetery, where none sleep who died bootless.

The foreign eye would take in the Haymarket riots, the various cults and isms with their Volivas

insisting that the earth is flat. Nor would the Kleagles and the Wizards and the Knights of the Iron Shirts be overlooked; the Al Capones, the Legs Diamonds and the Gyp the Bloods, high in the gangster hierarchy; the Jimmy Walkers, Samuel Insulls and other more polite prototypes of Ponzi and Wolf Lamar.

The darkest side would show our incredible crimes, the murder of a national hero's little baby; the wholesale slaughter of men, women and children; the breakdown of morality and the numberless crimes where greed for the dollar was the motive.

The foreign eye would take in the strange debate, one hot summer day under courthouse trees, between a man who had stood three times for the presidency and a man who had thrilled criminal courtroom fans through a long generation, with the subject of debate being the evolution of the species.

And the foreign eye would light most frequently and with greatest incredulity on the bodies hanging riddled with bullets from Southern railway bridges, or burning at Southern stakes. And it would shrink most of all at the sight of a mob lynching a corpse on a North Carolina highway.

Rocky Mount, N. C., Telegram
August 29, 1933

Burgaw Makes Front Pages

Why an otherwise responsible community could mutilate the body of a dead Negro, could drag the mutilated carcas about the court house lawn and make a general display of anything quite so gruesome is beyond our explanation. Frankly, we are not able to understand it. There can be no justification for the mob murder of a crime suspect but it is possible to believe that the anger of an otherwise law abiding people can be aroused to the point of anger sufficiently great for them to kill. But in Burgaw the Negro had been shot to death after a gun battle with officers. Enroute to the morgue the body was snatched from the officers by several hundred people and the gruesome rites of dragging the corpse to the courthouse carried out. The Negro, of course, had the better of the argument since he was beyond injury and could mock his tormentors.

Some months ago something of a similar nature occurred in Morganton. There the body of a Negro accused of having attacked a young woman, was the interest center of a large, milling crowd.

Nothing has ever been more unreasonable, more inexplicable than the heaping of abuse on a corpse. In Iraq—isn't that the name?—troops slaughtered Assyrians with abandon. Bodies were hacked and mutilated after the slaughter. As repugnant as the slaughter was we were not particularly surprised for we have learned not to expect much more. But in North Carolina, rated as the most progressive of Southern states, Burgaw stands out in bold relief, acommunity where some of the people, at any rate, have full capacity for losing all reason. Today many of the participants in the gory rites of Sunday are heartily ashamed and perhaps are denying any part in it. But that does not prevent Burgaw's giving North Carolina a shock and proving that we haven't as much right to criticize Alabama for treatment of Negroes as we assumed on our own account.

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ROCKY MOUNT, N. C.
TELEGRAM

AUG 29 1933

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RALEIGH, N. C.
NEWS OBSERVER
AUG 29 1933

LYNCHING A CORPSE

In Pender county a drunken Negro who wounded a white woman was killed by deputies sheriff who went to arrest him and found him barricaded in his house. The killing of the man was apparently justified by his own part in a gun battle in which he engaged with the men who came to arrest him.

There was, however, no justification for the horrible sequel:

> **After Rogers had been killed, possemen put his body in a truck and started to bring it to Burgaw, the county seat. They were met on the way by several hundred citizens, who took the body and placed it in the road, where scores of bullets were fired into it.**
>
> **The possemen finally arrived here, but shortly afterwards the badly mutilated body had disappeared. Sheriff J. T. Brown said he did not know where it was taken.**

These "several hundred citizens" did no harm to the dead Negro. They could not hurt him. He was dead. But they could and they did succeed in making themselves ghoulish creatures mutilating a corpse with inhuman frenzy.

An actual lynching would perhaps have been a more serious crime, but not even an actual lynching could bring greater discredit upon the people and the section than this ghastly business does. However much a lynching should be condemned, it is possible to understand the motive of vengeance and misguided public indignation behind a mass murder. It is harder to understand among normal men this mass mutilation of a corpse which could not serve as punishment to the dead but only as the expression of the most brutish instincts of the living.

NEW YORK TIMES
OCT 10 1933

South Carolina Negro Lynched

NINETY-SIX, N. C., Oct. 9 (AP).—Bennie Thompson, Negro, who had been arrested for threatening a group of white men with a knife, was taken from the jail here last night, beaten to death and his body left on the roadside, where it was found early today.

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Rocky Mount, N. C., Telegram
September 4, 1933

Was It A Lynching?

This newspaper is honestly glad of an opportunity to declare that the unfortunate Pender county incident of last Sunday was a bloody lynching rather than the mutilation of a corpse. The people of Burgaw should declare the mistreatment of a Negro was a lynching. For lynchings, as bad as they are, as wholly inexcusable, are less depraved than rites that require the dragging of a dead body about a court house lawn to satisfy the lust of a mob for heaping indignities on a hapless, pathetic Negro. Governor Ehringhaus has ordered Solicitor Woods Kellum, in whose district the incident occurred, to make a thorough investigation. To begin with the Solicitor is confronted with a coroner's verdict that the Negro died at the hands of unknown parties. It will be a simple matter for him to ascertain from officers in charge of the truck in which the Negro was being transferred to a hospital the nature of his condition at the time he was taken forcibly by a group of several hundred citizens. If the Negro was lynched, then murder has been committed and no solicitor can calmly close his eyes to murder.

The first report from Burgaw was that the body of the Negro was taken from an officer riddled with bullets and then displayed on the Pender court house lawn. Later reports revealed that a wounded Negro was dragged from the truck, lynched and his body, bloody and mutilated, placed on view of a milling, excited crowd.

At any rate the solicitor in Pender county has been given an assignment, a duty to fulfill, and we shall watch with interest what happens there.

Raleigh, N. C., News & Observer
September 3, 1933

PENDER'S OPPORTUNITY

Many good citizens of Pender county are much disturbed by the unpleasant publicity which the killing of Dock Rogers, Negro, there last Sunday, has brought to the county. They resent the word "lynching" and defensively urge the hardly less ugly version of the affair that it was not the living Negro but his corpse which was unquestionably lynched by a mob of Pender and Duplin citizens.

There is no reason why good citizens of Pender or the county itself should any longer suffer under unpleasant publicity. At the request of Governor Ehringhaus, who has offered a reward for the apprehension of the "person or persons unknown" who, according to the coroner's jury, killed Rogers, investigation will be begun by Solicitor Woodus Kellum on September 11. Judge E. H. Cranmer, one of the most fearless judges on the bench, will preside over the investigation.

At the hearings before Judge Cranmer good citizens of Pender will have the opportunity to show beyond any doubting that mob violence is as repulsive to Pender as to any section of North Carolina. According to the reports which have come from Burgaw, there were "several hundred citizens" present when Rogers or his body was riddled with the mob's bullets. There should be, therefore, no lack of witnesses to the facts.

From this investigation Pender could only be injured by a reluctance or refusal of the good citizens to help the Governor, the Judge and the Solicitor uphold justice in North Carolina. Any such showing of reluctance would reflect upon Pender as evidence that mob violence there is approved by the citizenship. A whitewash of the affair, if such a thing were possible, as it is not with Judge Cranmer on the bench, would bring deeper discredit both upon the county and the State. The guilty must be found and punished if Pender is to hold its head high among counties where justice is guarded.

The investigation should be welcomed everywhere in the State as an opportunity for demonstration that North Carolina, which has had fewer lynchings than any other Southern State, does not and will not tolerate any violent meddling by mobs with the sovereign justice of its courts.

Sylacauga, Ala., News
September 1, 1933

Mob Drags Negro Body On Lawn

BURGAW, N. C., Aug. 29.—The body of Doc Rogers, 45-year-old negro farmer who shot a white woman and a deputy sheriff Sunday and was then slain after a three-hour gun battle with officers, was dragged about the lawn of the Pender county court house here Sunday night.

Finally the bullet-riddled body was given over to an undertaking establishment by a crowd of men and boys.

After Rogers had been killed, several hundred armed citizens met officers bringing the body here. They took the body, placed it in the road and fired scores of bullets into it. Then the mutilated corpse was exhibited here.

Rogers was killed 10 miles north of here, officers said, as a result of his drunken insistence that he eat breakfast with a white family.

Mrs. Tom Piner, 60, wife of a farmer, and R. T. Murray, Jr., deputy sheriff of Pender county, were felled by the negro's gun. Mrs. Piner was wounded seriously.

After shooting her, Rogers withstood officers for three hours — first in his barricaded home and then in a corn field when his home burned. Death ended his desperate battle, a score of bullets in his body.

Members of the Piner family said Johnson came to the Piner home, apparently drunk, and insisted on eating breakfast with them. He was ordered away, returning with a gun and fired at Tom Piner and his son-in-law several times, they said, but missed and left.

When they went out for aid, Rogers came back to the house and shot Mrs. Piner as she stood in the doorway, officers said. The bullet entered her shoulder.

A posse soon surrounded Rogers' house and he withstood them, keeping up a hail of bullets. Finally his house caught fire and he fled, wounded, to a corn field, where he later was killed.

Officers expressed belief the house became ignited when a bullet struck dry tobacco stored in it. Murray was shot through the arm and pelvis when stationing men around the negro's home.

Burnsville, N. C., Eagle
September 1, 1933

LYNCHING A CORPSE.

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There was, however, no justification for the horrible sequel:

After Rogers had been killed, possemen put his body in a truck and started to bring it to Burgaw, the county seat. They were met on the way by several hundred citizens, who took the body and placed it in the road, where scores of bullets were fired into it.

The possemen finally arrived here, but shortly afterwards the badly mutilated body had disappeard. Sheriff J. T. Brown said he did not know where it had been taken.

These "several hundred citizens" did no harm to the dead Negro. They could not hurt him. He was dead. But they could and they did succeed in making themselves ghoulish creatures mutilating a corpse with inhuman frenzy.

An actual lynching would perhaps have been a more serious crime, but not even an actual lynching could bring greater discredit upon the people and the section than this ghastly business does. However much a lynching should be condemned, it is possible to understand the motive of vengeance and misguided public indignation behind a mass murder. It is harder to understand among normal men this mass mutilation of a corpse which could not serve as punishment to the dead but only as the expression of the most brutish instinct of the living.—News & Observer.

ROCKY MOUNT, N. C.
TELEGRAM

AUG 31 1933

What Others Say

VISITORS FROM AFAR

North Carolina, it develops on the basis of subsequent reports and evidence presented at the coroner's inquest, cannot claim even a technical defense against the lynching mark which Pender county has smeared across its name.

Doc Rogers, Negro, survived the fusillade of shots after being routed from his barricaded home and, although dangerously wounded, was still alive when he was taken from the truck upon which officers were carrying him to Burgaw and, with the Associated Press correcting its earlier version, "riddled with bullets. Later the mangled corpse was dragged about the courthouse before being turned over the an undertaker for burial."

With that element of uncertainty clarified, another deep, dark and more abiding mystery pushes to the front. Ah, you've guessed it already—the identity of the mob. The verdict of the coroner's jury, presided over by the acting coroner, who is likewise justice of the peace and one of the leaders of the posse which engaged in the initial gun battle with the Negro, was of the stereortyped sort, that Rogers came to his death "at the hands of a person or persons unknown."

Yet, the reports state that the truck from which the wounded Negro was dragged was "met on the road by several hundred citizens." From the Wilmington Morning Star's account it is learned that "a group of the citizens, whom officers said they could not identify, approached the truck" which "had stopped for repair of a punctured tire. The body was dragged to the ground and scores of shots were fired into it." The mangled corpse next seems to have disappeared, showing up again when mobsters used it in a gruesome game of ring around the courthouse and then finally turned it over to an undertaker. Yet, spreading over what must have been several hours of lawlessness, the atrocity is attributed to unknown persons.

While the population of Pender county is not immediately available, figures on the 1932 senatorial election show 1,587 votes cast within its confines. How any placeman, say, for instance, a sheriff or a coroner, could win an office and yet not know any of "several hundred citizens" injects another element of curiosity, if not downright mystery. Maybe the mob airplaned from Germany, Russia, Patagonia or some other furrin parts where reports of earlier developments had been received by moreless or hard-riding model T couriers.—Greensboro News.

ROCKY MOUNT, N. C.
TELEGRAM

AUG 31 1933

PUBLIC ENEMIES IN PENDER

In Pender county on the Sabbath day a North Carolina mob for the first time since August 1930 lynched a Negro.

First reports of the killing of Dock Rogers, who wounded a white woman while drunk, indicated that he had been killed in a gun fight while resisting arrest. The finding of the coroner's jury, however, while it sheds no light on the members of the mob, shows that Rogers was only wounded in the fight with the possemen. He was lynched by a mob of several hundred citizens after he had eben placed in a truck to be carried back to town. This mob not only riddled the wounded man with bullets cn the highway but dragged his mutilated body about the lawn of the courthouse in Burgaw.

North Carolina justice has been riddled on the highway and dragged in bloody mutilation across the very lawn of the courthouse as if the lynchers wanted to throw their corpse in mockery in the very lap of the courts.

Yet so far as the coroner's jury is able to determine all this was done by "a person or persons unknown." The coroner himself was present at the wounding of the Negro and there is no evidence that he was absent when the wounded man was seized for lynching. Yet out of a mob of "several hundred citizens," neither he nor his jury is able to idetify a man. Such a verdict amounts to a mockery of the law added to the violence done the law on Sunday.

North Carolina has a reputation in regard to lynchings of which it has every right to be proud. No other Southern State has been less stained by the contempt of mobs for its law and its justice. Fewer Negroes have been lynched in North Carolina in the last half century than in any other Southern State. In recent years under the leadership of enlightened governors the people of North Carolina have upheld the State's honor upon the highest level with only the rarest violence to stain it.

With such a reputation North Carolina has regarded the bloody record of Alabama with horror. Now North Carolina through the act of one mob in Pender county joins Alabama as a state in which justice is violated by a brutal mob. The people of North Carolina will insist, however, that this mob which celebrated the Sabbath with a blood frenzy is not representative of North Carolina. It is in fact an enemy of North Carolina and of justice in the State.

As such a public enemy this mob must be identified and its members tried as the criminals which they are. The justice of the state is either superior to the attack they made upon it or it is not. Either the members of the mob must be punished or North Carolina will demonstrate that its officers and its courts are too feeble or too cowardly to cope with mob defiance.

The state and its decent citizenship is shamed. North Carolina can cleanse itself of the shame only by the swiftest and sternest demonstration that no man or set of men in it can with impunity fling their murder into the courthouse yard with arrogant contempt for the justice of the State.—Raleigh News and Observer.

WILMINGTON, N. C.
STAR

SEP 3 1933

AS TO THE BURGAW INCIDENT

MR. J. J. BURNETT, a one-time Senator from the Ninth District, believes his county of Pender has been slandered by recent reports concerning the killing of DOCK ROBERGTS, Negro, on last Sunday, and the subsequent mutilation of his body.

In a statement to *The Star-News* yesterday, Mr. BURNETT says that while two hundred miles from Pender County at the time of the incident, he is convinced after conversation with reliable citizens that the body of the victim was not dragged over the Courthouse lawn as reported.

"What happened on the highway North of Burgaw," Mr. BURNETT said, "is something which I regret, but of which I have no knowledge, but I am yet to find the man or woman who saw the man's body dragged over the square. It is my information that the Acting Coroner removed the body and hid it, to prevent possible violence to it."

As neither *The Star-News* nor its representatives were on the ground when the alleged incident happened, we are not in position to deny or confirm the statement of the former Senator, but is in position to say that its representatives at Burgaw shortly after the killing were told that such was the case. Officials told *Star-News* reporters they were ignorant of the whereabouts of the body until it was discovered in a truck on the Courthouse lawn, hence it follows that whatever occurred when it was removed.

It would be pleasant to *The Star-News* to know that the gentleman from Pender is correctly informed, since violence to a cadaver is nothing to incite the admiration, and since the county of Pender is so closely approximate to New Hanover as to be considered virtually home territory.

However, the proper procedure in determining the true facts is that outlined by Governor EHRINGHAUS in his suggestion to Solicitor KELLUM that a full inquiry be conducted and offering a reward for the slayer or slayers.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Section 4570 of the North Carolina Code reads:

"Whenever the Solicitor or any judicial district ascertains that the crime of lynching has been committed in any county in his judicial district, it is his duty to go to such county at the earliest possible moment and at once institute proceedings for the investigation of the crime before the Coroner of the county, some judge of the Superior Court or a Justice of the Peace, and for the apprehension of the offender. In the performance of this duty he shall cause to be issued subpoenas or other process to compell the attendance of witnesses and examine such witnesses on oath as to their knowledge or information touching the crime being investigated. In all cases where, upon preliminary investigation, it appears probable that any person is guilty of the crime charged, it shall be the duty of the Coroner, Judge or Justice before whom the case is heard to bind such person, with good security, for his appearance at the next ensuing term of the Superior or Criminal Court of some county adjoining the county in which the crime was committed for trial, and in default of bail to commit him to jail of such adjoining county for safekeeping, and all necessary witnesses shall be recognized to appear at such term as witnesses for the State."

Lynchings-1933

Cases of

North Carolina

3889

COLUMBIA, S. C.
RECORD
AUG 30 1933

Without Defense.

In North Carolina a drunken negro, sought for wounding a 60-year-old white woman, was killed by the sheriff's deputies who went to arrest him and found him barricaded in his house. Wounding a white woman is not a capital offense in North Carolina but the negro invited destruction by engaging the officers in a gun battle ending in his own mortal injury. A deputy sheriff was also shot, although not fatally.

The members of the posse, their task done, put the negro, dead or dying—the North Carolina newspapers disagree as to the fact—in a truck and started back to Burgaw, the county seat of Pender county.

"They were met on the way," the Raleigh News and Observer tells, "by several hundred citizens, who took the body and placed it in the road where scores of bullets were fired into it.

"The possemen finally arrived here (Burgaw), but shortly afterwards the badly mutilated body had disappeared. Sheriff J. T. Brown said he did not know where it was taken."

The mob, subsequent inquiry revealed, dragged the mangled corpse about the court house at Burgaw before turning it over to an undertaker. Few incidents exemplify so clearly the madness and brutality of mobs. The negro was already dead or certain to die and the "several hundred citizens" could not hurt him. But they did hurt themselves by reducing themselves in their ghoulish frenzy to inhuman and almost unimaginable levels. And they harm North Carolina and every other state that wants to maintain the right to enforce its own laws, delivering them without defense into the hands of those who still agitate as they have been agitating for the enactment of a federal anti-lynching law.

INDEPENDENT
Elizabeth City, N.C.
SEP 8 1933

Ghouls, Buzzards and Hyenas

ONE of the most gruesome and horrifying excuses for a lynching I ever heard, comes from Pender County. Doc Rogers, a crazy Negro called at the home of a white farmer and insisted on eating at the table with the family. He was stopped by a shot gun wound and taken in custody by the sheriff. While the sheriff of Pender was taking the wounded Negro to town for medical attention, a mob of several hundred white men seized the Negro, riddled his body with bullets and dragged it to the courthouse lawn. When the State press registered its indignation, Pender folks put out word that the Negro lynched wasn't a live Negro at all; that it was only a dead nigger that had been violently dealt with. Can you beat that for an attempted justification of human bestiality?

I have no doubt that the rustic Nordics of Pender who lynched Doc Rogers consider themselves the superiors of the black race. That they have demonstrated their inferiority even to the brutes doesn't occur to them. They haven't the moral or mental quality to realize how low down in the scale of brute creation they really are. But when they offer in extenuation of their heinous conduct that they lynched a dead nigger instead of a live one, they stoop to the lowest level of human depravity conceivable. Ghouls, buzzards and hyenas rend the bodies of the dead.

Pender county can redeem itself and its self-respecting citizenry only by exposing and bringing to justice the lousy pack of ghouls, buzzards and hyenas.

South Carolina.

Lynchings-1933

Cases of.

Greensboro, N. C., News
July 8, 1933

NOTE ON CIVILIZATION.

The most aggravated example of mobbery that the Daily News recalls in many a day is that which has been reported from the Christian community, with its taken-for-granted religious and educational influences, of Clinton, South Carolina.

Norris Bendy, 35-year-old negro, was taken from the town lockup, beaten, strangled and otherwise mistreated and his body left in a nearby churchyard where it was found some time later by searching officers. Whatever crime might have been charged against Bendy, lynching would have been the most unacceptable method of punishment. If there can be degrees of lynching, the South Carolina exhibit reaches the height of atrocity.

The victim, if dispatches are correct, could have been charged with no more than a misdemeanor, if that. The most that can be said against him is that he engaged in an argument with a white truck driver, who along with him had driven picnic parties to a neighboring lake. During the course of the argument, for which responsibility, so far as noted, has not been fixed, the negro struck the white man with a stick, cutting a gash in his face, and then, as was the natural thing to do, fled.

In subsequent developments officers took a hand after a fashion which, it seems to this journal, overstepped their rights, and certainly what should have been their discretion, and more or less involved them, morally, in the bestial denouement. As the negro fled in his truck, they fired upon him. What right they had to take such chances, how much their action contributed to the general excitement and feeling or what they would have done had the white man struck the negro are questions which the individual may answer for himself. Anyway, the mob, numbering only four but a mob nevertheless, broke into the flimsy jail and got its man.

Yet, in the face of such action, there are those who have thought that civilization had progressed to the point where representatives of the masses could settle national differences around the conference table.

WILLIAMSPORT, PA.
SUN

JUL 6 1933

LYNCHING

The South's latest lynching is one of the worst cases reported in recent years. The victim, a Negro, was charged with striking a white man and resisting arrest. He was in proper custody and could have caused no more trouble. His offense was a relatively minor one. Yet, under cover of darkness, he was taken from jail by a small group of men and hanged in a church yard.

There was in this case no reason for the inflamed mob passions which usually figure in a lynching. There was no such distorted interpretation of that southern chivalry such as is a common cause of mob violence. The chief offense of the victim seems to have been that he was a Negro and that he had an altercation with a white man.

But a few persons were involved in this crime. It should be a relatively easy matter to trace their identity. The state of South Carolina, in which this outrage occurred, should have in this case an opportunity to prove that it does not condone lynching.

Albany, Ga., Herald
July 7, 1933

LYNCHED FOR FIGHTING.

The spirit of these times is reflected in the increase of lynching, and particularly in the crimes which arouse mob spirit.

At Clinton, S. C., a white man and a Negro became involved in an altercation, and the Negro struck the white man with a stick, inflicting a wound on the cheek. The Negro fled, but was arrested and placed in jail.

That night a mob described by the jailer as "four white men" forced the door, took the prisoner and lynched him, his body being found next morning in a grave yard.

Perhaps the Negro was to blame for the trouble with the Clinton white man. If so, he should have been punished, but a jury should have passed on the question of his guilt or innocence. Certainly his crime, if crime there was, called for no severer punishment than a few years imprisonment, a good deal depending on the Negro's general character, record and reputation.

There was not the slightest excuse for summary "justice." Viewed in the worst light, the Negro's crime was a minor infraction of law, and to lynch him was to do irreparable harm to law and order in South Carolina.

There have been other lynchings in 1933 for which there was no more excuse or justification than this one in South Carolina. The explanation probably is to be found in the "present unrest"—a state of "nerves" which seems to run throughout our whole social structure.

When conditions get better, perhaps this particular manifestation will pass.

Seneca, S. C., Journal
July 12, 1933

LYNCHED OR MURDERED.

Norris Denry, 35 year old negro was dragged from the jail in Clinton one night last week and apparently hanged by four white men. The body was found beaten and strangled in a country churchyard. The negro had had words with a white man the previous day and they had come to blows. The governor has men working on the case and states that the men who are guilty of murder shall be brought to trial.

NEW YORK WORLD-Telegram

JUL 6 1933

ORDERS LYNCHING HUNT

South Carolina Governor Says Negro's Slaying Is Murder.

By the Associated Press.

COLUMBIA, S. C., July 6.—Governor Blackwood described the slaying today of Norris Bendy after the 35-year-old Negro had been taken by four unidentified men from the Clinton jail as "murder" and ordered an immediate investigation.

"That's not a lynching but a murder," the Governor said when told of the finding of the Negro's beaten and strangled body in a churchyard near Clinton.

Macon, Ga. News
July 5, 1933

Negro Is Lynched In South Carolina

CLINTON, S. C., July 5. (AP)—Shot, beaten and strangled, the body of Norris Bendy, Laurens county Negro, was found seven miles from here today a few hours after four white men had spirited him away from the Clinton jail, where he had been held for striking a small white boy.

The Clinton jail, a typical small town calaboose, has no regular jailor but a Negro janitor told authorities he saw the men take Bendy.

Rock Hill, S. C. Herald
July 7, 1933

BLACK SPOT ON SOUTH CAROLINA

There has been placed on the map of South Carolina a very bad, black spot. Every sane thinking person in this state will endorse the following editorial from the Greenville News relative to the lynching that occurred near Clinton this week:

The lynching of a negro near Clinton for no more serious an offense than striking a small white boy is one of the blackest crimes in the recent history of this state.

South Carolinians generally will deeply regret that any group of citizens have permitted themselves to become a prey to the spirit of unreasoning mob psychology in such degree as to move them to seize a prisoner from the jail and murder him because of actions which, however condemnable, certainly do not merit capital punishment.

The crime further blackens South Carolina's crime record, which is none too clean as it stands; and it is earnestly to be hoped that the county and state authorities will make the most vigorous efforts of which they are capable to apprehend and bring to justice those who have been responsible for this dastardly act. Of all the lynchings that have occurred in South Carolina in recent years this is probably one for which the least excuse can be made.

3890

Mullings S. C., Enterprise
July 13, 1933

Group of Men Lynches Negro

Clinton, July 5—Four unidentified white men dragged Norris Dendy, 35-year-old negro, from the small Clinton jail early today and a few hours later his beaten and strangled body was found in a churchyard near here.

Dendy was placed in the jail, a small town building with no regular jailor, late yesterday for striking Marvin Lollis, 32, white Clinton truck driver, and resisting arrest.

About midnight the jail's negro janitor said, four white men came to the building, knocked the lock off with a wrench and forced Dendy into their automobile. They disappeared before an alarm could be spread.

Thad Moore one of the deputies Sheriff Owens of Laurens county, sent out to search for the negro and his captors, found the body in the old Sardis churchyard, seven miles from here, shortly before 1 p. m.

It bore marks of a severe beating and around the negro's neck was a rope. The body, however, was lying at the gateway to the church's cemetery and Sheriff Owens said Dendy had apparently been hanged somewhere else and the body removed there.

One of the negro's wound was first mistaken for a bullet wound but George Holland, Clinton police chief who examined the body said Dendy had not been shot.

Lollis and Dendy each drove a truckload of picnickers to Lake Murray, in the lower part of Laurens county, for a fourth of July celebration yesterday.

The negro and white man became involved in an argument, witnesses said, and Dendy struck Lollis with a stick, inflicting a gash on his neck.

When white men at the picnic attempted to apprehend him, the negro fled in his truck but officers at Goldville, between the lake and Clinton, were advised to watch for him and when he arrived there he was arrested. Goldville officers brought him here where he was placed in jail.

There had been no known threats against Dendy and as the charge against him was not considered serious, no extra precautions were taken to guard him.

Solicitor Homer S. Blackwell announced an inquest would not be held until next week, pending the gathering of evidence.

Sheriff Owens said he had no clues on which to work and that he had "no idea" who to look for. He said he was unable to track the lynchers with blood hounds as they traveled by automobile.

CHIEF OPENS PRISON FOR LYNCHERS

Daily Worker
10-11-33
New York, N.Y.

NINETY SIX, S. C., Oct. 10.—Taken out of jail here, and brutally beaten with automobile top tubes, Bennie Thompson, young Negro worker, was lynched here last night by four white men with whom he had an argument earlier in the evening.

Burley Leppard, one of the lynchers, openly admits his part in the brutal crime and reveals that the lynching was carried out with the help of Chief of Police Rush. In a statement read to a coroner's jury, Leppard names J. F. Morris, "Lesty" Mayes and "Toody" Webb as his active accomplices. He indicated there were others.

"We and the others had some trouble with the nigger at a cafe last night and he drew a pistol on us," Leppard's statement said. "The nigger was arrested and put in jail. Later the four of us went to the jail and asked the jailer to turn the nigger over to us. He refused, telling us we would have to see the chief.

"Chief of Police Rush came in a few minutes later, and we made the same request to him. He told us to wait until dark and come back and we would find the jail unlocked.

"We went back to the jail a short time later and we found the door open and the lock hanging in the cell door pushed together as if it had been locked.

"We took the nigger out and drove him down the road in my car. All of us beat him with automobile top tubes and left him beside the road still alive."

Leppard said this was at 7:30 o'clock last night. Just after 8 o'clock this morning, the worker's body, bearing many welts, was found in plain view of the highway by a small Negro boy.

LYNCHING OCT. 8 RAISES TOTAL

Ohio American

Number Jumps to 31 as Six Are Murdered in Two Months.

10-14-33
Baltimore, Md.

[Exclusively to the AFRO]

NINETY-SIX, S.C. — With the lynching Sunday night of Bennie Thompson, South Carolina raises the lynch total for the year to 31. This is the largest number in the past five years.

Thompson had been arrested for threatening some white men with a knife. Taken from jail Sunday night, he was beaten to death with auto inner tubes and his battered body left alongside the road where it was found Tuesday.

Benley Sippard, and Lester Mayer, both white, admit their share in the crime. Two other known white men are being sought.

Other Lynchings.

In the short space of two months six others have been lynched. They are: 10-14-33

WILLARD, N.C., August 27, Doc Rogers, shot to death in his home. He wounded a white woman.

PANAMA CITY, Fla., September 2, Paul Orthey. Body riddled and burned for threatening to sue a sheriff.

MINTER CITY, Miss., September 18, Richard Roscoe. Shot to death, body dragged through city by auto and left before his home as a warning to other Negroes. He fought with a white man who started the quarrel.

ALABAMA DOES ITS PART

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., September 24, Dennis Cross. Shot to death by mob who entered his home posing as officers. He was under bond on charges preferred by a white woman.

OPELOUSAS, Ala., September 23 John White, taken from sheriff and shot to death. He was accused of attempted attack on white

International Labor Defense reports issued in New York, fixed the total lynchings for the first nine months of 1933 at 31. There were 6 lynchings in 1932, 13 in 1931 and 21 in 1930 and 10 in 1929.

OFFICER IS ACCUSED IN NEGRO'S LYNCHING

Commercial Appeal

Police Chief Left Jail Open to Alleged Slayers

10-11-33

NINETY SIX, S. C., Oct. 10.—(INS)—A South Carolina police chief was accused today of abetting the lynching of a negro youth while a coroner's jury returned murder charges against four textile workers.

Memphis

Burley Leppard, one of the accused slayers, asserted that Police Chief Rush left the city jail unlocked so the negro could be abducted from his cell.

The negro, arrested for allegedly drawing a pistol on Leppard, was taken forcibly from the jail, spirited to a woodland and flogged to death with automobile tubes.

Leppard admitted at the coroner's inquest that he flogged the negro, but said the victim was alive when they turned him loose. He named J. F. Morris, "Lesty" Mayes and "Toody" Webb as his accomplices.

Solicitor H. C. Blackwell said he would ask the grand jury to indict Police Chief Rush as an accessory to the killing.

South Carolina

3891

Lynchings-1933

Cases of

SOUTH CAROLINA MOB LYNCHES HELPLESS MAN

Journal & Guide
7-15-33.
Norfolk, Va.

Drags Him From Jail And Leaves Body In Churchyard

Special to Journal and Guide

CLINTON, S. C.—Four "unidentified" white men dragged Norris Bendy, 35, from the small jail here early Wednesday, beat and strangled him to death, and then left his bruised and lifeless body in a churchyard near here.

The jail had no regular jailer. Bendy had been imprisoned late on July 5 for striking a white truck driver, Marvin Lollis, 22, and "resisting arrest."

The lynchers came to the jail about midnight, its Negro jaintor said, knocked the lock off the door with a wrench, forced Bendy into their automobile, and disappeared before an alarm could be spread.

A deputy sheriff, Thad Moore, white, sent by Sheriff Columbus Owens, also white, of Laurens County, found the body in the old Sardis Churchyard, seven miles from here, shortly before 1 p. m. Wednesday.

Severely Beaten

The body had been severely beaten and around the victim's neck was a rope. Apparently the man had been hanged elsewhere and dragged to the spot where it was found. Chief of Police George Holland said Bendy had not been shot.

Lollis and Bendy each drove a truckload of picnickers to Lake Murray, in the lower part of the county, for a Fourth of July celebration. They argued, witnesses said. Bendy struck Lollis with a stick, inflicting a gash on his cheek.

White men sought to capture him, and Bendy—fearing harm would come to him—fled in his truck. Officers at Goldville, between the lake and Clinton, advised to watch for Bendy, arrested him when he arrived there.

Officers at Goldville shot the rear tires off the truck Bendy was escaping in, but the now dead man escaped a second time and continued on here, where he was arrested by Police Chief Holland and other officers.

Authorities announced that there had been "no known threats" against Bendy. As the charge was not considered serious, no extra precautions were taken to guard him.

No Clues—As Usual

Solicitor Homer S. Blackwell announced that an inquest will not be held until next week, pending the gathering of evidence.

The sheriff said he had no clues to the lynchers and was unable to trace their route from Clinton. In contrast to this was the easy capture of Bendy as soon as he struck Lollis and fled.

Although authorities announced Bendy was 35 years of age, he was said to have been just a boy.

A South Carolina law provides that the relatives of a lynched man shall be awarded $5,000 damages by the county in which a lynching takes place. Several years ago a Negro was lynched at Walhalla, S. C., but after the money was awarded his widow the officials took the case to court, where it was dragged out. The widow has never got the money, so far as it is known.

Governor Blackwood declared that the death was a "plain murder" and not a lynching. The public is wondering what he would call a lynching.

N. Y. SUN

NOV 17 1933

NEGRO IS LYNCHED

White Robed South Carolina Band Shoots Victim.

GREENVILLE, S. C., Nov. 17 (A P.).—George Green, a middle-aged Negro, was taken from his home at Taylors near here early today by a band of men robed in white, shot and left dying.

The authorities said they knew of no reason for the lynching of the Negro.

Green's wife said a band of ten or twelve men, wearing robes and masks, appeared at the house and demanded that the Negro come outside.

Green retreated to an inner room, she said, and warned that he would hit the first person to enter with an ax. The men hammered in the door, took Green and fired three shots into his body. He died before he could make a statement.

His wife said one of the men pulled off his mask and revealed that he was white.

Robed Band Murders
South Carolina Negro.

Greenville, S.C., Nov.17-
George Green, middle-aged negro, was taken from his home at Taylors, near here, early today by a band of men robed in white, shot and left dying.
Authorities said they knew of no reason for the slaying of the negro. They were conducting an intense investigation, spurred on by indignation of citizens in the community.
Green's wife said a band of 10 or 12 men, wearing robes and masks, appeared at the house and demanded that the Negro come outside.
Green retreated to an inner room, she said, and warned that he would hit the first person to enter with an axe. The men hammered in the door, took the negro and fired three shots into his body.
The woman said one of the men pulled off his mask and revealed he was white. She fled and notified officers.
Two deputies arrived at the scene just before Green died but he did not rally enough to make a statement.   Constitution 11-18-33.

Lynchings-1933
Cases of

South Carolina

3892

So. Carolina Negro Seized In Jail Cell and Lynched

Daily Worker 7-7-33
New York, N.Y.

COLUMBIA S. C., July 6.—Describing the killing of Morris Bendy, 35-year-old Negro who was yesterday lynched by an armed gang as a "murder and not a lynching," Gov. Blackwood today ordered an "investigation."

Invading the Clinton jail—which has no guards—the gang spirited Bendy away in an automobile and lynched him. After being mercilessly beaten and strangled, the Negro was riddled with bullets.

Bendy had been in jail only a short time having been arrested following an altercation with a white truck driver who accused the Negro of striking him.

After the discovery of the body near Old Sardis Church on the Calhoun highway this morning, Sheriff Columbus Owens said he was "unable to trace the route of the lynchers." The sheriff, of course, disclaimed any knowledge of the identity of the killers.

With no guards at the Clinton jail, the lynchers had little difficulty in making their way to Bendy's cell, after smashing in the lock with a large wrench.

Negro Is Lynched For Striking Trucker

Constitution 7-6-33 Atlanta, Ga.

CLINTON, S. C., July 5.—(AP)—Shot, beaten and strangled, the body of Norris Bendy, Laurens negro, was found seven miles from here today a few hours after four white men had spirited him away from the Clinton jail where he had been held for striking Marvin Tollis, 22-year-old truck driver.

The body was found by Deputy Sheriff Thad Moore at Old Sardis church on the Calhoun highway. It was lying in the yard.

The negro appeared to have been badly beaten, Sheriff Columbus Owens said, with marks of blows on his head, body and "all over." He had been shot once.

Around his neck was a rope. Sheriff Owens said it appeared he had been hanged. The body was cut down and removed to the church.

Sheriff Owens said he had no clues to the lynchers and was unable to trace their route from Clinton, where Bendy was removed from jail shortly after midnight, as the men traveled in an automobile.

John A. Thomas, Laurens county coroner, said an inquest would be held later.

State Joins in Probe Of Lynching of Negro

Constitution 7-7-33 Atlanta, Ga.

CLINTON, S. C., July 6.—(AP)—State constables and local authorities in an investigation today of the slaying of Norris Dendy, 35-year-old negro described by Governor Ibra C. Blackwood, as "a murder—not a lynching."

Some 12 hours after he was taken from the small unguarded town jail the negro's body was found in a churchyard seven miles from here. A rope was around his neck, his face bore wounds which indicated he had been severely beaten and his arms and legs were tied.

Dendy had been arrested for striking a white man in a Fourth of July fight.

After a coroner's jury was impaneled and viewed the body, an inquest was postponed until next week as officers sought more evidence. The county physician reported Dendy came to his death as a result of injuries to his head, which caused a fracture.

Informed of the case at Columbia, Governor Blackwood assigned State Constables J. W. Richardson and W. Fred Newman to it.

South Carolina's last officially recorded lynching occurred June 21, 1930.

Negro Lynched Following Fight With White Man

Advertiser 7-6-33 Montgomery, Ala.

CLINTON, S. C., July 5.—(AP)—Four unidentified white men dragged Norris Bendy, 35-year-old negro, from the small Clinton jail today and a few hours later his beaten and strangled body was found in a churchyard near here.

Bendy was placed in the jail late yesterday for striking Marvin Lollis, 22, white truck driver, and resisting arrest.

About midnight, the jail's negro janitor said, four white men came to the building, knocked the lock off with a wrench and forced Bendy into their automobile.

Thad Moore, a deputy sent by Sheriff Columbus Owens, of Laurens County, to search for the negro and his captors, found the body in the old Sardis Churchyard, near here, shortly before 1 p.m.

It bore marks of a severe beating and around the negro's neck was a rope. Sheriff Owens said Bendy had apparently been hanged somewhere else and the body removed there.

Lollis and Bendy each drove a truckload of picnickers to Lake Murray for a Fourth of July celebration yesterday.

The negro and white man became involved in an argument, witnesses said, and Bendy struck Lollis with a stick, inflicting a gash on his cheek. The negro fled but at Clinton he was arrested.

There had been no known threats against Bendy and as the charge against him was not considered serious, no extra precautions were taken to guard him.

Solicitor Homer S. Blackwell announced an inquest would not be held until next week, pending the gathering of evidence.

An Old Dixie Sport

Amsterdam News 7-12-33 New York, N.Y.

LYNCHING SEEMS to be an old Southern custom. Shortly after Tuskegee Institute announced that only six persons were lynched (the International Labor Defense reports eleven) during the first half of 1933, four whites at Clinton, S. C., broke into the jail and carried away Norris Bendy, who was accused of striking a white truck driver on July 4. Bendy's broken body was found in a graveyard, seven miles away.

IF EDUCATION will end this horrible practice, then plenty teachers will have to get busy in the South. If organized resistance is the best method for meeting murderous whites, there is a big job of organizing ahead for the Southern Negro. The sheriff has been able to find no clue to the killers who smashed their way into his unguarded jail, and the governor says the crime was not a lynching. He called it an ordinary murder. How long can the South expect Negroes to remain passive? We believe dynamite must explode if toyed with too long.

Newberry, S. C. Observer
July 7, 1933

A REFLECTION ON THE SOUTH OF OLD

The lynching of a negro in Clinton, for resisting arrest and striking a young white man, is a regrettable incident, and one that casts reflection on our Southland with her enviable record of chivalry and square dealing. There was a time in the history of the South when such was excusable (if such an atrocious deed is ever excusable even in the upbuilding of a new land and a new morale), but that time has long since passed.

In such cases the courts of justice rarely fail to work swiftly. Given a proper trial, the negro would doubtless have reaped his just punishment. While we have taken long strides in handling such cases of mob violence, it is regretted that this backward step was taken in our own state.

Abbeville, S. C. Press and Banner
July 6, 1933

Negro Taken Out Clinton Jail And Lynched

Beaten And Strangled Body Is Found At Graveyard Gate By Officers

Clinton, July 5.—Four unidentified white men dragged Norris Dendy, 35-year-old negro, from the small Clinton jail early today and a few hours later his beaten and strangled body was found in a churchyard near here.

Dendy was placed in the jail, a small town building with no regular jailor, late yesterday for striking Marvin Lollis, 22, white Clinton truck driver, and resisting arrest.

About midnight, the jail's negro janitor said, four white men came to the building, knocked the lock off with wrench and forced Dendy into their automobile. They disappeared before an alarm could be spread.

Thad Moore, one of the deputies of Sheriff Columbus Owens of Laurens county, sent out to search for the negro and his captors, found the body in the Old Sardis churchyard, seven miles from here shortly before 1 p. m.

It bore marks of a severe beating and around the negro's neck was a rope. The body, however, was lying at the gateway to the church's cemetery and Sheriff Owens said Dendy had apparently been hanged somewhere else and the body removed there.

One of the negro's wounds was first mistaken for a bullet wound but George Holland, Clinton police chief who examined the body, said Dendy had not been shot.

Lollis and Dendy each drove a truckload of picnickers to Lake Murray, in the lower part of Laurens county, for a Fourth of July celebration yesterday.

The negro and white man became involved in an argument, witnesses said, and Dendy struck Lollis with a stick, inflicting a gash on his cheek.

When white men at the picnic attempted to apprehend him, the negro fled in his truck but officers at Goldville, between the lake and Clinton, were advised to watch for him and when he arrived there he was arrested. Goldville officers brought him here where he was placed in jail.

There had been no known threats against Dendy and as the charge against him was not considered serious, no extra precautions were taken to guard him.

Charlotte, N. C., News
July 6, 1933

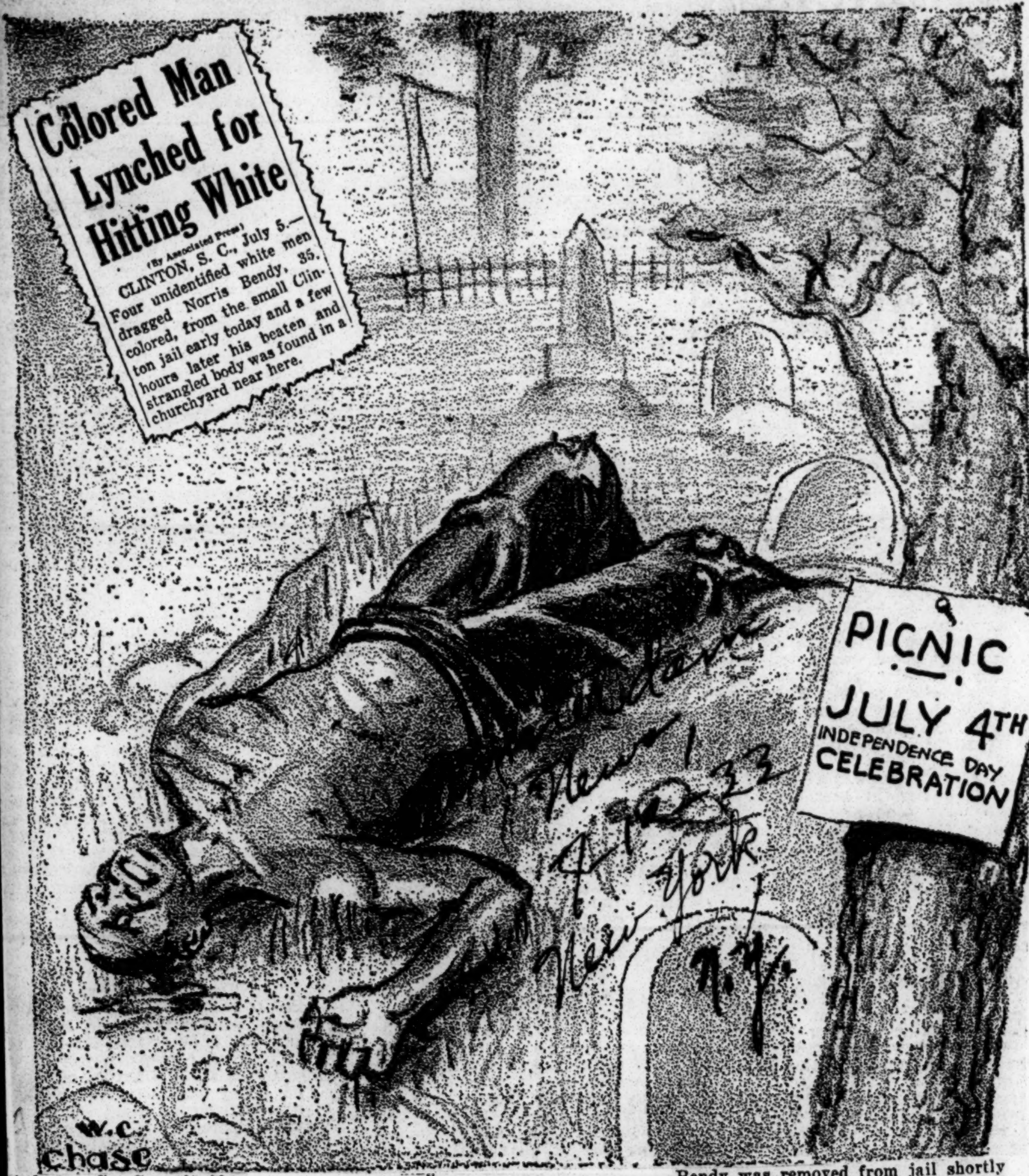
Murder in Clinton.

"The Negro and the white man got into an argument witnesses said, and Dendy [the Negro] struck Lollis with a stick and inflicted a gash on his cheek." For that high offense against the superior race the colored man was taken out of jail, beaten and hanged.

Governor Blackwood is accurate when he classifies it as murder rather than a lynching. No crime against the State of South Carolina had been committed until the four unknown whites beat the lock off the jail door and forced the alleged misdemeanant inside to accompany them to his death. Four white men, avenging an insult to one of their race who had become involved in an argument with a Negro! To hell with the constitution! White supremacy must be preserved even if in the dead of night and with a four-to-one margin of physical strength.

Ordinarily, arrest and conviction of members of mobs is complicated by the circumstance that everyone knows Judge Lynch only beat Judge Law to the draw. In this case there was no such mitigating circumstance. It was nothing but murder, and as murderers the four white brethren should themselves know what it is like to hear the baying of the hounds and the shouts of an aroused posse.

After the Celebration : : By CHASE



Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
July 6, 1933

Negro Is Lynched For Striking Trucker

CLINTON, S. C., July 5.—(AP)—Shot, beaten and strangled, the body of Norris Bendy, Laurens county negro, was found seven miles from here today a few hours after four white men had spirited him away from the Clinton jail where he had been held for striking Marvin Tollis, 22-year-old truck driver.

The body was found by Deputy Sheriff Thad Moore at Old Sardis church on the Calhoun highway. It was lying on the ground.

The negro appeared to have been badly beaten, Sheriff Columbus Owens said, with marks of blows on his head, body and "all over." He had been shot once.

Around his neck was a rope. Sheriff Owens said it appeared he had been hanged. The body was cut down and removed to the church.

Sheriff Owens said he had no clues to the lynchers and was unable to trace their route from Clinton, where Bendy was removed from jail shortly after midnight, as the men traveled in an automobile.

John A. Thomas, Laurens county coroner, said an inquest would be held later.

Charleston, S. C., Evening Post
July 5, 1933

NEGRO LYNCHED NEAR CLINTON

Prisoner Spirited from Jail by White Men Early Today

Clinton, July 5. (AP)—Shot, beaten and strangled, the body of Norris Bendy, Laurens county negro, was found seven miles from here today a few hours after four white men had spirited him away from the Clinton jail where he had been held for striking Marvin Lollis, 22-year-old truck driver.

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Sheriff Owens said he had no clues to the lynchers and was unable to trace their route from Clinton, where Bendy was removed from jail shortly after midnight, as the men traveled in an automobile.

Deep Mystery

"I have no idea who to look for right now," Sheriff Owens said, "but we are continuing our investigation."

John A. Thomas, Laurens county coroner, said an inquest would be held later.

The Clinton jail, a typical small town calaboose, has no regular jailor but a negro janitor told authorities he saw the prisoner taken by four men.

One of the men, the janitor said, had a large wrench. This was used to knock the lock off the jail. Bendy was brought out and placed in an automobile, which was quickly driven away.

Bendy struck Lollis in the lower part of the county late yesterday. When white men there attempted to place him under arrest, he evaded them and travelled on a truck to Goldville.

Officers there shot the rear tires off the truck in an effort to halt Bendy but the negro escaped a second time and continued on here, where he was arrested by George Holland, Clinton police chief, and other officers.

Chief Holland ordered Bendy locked up until Laurens county authorities could come for him. There had been no threats against the negro, so far as was known here, and no extra precautions were taken to guard him.

Authorities said Lollis and Bendy each drove a truckload of picnickers to Lake Murray for a Fourth of July celebration yesterday.

While there, the two became involved in an argument and the 35-year-old negro struck Lollis with a stick, inflicting a gash on his cheek, authorities said.

The negro fled when an effort was made to apprehend him but when he got to Goldville officers arrested him and later took him to Clinton, where he was placed in jail.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
NEWS

JUL 6 1933

WHAT OF OUR OWN SAVAGES?

While we continue to send missionaries to teach the benighted people of benighted foreign lands we might well give a thought to the benighted people of our own land. Those of some of the southern states who seem to be still living in the dark ages, as witness the lynching of a Negro at Clinton, S. C., because he got into an argument with a white man and hit the latter with a stick.

These savages of a supposedly civilized and enlightened nation are worse, far worse than the natives of a really savage country who cannot comprehend that there is anything wrong in taking human life and where the law is to kill first and consider afterward, if there is anything in the way of consideration at all.

One can understand the hysteria that follows certain crimes in the South, although one can never sympathize with the participants in lynching bees or find the slightest excuse for them when they take the law into their own hands. Perhaps we are in error in calling this latest southern outrage a lynching. The governor of the state says that it was not a lynching but a murder. Well, the unfortunate victim was taken from a jail for a petty offense and first brutally beaten and then hanged. The governor of the state is welcome to call it what he may. The facts are there. They stare the people of the state in the face to their eternal discredit.

LOWELL, MASS.
COURIER CITIZEN

JUL 8 1933

Of late years the South has made substantial progress in checking the lynching evil, and sentiment in the North has been rather lenient toward that crime when it has been committed as a warning against attacks on women. But the latest outrage, in South Carolina, has seldom been equalled in its wantonness since the stormy days of Reconstruction. The Negro victim had quarreled with a white man and struck him. It was not even a felonious assault apparently, as the weapon used was only a stick and the wound inflicted was a mere gash on the cheek. But a mob dragged the Negro from the custody of the jail and hanged him, no special precautions having been taken by the arresting officers for his safety, doubtless because it was not supposed that any attempt would be made to lynch him for so trivial an offense. Of course it is understood now, and probably will be for years to come in some of the southern states, that a Negro must not strike a white man; but to hang a man for the crime is a disgrace to the state of South Carolina that can be wiped out only by the capture and punishment of some of the murderers.

Lynchings - 1933 Cases of

Tennessee.

3893

Bodies Of Two Tennessee Prisoners, Bullet-Riddled, Are Found In Woods

6-10-33

HUNTSVILLE, TENN., June 9.—(AP)—Riddled with bullets, the bodies of Jerome Boyett, 22, and Harvey Winchester, 23, white prisoners taken from the Scott County jail last night by approximately 25 armed, masked men, were found today in a woods near a roadside two miles from here. Both were in jail on charges of murder.

Six bullets had bored the body of Winchester who was found fully dressed by Archie Lewallan, who was walking along the road. Near Winchester's body was an extra pair of trousers, shirt and slippers.

Several hours later, officers tramping through the woods, found Boyett's body in a clump of bushes 40 yards from where Winchester's body had been discovered. It was stripped of its clothing, Deputy Sheriff J. C. Phillips said.

The deputy said Boyett had been shot with seven bullets, most of them penetrating the back of his body. One had entered the back of his head. Phillips said officers had no clues as to the identity of the men taking Boyett and Winchester from jail.

About 25 men, armed with pistols and wearing sacks over their heads, came to the jail about midnight, Sheriff Esau Laxton related, called the jailer to the door, struck him over the head with a pistol and took his keys. They went to the third floor of the jail, dragged the prisoners outside, cut the telephone line to the jail and drove away in four cars.

The sheriff was not at the jail at the time, he said, but declared that his wife, the jailer, and others failed to recognize any of the masked men.

Boyett was charged with the slaying of Sheriff G. B. Willingham and his son, Floyd Willingham, of Pickett County, several weeks ago. As the Willinghams approached a box car, they were fired upon. The son was killed instantly and the father died later.

Winchester had been in jail about five months on charges of slaying Namon Perry and Esker Thompson near Winfield.

Both Boyett and Winchester lived in Scott County.

2 YOUTHS TAKEN FROM JAIL, SLAIN IN WOODS

25 Armed, Masked Men Kill Pair Held For Murder.

6-10-33

BODIES FOUND NEAR ROAD

Lynching Occurs Two Miles From Huntsville, Tenn.—Jerome Boyett and Harvey Winchester Are Victims.

By The Associated Press.

HUNTSVILLE, Tenn., June 9.—Riddled with bullets, the bodies of Jerome Boyett, 22, and Harvey Winchester, 23, prisoners taken from the Scott County jail last night by 25 armed, masked men, were found today in a woods near a roadside two miles from here. Both were in jail on charges of murder.

Memphis, Tenn.

Six bullets had been bored through the body of Winchester, who was fully dressed. He was found by Archie Lewallen, who was walking along the road. Near Winchester's body was an extra pair of trousers, shirt and slippers.

In Clump of Bushes.

Several hours later officers found Boyett's body in a clump of bushes 40 yards from where Winchester's body had been discovered. It was stripped of its clothing, Deputy Sheriff J. C. Phillips said.

The deputy said that Boyett had been shot with seven bullets, most of them penetrating the back of his body. One had entered the back of his head.

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The sheriff was not at the jail at the time, he said, but declared that his wife, the jailer, and others failed to recognize any of the masked men.

Held for Killing Sheriff.

Boyett was charged with the slaying of Sheriff J. B. Willingham and his son, Floyd Willingham of Pickett County several weeks ago. As the Willinghams approached a box car they were fired upon. The son was killed instantly and the father died later.

Boyett's father was taken into custody and he told officers he believed that he could find his son, who was also wanted in connection with the slaying. The father was released and next day was found mysteriously slain.

Winchester had been in jail about five months on charges of slaying Namon Perry and Esker Thompson near Winfield.

Both Boyett and Winchester lived in Scott County.

2 Accused Murderers Taken From Jail, Slain

Commercial Appeal

HUNTSVILLE, Tenn., June 9.—(AP)—Riddled with bullets, the body of Jerome Boyette, who with Harvey Winchester, a fellow prisoner, was taken from the Scott county jail last night by armed men, was found late today 40 feet from where the bullet-pierced body of Winchester had been found earlier. Both were white prisoners and held in jail on murder charges.

6-10-33

J. C. Phillips, a deputy sheriff with the party making the discovery, said Boyette's body had been bored with seven bullets, most of them having entered the back.

Atlanta, Ga.

Boyette was in jail charged with the murder of Sheriff J. B. Willingham and his son, Floyd Willingham, of Pickett county, and Winchester was charged with the murder of Namon Perry and Esker Thompson at Winfield.

Sheriff Esau Lexton said the prisoners were taken from jail near midnight last night by about 25 masked, armed men, who overpowered the jailer and took his keys.

Crossville Tenn. Chronicle

June 15, 1933

Two Men Taken from Huntsville Jail an Lynched Last Week

Thursday night of last week a posse of about 25 men took Jerome Boyett and Harvey Winchester from the jail at Huntsville and lynched them by shooting them to death. The overalls and shoes of Boyett were found about two miles from the jail.

Both bodies were found the next day riddled with bullets. Boyett had been shot several times through the body and two shots through his head. Both men were charged with murder. There was reported to be much indignation in Huntsville over the death of Winchester as many persons felt he was not guilty as charged.

Boyett is the man who admitted shooting and killing Sheriff Winningham and his son who was acting as deputy sheriff, when they approached a box car and ordered Boyett and some other men to surrender. They had been charged with disturbance and assault. Boyett is said to have fired out of the car door. The sheriff was killed instantly and his son mortally woundedand died in a Nashville hospital the next day.

The father of Boyett promised to have his son surrender, but a few days afterward his body was found in the woods some distance from any house. Some persons felt that Boyett had killed his father.

Columbia, Tenn., Negro Lynched

Advertiser

12-16-33

COLUMBIA, TENN., Dec. 15.—(AP)—The body of Cord Cheek, 20-year-old negro whom the Grand Jury had refused to indict following his arrest for an attempted attack on an 11-year-old girl, was found hanging from the limb of a cedar tree near here tonight.

Sheriff Claude Godwin said the lynching was "handled in a very quiet manner" and that "no one knew anything about it."

Montgomery, Ala.

The sheriff said he received an anonymous telephone call that he could find a "dead negro at the forks of the road" in the Glendale section of the county and to "come and get him."

When Sheriff Godwin arrived the negro apparently had been dead only a short time, the officer said, but there was no trace of those responsible for his death.

LYNCHING VICTIM FIRST ABDUCTED, INQUIRY REVEALS

COLUMBIA, Tenn., Dec. 16.—(AP)—Investigators learned today that Cord Cheek, 18-year-old negro, lynched near here last night had been abducted from the home of relatives in Nashville shortly after his release from jail upon the grand jury's failure to indict here in connection with an alleged attempted attack on a young white girl.

Sheriff L. A. Bauman at Nashville was told that the negro had been at the home of his relatives there only a few minutes when a band of armed men appeared in automobiles and spirited him away. No report of him was received until a telephone call advised that he had been lynched.

Sheriff Bauman declared that the kidnaping of Cheek in Nashville was "one of the most high-handed things which has happened around here in a long time." As kidnaping is a federal offense, he suggested to the negro's relatives that they take up the matter with United States authorities.

W. A. Pinkston, chief deputy sheriff here, said an investigation into the lynching of Cheek, whose body was found hanging from a cedar tree limb in the Glendale section of the county was under way, but that no clue to the identity of the lynchers had been found.

STORY OF NEGRO'S LYNCHING RELATED

Advertiser

Youth Had Been At Home Of Relatives Only 20 Minutes Before Mob Arrived

COLUMBIA, TENN., Dec. 16.—(AP)—Investigators learned today that Cord Cheek, 18-year-old negro lynched near here last night, had been abducted from the home of relatives in Nashville shortly after his release from jail upon the grand jury's failure to indict him in connection with an alleged attempted attack on a young white girl.

12-17-33

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Sheriff Bauman declared that the kidnaping of Cheek in Nashville was "one of the most highhanded things which has happened around here in a long time." As kidnaping is a federal offense, he suggested to the negro's relatives that they take up the matter with U. S. authorities.

W. A. Pinkston, chief deputy sheriff here, said an investigation into the lynching of Cheek, whose body was found hanging from a cedar tree limb in the Glendale section of the county, was under investigation but that no clue to the identity of the lynchers had been found.

He expressed the belief that Cheek had been killed and his body dragged over the road behind an automobile before it was hanged to the limb near a forks of the road. This belief was based on the fact that the body contained three pistol bullet wounds and a deep gash in the head as if Cheek had been struck with something. Also, fine gravel was found in his clothing. The youth's neck was broken.

Death by lynching at the hands of "unknown parties" was the verdict returned after a coroner's inquest.

The alleged attempted attack occurred about a month ago in the Glendale section, where the 11-year-old orphan girl lived. Cheek was employed about her home.

As soon as he was arrested he was taken to Pulaski because of high feeling in the neighborhood and later was removed to the stronger jail in Nashville for safekeeping.

But when the county grand jury met Wednesday it failed to return an indictment against Cheek and orders were sent to Nashville to release him. Chief Deputy Pinkston expressed the opinion that the grand jury failed to act because no witnesses appeared before it in the case.

When Cheek was released from the Nashville jail bystanders gave him a few coins and he was directed how to reach the home of his relatives. Twenty minutes after reaching there, the armed men arrived and seized him.

NEGRO LYNCHED

Man Accused of Assault Is Hanged to Cedar Tree

COLUMBIA, Tenn., Dec. 15 (AP)—The body of Cord Cheek, 20-year-old Negro whom the grand jury had refused to indict following his arrest for an attempted attack on an 11-year-old girl, was found hanging from the limb of a cedar tree near here tonight.

Sheriff Claude Godwin said the lynching was "handled in a very quiet manner" and that "no one knew anything about it."

Bullet Wounds in Body.

He expressed the belief that Cheek had been killed and his body dragged over the road behind an automobile before it was hanged to the limb near forks of the road. This belief was based on the finding of three pistol bullet wounds in the body, a deep gash in the head and fine gravel in the clothing. The youth's neck was broken.

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MOB KIDNAPPED TENNESSEE NEGRO

Inquiry Shows Lynching Followed Seizure at Home of Relatives in Nashville.

JUST FREED BY THE COURT

Sheriff Calls Act 'High-Handed' and Advises Kin of Victim to Invoke Federal Law

COLUMBIA, Tenn., Dec. 16 (AP).—Investigators learned today that Cord Cheek, an 18-year-old Negro lynched near here last night, had been abducted from the home of relatives in Nashville soon after his release from jail upon the grand jury's failure to indict him in connection with an alleged attempted attack on a young white girl.

Sheriff L. A. Bauman at Nashville was told that Cheek had been at the home of his relatives there only a few minutes when a band of armed men appeared in automobiles and spirited him away. No report of him was received until a telephone call last night advised that he had been lynched.

Sheriff Bauman declared that the kidnapping of Cheek in Nashville was "one of the most high-handed things which has happened around here in a long time." As kidnapping is a Federal offense, he suggested to the Negro's relatives that they take up the matter with United States authorities.

W. A. Pinkston, chief deputy sheriff at Columbia, said that an investigation into the lynching of Cheek, whose body was found hanging from a cedar tree limb in the Glendale section, was under way, but that no clue to the identity of the lynchers had been found.

FISK STUDENTS SEE BOY KIDNAPED TO BE LYNCHED

COLUMBIA, Tenn., Dec. 22.—Lynched because he was black! That is the only correct answer to the kidnaping, mutilating and hanging of 17-year-old Cordie Cheek, about five miles out of this town last Friday morning. Young Cheek had been arrested in November and charged with "attempting to attack" a young white girl in whose home he worked. At the time of the arrest it was known that there was no evidence against the boy.

It was known throughout the town that Cheek had fought with a white man who owed him some money and had become insulted when he asked for it. This white man, a member of a gang of hoodlums here, resented the fact that many whites here took sides with Cordie Cheek.

It was directly on the heels of this fight that Cheek was taken into custody and rushed to Nashville, in Davidson county, for safe keeping. When the grand jury, after hearing the facts in the case, adjourned last week without indicting the boy, this same white man rounded up his gang and proceeded to stir Columbia with demands that "white womanhood be protected." White friends of Cheek warned him of this situation and advised him not to return to Columbia.

Students Get Numbers

Cheek, leaving the county courthouse, went directly to the home of relatives in Nashville, who happened to live near Fisk university. Twenty minutes after his arrival two cars halted in front of the house and a group of white men alighted. Two Fisk university students, whose names have been kept secret for their protection, observed the men enter the house. They took the automobile numbers, 74-297 and 71-373, and traced them to the ownership of C. H. Denton and Robert Hancock, both of Glendale, a suburb of Columbia, where early Friday morning the boy's body was found hanging to a tree.

All of this information has been placed in the hands of Sheriff Bauman of Davidson county and officials of Maury county, where the lynching took place. Governor Hill McAlister, in offering a reward of $1,000 leading to the capture of the lynchers, has demanded that thorough investigation be carried out. Criminal Judge Chester K. Hart also instructed the grand jury to "take such steps as may be necessary to bring the guilty parties to justice." On the other hand, Sheriff W. A. Pinkston of Maury county has expressed doubt that any progress will be made in punishing the mobbists.

Citizens Aroused

In the meantime the better element of white in Nashville and Columbia are expressing themselves as being enraged at the wanton murder of this innocent boy. The Nashville Tennessean, in an editorial, says:

"Here is a case that on its face looks as ugly as hell. A citizen has been kidnaped and abducted in Davidson county and slaughtered in Maury county for an offense that the Maury county grand jury failed to find supported by the evidence brought before it."

Cordie Cheek, the lynched boy, was of good reputation. He worked in the home of a white family, went to school whenever he had the opportunity and attended to his own business. The girl who he was accused of attacking was also well known as a polite, well-mannered child. Immediately upon information that the boy had been arrested for attempting to attack her, she denied it as did her sister.

The situation here has been bad for a long time. The white hoodlums responsible for Cheek's death are known to represent a certain element in Columbia that preys on black women at night and stirs up racial friction by day

Lynchings - 1933
Cases of

Texas.

3894

TEXAS LYNCH SPIRIT QUIETED BY SHERIFF

Constitution

Mob Desists After Burning Body of Negro Accused in Assault.

12-9-33

KOUNTZE, Texas, Dec. 8.—(AP)—The mob spirit which flared here in the burning of the body of David Gregory, 25-year-old negro charged with assaulting and killing a white woman, had died out tonight and county officials expressed the belief there would be no attempt to harm other negroes.

A mob of about 400 whites seized Gregory's body from Sheriff Miles Jordan last night after the negro had been slain by officers while resisting arrest, and dragged it behind an automobile for two hours. The body then was partly dismembered and burned on a bonfire in the negro district.

The mob threatened to go to the county jail for one of three negroes arrested and questioned in the belief that he had known Gregory's whereabouts, but desisted when the sheriff warned that he would protect his prisoners.

A heavy guard was placed about the county jail today. Sheriff Jordan said he planned to release the three negroes and advise them to leave this vicinity for a while. He said he and his deputies were keeping a sharp watch to prevent further violence and would not hesitate to shoot to protect other negroes.

Texas Mob Mutilates Man Slain by Deputies

Constitution

KOUNTZE, Texas, Dec. 8.—(AP)—(Friday.)—A mob early today mutilated the body of David Gregory, negro ex-convict shot to death by officers hunting him for the slaying of a white woman, Mrs. Mellie Williams Brockman.

12-8-33

Six negroes who had been arrested for investigation in the Brockman killing are in the Hardin county jail at Kountze and some members of the mob, which numbered about 200, were reported to have considered taking two of these men. The two negroes mentioned in this connection were the ones believed to have aided Gregory in escaping from Kountze a few days ago.

Ralph Chance, deputy sheriff, fatally wounded the negro with a charge of buckshot after a group of officers surrounded him in a negro church at Voth, Texas. Officers said Gregory, called upon to surrender, drew a pistol.

MOB DRAGS BODY THROUGH STREETS

Telegraph

Negro Fatally Wounded by Deputy Is Taken From Officers and Trailed Behind Car

12-9-33

BEAUMONT, Texas, Dec. 7. (AP) The body of David Gregory, Negro slain in resisting arrest on a charge of slaying a white woman, was taken from Sheriff Miles Jordan by a mob of 300 men in Kountze, Texas, at 11:30 o'clock tonight, tied to the back of a motor car and dragged through the Negro section of the town.

Ralph Chance, deputy sheriff, fatally wounded the Negro with a charge of buckshot after a group of officers surrounded him in a Negro church at Voth, Texas. Officers said Gregory, called upon to surrender ,drew a pistol.

Gregory, an ex-convict, was accused of attacking and shooting Mrs. Mellie Brockman, 30, of Kountze, who was found dead on a highway beside her burning motor truck Saturday.

Texas Mob Mutilates Man Slain by Deputies

Atlanta Constitution

KOUNTZE, Texas, Dec. 8.—(AP)—(Friday.)—A mob early today mutilated the body of David Gregory, negro ex-convict shot to death by officers hunting him for the slaying of a white woman, Mrs. Mellie Williams Brockman.

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Mob Mutilates Body Of Negro

Advertiser

KOUNTZE, TEXAS, Dec. 8.—(Friday)—(AP)—A mob early today mutilated the body of David Gregory, negro ex-convict shot to death by officers hunting him for the slaying of a white woman. Mrs. Mellie Williams Brockman.

12-8-33

Before cutting out the negro's heart the mob dragged his body at the end of a chain through the negro section of Kountze for 35 minutes.

A bonfire had been built on the highway through Kountze, a town of about 1,200 population, but, while the negro was being dragged behind the car, the fire died down. The mob was reported to have planned to burn the body.

Six negroes who had been arrested for investigation in the Brockman killing are in the Hardin County Jail at Kountze and some members of the mob, which numbered about 200, were reported to have considered taking two of these men. The two negroes mentioned in this connection were the ones believed to have aided Gregory in escaping from Kountze a few days ago.

Texans Searching For Negro Killer

Telegraph

Body of Woman Found Partly Burned Stirs Vigilants

12-4-33

BEAUMONT, Texas, Dec. 3. (AP)—Armed citizens and officers were spurred tonight in their search for a Negro accused of killing Mrs. Nellie Williams Brockman, 30, and attempting to burn her body with her automobile truck, after a Texas ranger and members of the crew of a freight train shot at a Negro who set fire to a railroad bridge early today.

The Negro fled from the scene of the blazing railroad bridge near Fuqua, 20 miles west of Mountze, where Mrs. Brockman's body was found last night.

Officers expressed the opinion the killer set fire to the bridge to stop the train, so he could board it. As he ran from the brush thickets toward the train, two of the train crew opened fire on him and he retreated.

A posse of citizens and officers with bloodhounds plunged into the maze of brush thickets in pursuit but early tonight had not picked up the trail.

Mrs. Brockman left her farm home shortly after noon yesterday to drive alone to Mountze to exchange a pair of baby shoes she had bought. Early in the evening her body was found, a shotgun wound in the head, beside her blazing truck. The woods nearby were afire and Mrs. Brockman's body was partly burned.

Texas Negro Killed By Officers; Body Mutilated By Mob

Mass. Negro in Jail on "Rape" Charge in Lynch Danger

Daily Worker

KOUNTZE, Texas, Dec. 8.—**After county officers shot and mortally wounded David Gregory, a Negro, last night, a mob of more than 300 mutilated his body and then burned it to a crisp.**

12-9-33

Members of the mob cut out the Negro's heart and sexual organs and cast them into the flames.

New York, N.Y.

To strike terror into the hearts of the Negro population in this little town the mob had dragged the body of the slain Negro to a pyre in the Negro section of Kountze.

Without a shred of evidence to prove Gregory guilty of the crime, an armed posse seized the Negro on a charge of killing Mrs. Nellie Williams Brookman, the wife of a farmer, whose body was found on a highway near here last Saturday.

Last night the posse trailed Gregory to the belfry of a Negro church at Voth, where he was hiding, and shot and wounded him. Later they explained that the Negro had "resisted arrest."

Wounded and unconscious, Gregory was taken to a hospital at Beaumont. He died a short time afterward. The body was taken to Silsbee, a small town near here.

When the mob, which had been slowly increasing in size heard of this, they made their way to Silsbee where the sheriff obligingly turned the Negro's body over to them.

Rewards totalling $700 offered for the apprehension of the slayer of Mrs. Brockman undoubtedly did much to stimulate the "nigger hunt."

Danger of further mob action is great in view of the fact that two other Negroes are being held by the police on the charge that they "aided" Gregory escape immediately after the body of Mrs. Brockman was discovered.

Kountze is a small town near Beaumount, with only a few hundred residents. It was at one time an active saw-mill town. The Negroes live far apart from the white section.

The International Labor Defense of Houston as well as a mass meeting of unemployed sent vigorous telegrams to Sheriff Miles Jordan, denouncing the wanton killing and mutilation of Gregory.

* * *

BOSTON, Dec. 8.—Declaring that the "victim" had denied that she was attacked by James Cole, 24-year-old Negro, the New England district of the International Labor Defense has wired Governor Ely, demanding he use the "full powers of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to prevent a lynching."

Cole, imprisoned in Pittsfield, Mass., is in imminent danger of lynching following charges that he had attacked Harriet Richards, 26-year old beauty parlor operator, on a bus which Cole and a white companion, Nicholas Waypovich, are accused of having commandeered.

District Attorney Thomas F. Moriarty said last night that he would ask life sentences for both men.

The wire of the I.L.D. to Gov. Ely follows:

"The press reports lynch spirit against James Cole, who is charged with criminal assault upon Harriet Richards. The whole case is an obvious frame-up based on an alleged 'confession' by Cole. Miss Richards denies the assault, thus proving that this is a typical example of lynch incitement by the capitalist press.

"We demand, in the name of 7,000 members and affiliates, that you use the full powers of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to prevent a possible lynching of Cole. We are calling upon all Negro and white opponents of lynching to support this demand."

Protest Meet Sunday

The I.L.D. is planning a mass protest meeting against the Scottsboro verdicts and the wave of lynchings throughout the country. The demonstration will be held this Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at Douglass Sq., Hammond and Tremont Sts., South End, Boston.

MOB MUTILATES PRISONER'S BODY

12-8-33

Texas Officers Take Steps to Protect Other Suspects Held in Murder Case

Macon Telegraph

KLUNTZE, Texas, Dec. 8 (AP)—The mob spirit which flared here in the burning of the body of David Gregory, 25-year-old Negro charged with assaulting and killing a white woman, had died out tonight and county officials expressed the belief there would be no attempt to harm other Negroes.

Macon, Ga.

A mob of about 400 whites seized Gregory's body from Sheriff Miles Jordan last night after the Negro had been slain by officers while resisting arrest, and dragged it behind an automobile for two hours. The body then was partly dismembered and burned on a bonfire in the Negro district.

The mob threatened to go to the county jail for one of three Negroes arrested and questioned in the belief that he had known Gregory's whereabouts, but desisted when the sheriff warned that he would protect his prisoners.

County Jail Guarded

A heavy guard was placed about the county jail today. Sheriff Jordan said he planned to release the three Negroes and advise them to leave this vicinity for a while. He said he and his deputies were keeping a sharp watch to prevent further violence and would not hesitate to shoot to protect other Negroes.

County Attorney B. A. Coe said an investigation would be undertaken and that any person able to give information as to the identity of those in the mob make a report to him.

Gregory was charged with attacking and killing Mrs. Mellie Williams Brockman, 30, six days ago.

Death from a shotgun wound inflicted as he resisted arrest in his hideout in a church belfry at Voth probably saved the Negro from falling into the hands of the mob. He died a short time after officers removed him from a Beaumont hospital upon receiving reports that a large crowd intended to storm the building.

New York World-Telegram

DEC 8 1933

NEGRO IS SLAIN AND MUTILATED BY TEXAS POSSE

Victim's Heart Removed After His Capture by Armed Men.

REMAINS ARE SET AFIRE

Seized Hiding in Belfry of Church and Shot Down by Pursuers.

By the Associated Press.

KOUNTZE, Tex., Dec. 8.—David Gregory, a Negro ex-convict accused of attacking and slaying a white woman, was shot to death when he was said to have resisted arrest by a possee and his body later mutilated and burned by a mob which dragged it to a pyre in the Negro section of Kountze early today.

Officers and incensed citizens had been searching for the negro since Mrs. Nellie Williams Brockman, 30, wife of a farmer, was found dead on a highway near here last Saturday.

Last night a possee trailed the Negro to his hiding place in the belfry of a negro church at Voth, a town between Kountze and Beaumont, where he was shot and wounded when officers said he drew a pistol and resisted arrest.

Try to Protect Him.

The wounded Negro, unconscious, was taken to a hospital at Beaumont, but when officers received information a mob was forming at Kountze and starting toward Beaumont, they took the Negro away in an automobile, trying to protect him.

Without regaining consciousness or being able to make any statement as to his guilt or innocence, the Negro died as the car bearing him sped toward Vidor, six miles east of Beaumont.

The body was taken to Silsbee, another small town in the vicinity, by Sheriff Miles Jordan of Hardin County.

Cut Out His Heart.

On learning of these developments, the mob, slowly increasing in size, trailed the sheriff to Silsbee, took the body from him, tied it behind an automobile with chains, and dragged it for thirty-five minutes through the Negro section of Kountze.

Members of the mob of approximately 300, cut out the Negro's heart and other organs before casting it to the flames.

There was talk of raiding the Hardin County jail here and inflicting similar treatment upon two other Negroes under arrest, suspected of having aided Gregory to evade officers shortly after Mrs. Brockman was killed.

Burns the Body.

But the mob dispersed after burning the body.

In the face of mob threats, twenty deputies, rangers and armed citizens stood guard in the county jail until the danger had passed.

Mrs. Brockman started for Kountze alone in a light truck and was found shot to death beside the truck which had been set afire. Flames had seared her body. She had planned to exchange a pair of baby shoes she had purchased.

(L)

Texas.

Lynchings - 1933
Cases of.

MAY 23 1933

MOB KILLS NEGRO, 17

Youth Had Shot Texan and Attempted to Attack Woman.

By the United Press.

CARTHAGE, Tex., May 23.—A Negro boy, 17, was killed by a mob of farmers today, less than fifteen minutes after he is said to have attempted to assault a woman and had shot her brother.

NEGRO ATTACKER SHOT BY POSSE IN SWAMP

Commercial Appeal
5-24-33

Brother of Assault Victim Wounded in Duel

Memphis, Tenn.

CARTHAGE, Texas, May 23.—(AP)—W. C. Lovell, 17-year-old negro, was shot and killed in the Sabine bottoms today less than 10 minutes after he criminally attacked a woman on a farm four miles east of Carthage.

Buddy Nail, a brother of the woman, heard her cries for help and started in pursuit but was shot in the hip by the negro. A large crowd of citizens took up the chase and in a short time Lovell was cornered and was shot and killed instantly.

Lynched by Tex. Posse

CARTHAGE, Texas, May 23.—A 17-year-old Negro boy, Will Lovell, was shot to death by a white lynch mob here today after he was charged with "attempting to assault," Mrs. B. C. Coleman.

5-24-33

The boy was cornered in a field along the Sabine River bottom by a posse of more than 20 and riddled with bullets.

Texas Lynch Mob Cuts Out Heart Of Victim Before Burning Him

Afro

KOUNTZE, Tex.—Another fiendish lynching took place here on December 7, when a mob of 300 took a dead Negro from the custody of the sheriff, cut out his heart and other organs and then burned the body.

12-16-33

The victim was David Gregory, an ex-convict who was killed when he is alleged to have resisted arrest by a posse after he had been accused of the murder of Mrs. Nellie Williams Brockman, 30, wife of a farmer on the highway near here December 2.

Gregory was found hiding in a church belfry at Voth, a town between Kountze and Beaumont. He was shot when officers said he drew a pistol and resisted arrest. He died enroute to the hospital. The body was taken to Silsbee, another small town in the vicinity where the mob took possession of it.

After the burning of the body a special guard was placed around the Hardin County jail to protect two other Negroes who were under arrest suspected of having aided Gregory to evade the officers after Mrs. Brockman was killed.

Lynchings-1933

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings.

3899

Discussions.

Valdosta, Ga., Times
July 4, 1933

LYNCH LAW HIT BY WOMEN TODAY

Georgia Lynchings Condemned in Statement by Council of Women

LANGUAGE IS STRONG

ATLANTA, July 4, (AP)—Three lynchings in Georgia recently were condemned in a statement given out here today by the state council of Southern women for the prevention of lynching.

Mrs. W. J. Neel, of Forsyth, Ga., chairman of the council, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly, secretary, issued the statement.

"We can never hope to banish this crime from our country until every citizen realizes that a lynching indelibly stamps his community as primitive and savage," the statement read.

"Public sentiment must demand effective legal action by the courts against the leaders of lunchers before this crime is wiped out.

"Sheriff Jud Griffin, of Baker county, according to the papers, has shown courage and patriotism of a high order in his determination to uncover the persons involved in the two lynchings in his county. The time must come when every sheriff will know that a lynching in his county marks him as a weakling who is unable to uphold the law.

"We women are more determined than ever to pursue our program of education against this crime. We do not want any one to believe that lynchings are for our protection. The causes lying back of two of these lynchings are fights between men. The third lynching had no cause assigned. In all, six persons lost their lives as the result.

"We deplore all lynching. We condemn them unqualifiedly."

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
July 5, 1933

WOMEN DEPLORE STATE LYNCHINGS

Southern Group Gives Out Statement Condemning Crime in Which Life Is Taken

ATLANTA, July 4 (AP)—Three lynchings in Georgia recently were condemned in a statement given out here today by the state council of southern women for the prevention of lynching.

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Women Determined

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"We deplore all lynchings. We condemn them unqualifiedly."

The statement was issued through the Atlanta office of the committee on interracial co-operation.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
July 4, 1933

Anti-Lynch Meeting

Three lynchings in Georgia in the last six weeks occasioned a special meeting of the State Council of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching called by Mrs. W. J. Neel, of Forsyth, chairman of the organization. Two of the lynchings, it was stated, occurred in Baker County.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
July 5, 1933

LYNCHINGS DEPLORED BY WOMEN'S COUNCIL

Three lynchings in Georgia recently were condemned in a statement given out here Tuesday by the state council of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

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"We deplore all lynching. We condemn them unqualifiedly."

The statement was issued through the Atlanta office of the Committee on Interracial Co-operation.

Atlanta, Ga. Georgian
July 4, 1933

WOMEN ASSAIL MOB VIOLENCE

A statement deploring the three lynchings which have occurred in Georgia in the last six weeks was issued Tuesday by the State Council of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, the result of a special meeting called by the chairman, Mrs. W. J. Neel, of Forsyth.

The statement said there could be no hope of "banishing this crime from our country until every citizen realizes that a lynching indelibly stamps his community as primitive and savage."

Sheriff Jud Griffin, of Baker County, was commended for his determination to discover the persons involved in two lynchings in his county. Mrs. M. E. Tilly is secretary of the council.

Forsyth, Ga., Advertiser
July 6, 1933

WOMEN DEPLORE STATE LYNCHINGS

STATE COUNCIL, HEADED BY MRS. NEEL, GIVES STATEMENT CONDEMING CRIME IN WHICH LIFE IS TAKEN.

ATLANTA, Ga., July 4. — Three lynchings in Georgia recently were condemned in a statement given out here today by the state council of southern women for the prevention of lynching.

Mrs. W. J. Neel, of Forsyth, chairman of the council, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly, secretary, issued the statement.

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Ga. Women Against Mobs

Savannah Tribune
7-27-33
Savannah, Georgia

Leading White Women Voice Protests AGAINST LYNCHING

Demand Quick Action On Mob Leaders

Atlanta, Ga., July 24—Georgia white women, distressed and humiliated by the three recent lynchings in the state, have given to the public statements deploring and condemning the crimes. They did not, however, stop with statements. The sheriff and other law enforcement officers in Warren and Baker counties, where the lynchings occurred, were visited recently by a committee composed of Mrs. W. J. Neel of Forsyth, Mrs. M. E. Tilly of Atlanta, Mrs. E. M. Bailey, of Acworth, and Mrs. C. J. Sapp of Albany. Each member of the committee holds an important official position in either the Southern Methodist or the Southern Baptist Church. The committee, which was accompanied by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of the Council of Southern Women for the Preven-

tion of Lynching, demanded of the officers that immediate and positive steps be taken to approach and punish those who were guilty.

Prominent citizens were also interviewed, and meetings were held with women representing local women's organizations. As a result of those meetings, the Methodist missionary society of Warrenton published in the county paper the following statement:

"Whereas, our community has lately been saddened and also placed in a very bad light before the public by a dual murder and a lynching, be it resolved:

"We, the members of the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Warrenton, Ga., do regret with our whole hearts the terrible blot that has been placed on our state and nation by this lynching and especially do we regret that our own city was the scene of this deed.

"We sincerely wish to join with all the women of our church to do all in our power to prevent a recurrence of such a crime."

This is the first time that a group of Southern white women representing state wide organizations has gone into a county where a lynching has taken place to appeal directly to the women of the county and to the officers.

Savannah Tribune 12-27-33

Federal Anti-Lynching Law To Come Before Group Jan. 7

Association of Southern Women Hears Reports on 27 Persons Killed in 11 States.

By W. F. CALDWELL,
Associated Press Staff Writer.

The subject of a federal anti-lynching law was brought forward in the Georgia Council of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching here Friday, after being told that 27 persons had suffered death in the United States this year to date through lynching.

Several members informally expressed approval of anything to curb lynching but the council itself took no formal action on the question. It recommended that the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching consider the question at their meeting in Atlanta January 9.

The council expressed its "hearty appreciation" of the recent condemnation of lynching by President Roosevelt and Attorney-General Cummings and commended the steps taken by Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, and Governor Park, of Missouri, in lynching cases in their states.

"These were the more notable by a contrast with Governor Rolfe's abject surrender to the mob and the official inaction so commonly observed in such cases," the resolution by the council said, after several speakers had criticized the statement of the California governor relative to the San Jose lynching.

Lynchings by States.

Of the lynchings by states this year, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive director of the council, said that Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina had four each. Mississippi followed with three; Tennessee, two; California two; Maryland, one; Missouri, one; North Carolina, one, and Texas, one.

The alleged offenses of the victims as detailed by Mrs. Ames were: Rape, two; murder of white women, three; insult to white women, two; attempted rape, two; kidnaping and murder, two; burglary, two; striking white men, two; murder, two; homicide in self-defense, one; assaulting officer, one; drawing pistol, one; stealing whisky, one; impudence, one; no charge, two; as examples, three.

She said that probable penalties under the law had the victims been proven guilty would have been:

Nine would have had death, five imprisonment, one possible imprisonment, seven fined, five no punishment.

Of the methods of lynching she told the council, three of the victims were hanged, four shot and hanged, three flogged to death, thirteen shot, two burned and hanged, two beaten and hanged.

She made a written report of what she said her organization had found as to the attitude of the governors in the states in which the lynchings had occurred.

In Alabama she said a $400 reward had been offered for apprehension of the lynchers, but she had been unable to get an interview with the governor.

Of the other states she described the following as the attitude of the governors:

California, approved lynching;
Louisiana, no action or notice;
Maryland, vigorous efforts to apprehend;
Missouri, vigorous efforts to apprehend;
Mississippi, refuses to commit himself;
North Carolina, orders investigation after pressure;
South Carolina, ordered investigation;
Tennessee, no action or statement;
Texas, complete silence;
Georgia, no answer when lynchings were brought to attention of governor.

Letter From Talmadge.

Later, however, a letter was read to the council which Mrs. W. J. Neel, of Forsyth, the chairman, said had been written to her by Governor Talmadge. The letter contained the following statement:

"Lynching is generally a culmination of the people's impatience and resentment of the technicalities and delays of the courts.

"Lynching in the last analysis is anarchy and shows a disregard of the law.

"If the same effort and zeal were put forth in upholding the law that the mob has to put forth in a lynching, this country would be served a great deal better."

Mrs. Ames told the council that "I think the women are very much less committed to the ark of the covenant of states rights than men." Again referring to the filibustering to death of a federal anti-lynching bill by a southern senator, Mrs. Ames predicted that "if the southern senators and congressmen think southern women are considering the subject (federal anti-lynching legislation) they will not be so enthusiastic about filibusters."

She said the women's organization was determined to make a personal investigation of every lynching this year which involved a white woman. She referred to the declaration of the association that "public opinion has accepted too easily the claims of lynchers and mobsters that they are acting solely in defense of southern womanhood. In the light of facts, women dare not longer permit the claim to pass unchallenged nor allow themselves to be the cloak behind which those bent upon personal revenge and savagery permit acts of violence and lawlessness in the name of women."

Constitution 12-9-33

Lynching Statistics Are Submitted By Georgia Council Of Southern Women

By W. F. CALDWELL
Associated Press Staff Writer

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Alleged Offenses

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Attitude of States.

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Talmadge Statement

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Advertiser 12-9-33 Montgomery, Ala.

Nashville, Tenn. Tennessean
December 10, 1933

TO PROBE LYNCHING

ATLANTA, Ga., Dec. 9.—(AP)—Personal investigation of every lynching in 1934 and publication of the "real story behind each" will be among the subjects for discussion by the Southern Association of Women for the prevention of lynching at its Atlanta meeting January 9.

The investigations would be made by members of the women's council of each state in which lynchings take place, said Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive director of the council. The results of the investigations would be printed in pamphlet form and distributed to the members of the council, law officers, judges, and other leading men and women.

Lynchings-1933.
Discussions.

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

3900

Working for a Lynchless Year

Literary Digest 1-7-33 New York, N.Y. Vol. 115 No. 1

"A LYNCHLESS SOUTH IN 1933" is the goal set by Southern women.

Only six lynchings had occurred in the United States in 1932 up to the time of the announcement by the central council of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. A few days later the lynching of a young Negro charged with insulting some girls, was reported in a small Louisiana town. This unfortunate addition made a total of seven such mob murders for the country at large during 1932, five of them for the South.

The total 1932 record is low, however, and the Association is encouraged to believe that it may succeed in achieving its goal for this year. More than 7,000 women are enrolled as signed supporters of the program, according to Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta, executive director of the Association, and 1,300 towns and 575 counties are represented. The movement is endorsed by such organizations as the Council of Southern Methodist Women, the Southern Baptist Missionary Union, the National Council of Jewish Women, the Y. W. C. A., the State Federation of Women's Clubs, and other similarly influential bodies.

The total number of recorded victims of lynching in the fifty years for which records have been compiled is 4,780, and for forty years the average was more than 100 a year, it is stated.

In Mississippi, which has a Negro population larger than that of any other State, and has led all the rest in the number of recorded lynchings, the Association was particularly active in promoting its preventive program, and that State has had no lynchings for more than a year.

"If Mississippi can have a lynchless year, a lynchless South is a possible and reasonable goal," say members of the Association Council as they begin an aggressive campaign this year.

The historic defense of lynching has been that it was to protect the fair name and honor of womanhood. In the years immediately following the War Between the States that defense had a large claim in fact. In later years, however, many Negroes have been done to death who had not committed a crime against womanhood. In any event, leading Southern women have denounced the chivalric excuse for lynching. "These women," says the Boston *Globe*, speaking of the members of the anti-lynching Association, "deserve the hearty support of enlightened public opinion everywhere. They are doing for the honor of their States a work which will one day be recognized as heroic."

"So far as public opinion can operate as a deterrent of the mob spirit," says the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, speaking of the failure of peace officers to prevent a certain lynching, "it has fairly accomplished that purpose. Few lynchings have been recorded in recent years that couldn't have been prevented by official zeal. Public opinion must be directed to making political office-holders perform their duties."

"May next year's record be perfect," prays the Houston *Post* in an editorial appearing shortly before the books for 1932 were closed.

Turning back the pages, we find that thirteen lynchings were recorded in 1931, twenty-one in 1930, ten in 1929, eleven in 1928, and sixteen in 1927. Ten of the persons lynched in 1931 were in the hands of the law. Seven were taken from jails, one from a hospital, and two had been released on bail.

Officers of the law prevented fifty-seven attempts at lynching. Seven of these instances were in Northern and Western States, and fifty in Southern States. In forty-five of the instances the prisoners were removed or other precautions taken. In the twelve other instances armed force was used to repel the would-be lynchers. A total of eighty-eight persons, eighteen whites, sixteen men and two women, and seventy Negro men were thus saved from death at the hands of mobs.

Columbia, S. C. State
Sunday, January 22, 1933

LYNCHLESS SOUTH SLOGAN FOR 1933

South Carolina Women Meet in First Baptist.

FREE FOR TWO YEARS

Prominent Women Gather. Declaration Calls Upon Women to Create Public Sentiment.

The second annual meeting of the South Carolina council of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was held yesterday in the educational building of the First Baptist church. The members present were: Mrs. George E. Davis, chairman, Orangeburg; Mrs. Roger Fairy, secretary, Orangeburg; Miss Jessie King, Columbia; Mrs. W. G. Henry, Greeleyville; Mrs. J. Roy Jones, Columbia; Mrs. Mason Carroll, York and the director for the Southern council, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, from headquarters in Atlanta, Ga. Great gratification was expressed that there were no lynchings in South Carolina in 1931 and 1932. The slogan of the association is: "A Lynchless South in 1933."

The following is the declaration of the association, which has about 10,000 women in the Southern states:

"We declare lynching is an indefensible crime destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved. Though lynchings are not confined to any one section of the United States, we are aroused by the record which discloses our heavy responsibility for the presence of this crime in our country. We believe that this record has been achieved because public opinion has accepted too easily the claim of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in the defense of womanhood. In the light of facts, women dare not longer permit the claim to pass unchallenged nor allow themselves to be the cloak behind which those bent upon personal revenge and savagery commit acts of violence and lawlessness in the name of women. We repudiate this disgraceful claim for all time. In evidence of our purpose we solemnly pledge ourselves to create a new public opinion in the South which will not condone for any reason whatever acts of mobs or lynchers. We shall teach our children at home, at school and at church a new interpretation of law and religion; we will assist all officials to uphold their oath of office; and finally we will join with every minister, editor, school teacher and patriotic citizen in a program of education to eradicate lynching and mobs forever from our land."

Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel
Tuesday, January 31, 1933

HOPE FOR CLEAN LYNCHING YEAR

Women's Association Sets Goal at Ending All Race Violence in South.

By United Press

ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 31 — Despite a threat of increased tenseness because of the economic situation, which has caused whites to demand replacement of negro laborers with unemployed whites, the Central Council of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching has proclaimed "a lynchless South in 1933."

The 24 women from 12 states which met in conference here set that goal after receiving an official report that only six negroes were lynched so far this year in the United States, only four of these in the South, the lowest number for any equal period during the 50 years in which records have been compiled.

More than 7000 women, representing 1300 towns and 575 counties, have enrolled in the association's movement to purge the South of mob violence, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive director of the organization, announced.

The 1932 10-months lynching record was cited as particularly remarkable in view of the fact that 4780 persons have been lynched during the period since recordings of such violence began, and that for 40 of those 50 years more than 100 victims met death annually.

Louisville, Ga., News and Farmer
Thursday, January 26, 1933

GEORGIA'S RECORD

THE annual bulletin gotten out by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings gives some very interesting facts about the progress made here in the South toward building up a sentiment to preserve law and order and to do away with the barbarous custom of private citizens taking the law into their own hands and punishing with death without due process of law.

Since January 1931 thirteen Southern states have held meetings to set up state councils to work with the council for the prevention of lynchings. Of the 161 counties in Georgia seventy are represented in the association for the prevention of lynchings. 146 Georgia towns are represented in this association with a membership of 1472 women.

Statistics on lynchings in Georgia are encouraging. It will be remembered that last year two lynchings were prevented in this state. Through the heroic action of its sheriff, Doughtery county preserved its record of no lynching for seventy-five years. The second lynching was prevented by the removal of the prisoner to another county while the mob was looking elsewhere.

In 1922 there were eleven lynchings in Georgia; in 1923 there were 4 in 1924, 2; in 1925, 2; in 1926 there was only one; for the years 1927, 1928 ,1929 the state had a clean sheet without a

single lynching to mar the state's record; in 1930 there were six. In 1931 and 1932 there were no lynchings in Georgia. The total for the ten year was twenty-six.

The leaven of education and propaganda is beginning to have effect, it wi be seen from a study of these figures. Lynchings are a reversion to jungle life and mob physchology with its ruthless and ignoble passions do immeasurable harm to any community where its passions go unchecked and unpunished.

For many years the lynching record of our Southern states was a terrible blot on our fair name. The record was truly not a good one but charges were made against the South that were in reality exaggerations of the worst phases of the cases. These charges were made against the Southern states and in retaliation charges were made in the rebuttal that brought hard feelings and newspaper incriminations and bitterness and hatred. In the past, any one in the South who lifted a voice against these conditions was condemned as a tratitor and as a dis-loyal citizen. Southern women have gradually worked up to the fact that white washing the situation would not change its ugly aspects and that the only way to remedy the propaganda about the situation was to remedy the situation itself. With this end in view there has been a great awakening in Georgia. The best people in the state have been the foremost leaders in a program of education and enlightenment toward the elimation of mob violence and lynchings.

It is unfortunately true that lynchings are not things of the past even yet and that this relic of barbarism sometimes manifests itself in unexpected places. But there is a growing sentiment against lynchings. Any community where such an outrage occurs is condemned by public sentiment and it is a good sign that such a community feels the necessity of making immediate excuses and apologies.

The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings has had a large part in the awakened determination that mob rule and lynchings must cease.

RALEIGH, N. C.
NEWS OBSERVER
JAN 15 1933

A "REVOLT AGAINST CHIVALRY."

There is a movement which for some time I have intended to endorse in this column: the campaign of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. At present more than 7,000 women are enrolled in this association.

In the South most of the lynchings are of Negroes for rape, attempt at rape or suspicion of rape of white women. Hence, there should be no more impressive opposition to such mob lawlessness than that of the white women of the South themselves. Their organization for such opposition represents the best sort of "revolt against chivalry," when chivalry blindly carries their defenders beyond the law into barbarity. These women, properly, say in effect: "The law fully covers the crime in retaliation for which lynchings are usually committed. Having too long been made the excuse for lawlessness, we condemn lynching and band ourselves together in an earnest effort to stop it and to uphold the orderly procedure of the courts. If there is any avenging to be done, we wish a court and not a mob to do it."

Southern Women Continue Drive Against Mob

Louisiana Women Form Council and Join Southwide Association for Prevention of Lynching

Baton Rouge, La., Feb. 10—Leading white women of this state began here last week a new drive against mob violence by the organization of the Louisiana Council of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, an organization promoted by the Interracial Commission.

The Louisiana Council comprises eleven women prominent in religious and civic circles, including representatives of the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Congress of Mothers, the Daughters of the Confederacy, the Council of Jewish Women, and the Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Catholic denominations. Mrs. Ben Knox of Shreveport was elected the chairman. Each member signed personally the following declaration as the platform of the Council:

"We declare lynching is an indefensible crime destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved . . . public opinion has accepted too easily the claim of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in the defense of womanhood. In the light of facts, . . . we repudiate this disgraceful claim for all time. In evidence of our purpose we solemnly pledge ourselves to create a new public opinion in the South which will not condone for any reason whatever acts of mobs or lynchers. We shall teach our children at home, at school, and at church a new interpretation of law and religion; we will assist all officials to uphold their oath of office; and finally we will join with every minister, editor, school teacher, and patriotic citizen in a program of education to eradicate lynching and mobs forever from our land."

Louisiana is the ninth Southern state to form a branch of the Association. A tenth, Virginia. is to be organized in a few days. To date, more than seven thousand white women, located in 1200 towns in the Southern States, have signed the above declaration and committed themselves to the Association's program. Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, director of woman's work of the Interracial Commission, has been the organizer of the movement.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
COURIER JOURNAL
FEB 24 1933

FOR THE PREVENTION OF LYNCHING.

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

The annual meeting of the Kentucky Branch of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, open to the public, will be held on Tuesday, February 28, at 3 p.m. at the Second Presbyterian Church, corner Second Street and Broadway.

The crime of lynching is deplored by all who hold sacred the right of every citizen to be tried by law and convicted, if guilty, by a jury of his peers. This is the South's problem, since most of the lynchings occur here. However, not only is the South suffering because of these tragic occurrences, but the standing of our entire country among the nations of the world is being jeopardized, and our missionaries are being embarrassed.

The lynching in our own State at Princeton last June, and the more recent happenings in two Southern States make us realize the necessity that our organization educate public opinion so that there shall not be a recurrence of these acts of violence against fellow human beings. Such is the purpose of the meeting next Tuesday.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Atlanta, Ga., executive director of the association in the South, will be the principal speaker. Mr. Tom Wallace and the Rev. F. M. Powell will speak respectively on the attitude of the citizen and the attitude of the church toward mob violence. Dean McCready will give the invocation and benediction. Mrs. Attwood Martin, chairman of the association for the entire South, will present the newly-elected State chairman, Mrs. G. W. Hummell, who will preside. Governor Laffoon and Mrs. Laffoon, who have been invited to be present, have expressed their keen interest in the work of the association.

MRS. G. W. HUMMELL,
Chairman, Kentucky Council.
Association of Southern Women for Prevention of Lynching.
Louisville.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings.

3901

Mars Record Lynchless So.

Tribune 3-9-33

Women of Louisiana Deplore Deed That Killed Fine Chances

For State Going Through Without a Blemish

Shreveport, La., March 4—Shocked by the lynching of Nelson Nash at Ringgold, near this city on February 19th, the Louisiana Council of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching has sent a letter to all the sheriffs of the state vigorously condemning the lynching and urging that everything possible be done to end mob violence in Louisiana.

The council was organized in Baton Rouge, on February 3rd to enlist the women of Louisiana in a campaign against lynching in cooperation with the Association which numbers more than 7,000 white women in the various southern states. This Association was organized by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, as part of the anti-lynching campaign of that organization. The letter of the Louisiana women, which was signed by their chairman, Mrs. Ben Knox, of this city, was as follows:

"To the Sheriffs of Louisiana:

"Another blot on the fair name of our state because those whom the people elected to preserve law and order failed! For three years now our state has suffered under such humiliation.

"The above organization believe that education of public opinion against lawless mobs and lynchers is the only lasting way to eradicate this crime of lynching. This education program will be promoted throughout the state.

"Our goal for a 'lynchless south in 1933' has been made an impossibility by one of our very own parishes. Such a goal can never be reached if even one sheriff fails to protect his prisoner against lawless mobs, or fails to secure evidence against persons masked or unmasked, who lead in such law violations.

"We want you to know of our plan and to know that all law-abiding American citizens honor and respect you in the vigorous discharge of your responsibilities. Let us hope your record this year in your parish will be without a blemish of such a violation as Bienville Parish has suffered. May we depend on you?

"Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Mrs. Ben Knox"

LOUISVILLE, KY.
TIMES

FEB 28 1933

LYNCHING 'FROLIC' STATE BODY TOLD

Wallace Says Violence Often Due to Lack of Excitement In Country.

Opposition to the practice and tolerance of lynching was expressed in a resolution offered by Governor Laffoon and adopted Tuesday by the Kentucky Branch of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, in annual session at the Second Presbyterian Church.

The action followed talks by Mrs Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta, Tom Wallace, editor of The Times, and the Rev. Dr. Frank M. Powell of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

That communities where lynchings have occurred looked upon them more as "frolics" than anything else was the view given by Mr. Walace, who discussed "The Attitude of Citizens Toward Mob Violence." Such was his explanation of the fact that lynchings have occurred most often in rural districts.

"A crime which may cause a lynching in a rural neighborhood is much less likely to cause one in a town," he said "That is not because urbanites, or suburbanites, are less offended by crime than ruralists. It is because entertainment is more common in cities, and eagerness for the excitement of a man hunt, to persons who are reasonably sure of immunity, is rare in town.

"I remember a lynching in a rural community when I was a boy. The atmosphere of the event was one of pleasurable excitement. I did not talk to or see murderers in the act, my contact was with the crowd; nobody seemed infuriated, or even ruffled. Men and boys went about with bits of clothing of the victim, displayed as souvenirs. How the man was captured, how he was hanged, how he died were themes for joyous narrative.

"The point of view of any citizen who is sympathetic with lynching, in any circumstances, puzzles and distresses me, especially when that citizen is educated and enlightened. The problem that this point of view presents is one for which I cannot, after thirty years study of lynching, suggest solution."

The teachings of Christ dictate opposition of the church to lynching, Dr. Powell said in his discussion of "The Attitude of the Church Toward Mob Violence." He indicted race hatred as the primary factor in lynching and said only the grace of God offers solution of the problem.

"The term 'mob violence'," he said, "consists of two words, both un-Christian in essence and practice. When mob violence expresses itself in lynching, it subverts every law of God and civilized man. It is not a peculiarly American institution, but here it has assumed a unique technique. Lynching is not confined to any section of our country, to any race, or any crime; however, its fury has fallen most heavily on Negroes and because that race is more numerous in the Southland our record is more shamefully crimson there.

"Race hatred is a deep-seated, sinful inheritance that law, even if righteous, and culture, even if good, can never eradicate."

"While the Church may not claim an 'unspotted page' in practice, yet in theory, from the first lynching to the one of last week in the South, she has wielded her strength and influence against this inhuman, fiendish practice.

"Every great denomination in the United States, in assembly, conference, association or convention, has made pronouncements against the evils of mob violence in such ringing tones as virtually to unchurch any member who would participate in or countenance it. The church, if indeed it be Christian, must forever remain the unalterable foe of every form of mob violence."

LOUISVILLE, KY.
HERALD POST

MAR 1 1933

GOV. LAFFOON SPEAKS HERE

Offers Resolution Against Lynching at Annual Meeting.

A capacity crowd, including members of civic and religious bodies of the city and state, applauded the group of speakers, including Gov. Ruby Laffoon, appearing Tuesday before the Association of Southern Women for Prevention of Lynching's first annual meeting.

The following resolution, proposed by Governor Laffoon, and seconded by Dean R. L. McCready, was passed:

Whereas, We recognize in law as set up by the will of the people and in the social order which comes from observance of the law, the foundations of our civilization; and

Whereas, We hold as basis to this social order, respect for our federal and state constitutions and the laws written into state statutes, our courts, their dignity and authority and the protection of society through this authority;

Resolved, We citizens of the commonwealth of Kentucky believe that mob law and lynching are in defiance of such authority and a denial of all that our civilization represents, and we hereby place ourselves on record as opposed to mob violence and call upon our public officials, our sheriffs, the people of the state, the church, the press, our social and civic groups, to so aid us in building public opinion that Kentucky in the future may stand guiltless in the eyes of other states and the nations of the world.

Speakers included Mrs. Attwood Martin, general chairman; Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta, Ga., executive director; Tom Wallace, and Dr. F. M. Powell of the Baptist Theological Seminary.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
NEWS

MAR 31 1933

WOMEN'S GROUP RAPS LYNCHINGS

MONTEVALLO—Among items of business transacted by the Montevallo Branch, American Association of University Women, was endorsement of an anti-lynching petition presented by Dr. Hallie Farmer for the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

The petition declared lynching to be "an indefensible crime destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved."

Practically all members of the group present signed the petition, thereby placing themselves on record as believing "that public opinion has accepted too easily the claim of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in defense of womanhood," and pledging themselves as being no longer willing "to permit this claim to pass unchallenged nor allow those bent upon personal revenge and savagery to commit acts of violence and lawlessness in the name of women."

The object of the group in subscribing to the pledge is to assist in creating a new public opinion in the South which will not for any reason condone acts of mobs or lynchers.

Mrs. J. H. McCoy, state director of the anti-lynching movement, spoke of the work of the organization in Southern states.

Members of the group also endorsed a resolution introduced by Senator Black calling on Congress to empower the president to place an embargo on munitions shipments when he deems it necessary.

Miss Anna Irvin was named as delegate to represent the Montevallo branch at the annual convention of the National American Association of University Women in Minneapolis May 15-18. Miss Irvin will have part on the program.

Choice of officers to be elected at the April meeting of the branch, was assigned to a nominating committee which includes Miss Annie Kemp, Dr. Anne K. Gregorie and Miss Eva Golson.

Miss Ellen-Haven Gould entertained with readings.

Courier 3-11-33
Pittsburgh, Pa.

NOTABLES SCORE LYNCH LAW IN LOUISVILLE MEET

First Baptist Church, Charleston, W. Va., Made Famous By Dr. Mordecai Johnson, Fires Pastor.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Mar. 9—(By Lee L. Brown for the ANP)—Lynching was bitterly and strongly scored here in the meeting of the Kentucky Branch of the Association of Southern Women For the Prevention of Lynching here this week, at which Governor Ruby Lafoon presented a resolution condemning mob violence in all of its forms.

The session was attended by prominent men and women of the white race and each speaker voiced the opinion that lynching should be abolished and that the necessary steps should be taken by the officers of the law to bring about the desired result, which was described as a "lynchless south."

Governor Laffoon, in presenting the resolution, which was adopted unanimously, described lynching and mob violence as "the greatest form of lawlessness" and termed mob spirit, as "a disgrace that moved over the South." Continuing the governor said:

"We, in Kentucky believe in absolute reign of the law. The right of trial by jury is our greatest heritage under the constitution and there is no greater crime against society than removal of that right. Having been a judge for a number of years, I am in sympathy with this movement. It is not often that the law settles a question wrong and when it does there is the right of appeal.

"My chief desire is that Kentucky follows legal procedure. A community where the mob spirit rules is uneasy and we do not want such a condition to exist in this state."

White Editor Scores Mobs

Other speakers who condemned lynching in strong terms included Tom Wallace, editor of the Louisville Times, a white daily, and Dr. Frank M. Powell of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Mr. Wallace declared:

'Never has lynching met in any degree with my approval. I have never seen any excuse for it. I have known of instances, however, when lynchings assumed the proportions of a huge frolic when bits of the victims clothing were carried about as souvenirs and descriptions of the man's capture and death were themes for joyous narrative.

"The point of view of any citizen who is sympathetic with lynching in any circumstances, puzzles and distresses me, especially when that citizen is educated and enlightened."

Dr. Powell in commenting upon the attitude of the church toward lynching stated that both the words "mob" and "violence" are un-christian and "subvert every law of God. And so strong are some of the church pronouncements as virtually to unchurch any member who participates in a lynching."

Lynching Promotes Communism

That lynchings promoted Communism among Negroes was the opinion expressed by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, of Atlanta Ga., who is the executive director of the association that is working for "lynchless south."

"Communism grows each time the govenment fails to protect Negroes against mob violence," Mrs. Ames said. "If public opinion will let one person be killed by a mob nobody's life is safe. Lynching is the crime of cowardice and those who participate in lynchings are and should be dealt with as murderers."

The speaker further pointed out that in fifty years more than 4,000 persons had been lynched, 79 per cent of these in the south and only about one-fourth were in cases of criminal assault. Diccovery of this fact, according to Mrs. Ames, led to the organization of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching and the launching of a program to abolish the nefarious and "un-American and unchristian practice."

Commonweal – N.Y.

APR 19 1933

Walter

Against Lynching

THE ANNUAL bulletin of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching is at hand, and presents some interesting information regarding the history and make-up of that admirable group. It consists of the State Councils of thirteen Southern states, with a Central Council as a clearing-house for their suggestions and ideas. It is, quite distinctly, "not an attempt to set up or perpetuate a new organization," having no separate local units, dues or conventions, and working through the organizations for women which already exist in its territory. It likewise is very clear as to its freedom from any sort of political or legislative commitments. It is purely educational in character and purpose, disseminating needed information and statistics throughout the communities it covers, and directing its efforts to the promotion of a civilized, law-regarding opinion on the subject of the dreadful crime it is striving to eradicate.

Globe 7-28-33
Nashville Tenn.

SHERIFFS AND OTHER OFFICIALS CALLED UPON

Georgia White Church Members Protest, Committee of Wellknown Leaders Named

Atlanta, Ga., July—Georgia white women, distressed and humiliated by the three recent lynchings in the state have given to the public statements deploring and condemning the crimes. They did not, however, stop with statements. The sheriff and other law enforcement officers in Warren and Baker counties, where the lynchings occurred, were visited recently by a committee composed of Mrs. W. J. Neel, of Forsyth, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, of Atlanta, Mrs. E. M. Bailey of Acworth, and Mrs. C. C. Sapp, of Albany. Each member of the committee holds an important official position in either the Southern Methodist or the Southern Baptist Church. The committee, which was accompanied by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of the Council of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, demanded of the officers that immediate and positive steps be taken to apprehend and punish those who were guilty.

Prominent citizens were also interviewed, and meetings were held with women representing local women's organizations. As a result of those meetings, the Methodist missionary society of Warrenton published in the county paper the following statement:

"Whereas, our community has lately been saddened and also placed in a very bad light before the public by a dual murder and a lynching, be it resolved:

"We, the members of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Warrenton, Georgia, do regret with our whole hearts the terrible blot that has been placed on our state and nation by this lynching and especially do we regret that our own city was the scene of this deed.

"We sincerely wish to join with all the women of our church to do all in our power to prevent a recurrence of such a crime."

This is the first time that a group of Southern white women representing state-wide organizations, has gone into a county where a lynching has taken place to appeal directly to the women of the county and to the officers.

Macon, Ga. News
July 5, 1933

WOMEN DEPLORE STATE LYNCHINGS

Southern Group Gives Out Statement Condemning Crime in Which Life Is Taken

ATLANTA, July 5. (AP) — Three lynchings in Georgia recently were condemned in a statement given out here yesterday by the state council of southern women for the prevention of lynching.

Mrs. W. J. Neel, of Forsyth, chairman of the council, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly, secretary, issued the statement.

"We can never hope to banish this crime from our country until every citizen realizes that a lynching indelibly stamps his community as primitive and savage," the statement read.

"Public sentiment must demand effective legal action by the courts against the leaders of lynchings before this crime is wiped out.

"Sheriff Jud Griffin, of Baker county, according to the papers, has shown courage and patriotism of a high order in his determination to uncover the persons involved in the two lynchings in his county. The time must come when every sheriff will know that a lynching in his county marks him as a weakling who is unable to uphold the law.

Women Determined

"We women are more determined than ever to pursue our program of education against this crime. We do not want any one to believe that lynchings are for our protection. The causes lying back of two of these lynchings are fights between men. The third lynching had no cause assigned. In all, six persons lost their lives as the result.

"We deplore all lynchings. We condemn them unqualifiedly."

The statement was issued through the Atlanta office of the committee on interracial co-operation.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings.

3902

WOMEN WANT U. S. TO CURB MOB MURDER

12-9-33

Council For Prevention of Lynching Discusses Need of Federal Help

NO FORMAL ACTION TAKEN

Question Will Be Discussed at Meeting to Be Held in Atlanta Jan. 9

Macon Telegraph

ATLANTA, Dec. 8 (AP)—The subject of a federal anti-lynching law was brought forward in the Georgia Council of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching here today, after being told that 27 persons had suffered death in the United States this year to date through lynching. Macon Ga.

Several members informally expressed approval of anything to curb lynching, but the council itelf took no formal action on the question. It recommended that the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching consider the question at their meeting in Atlanta Jan. 9.

The council expressed its "hearty appreciation" of the recent condemnation of lynching by President Roosevelt and Attorney General Cummings and commended the steps taken by Governor Ritchie of Maryland and Governor Park of Missouri in lynching cases in their states.

"Rolph's Abject Surrender"

"These were the more notable by a contrast with Governor Rolfe' abject surrender to the mob and the official inaction so commonly observed in such cases," the resolution by the council said, after several speakers had criticized the statement of the California governor relative to the San Jose lynching.

Of the lynchings by states this year, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive director of the council, said that Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina had four each. Mississippi followed with 3, Tennessee 2, California 2, Maryland 1, Missouri 1, California 1 and Texas 1.

The alleged offenses of the victims as detailed by Mrs. Ames were: Rape two, murder of white women three, insult to white women two, attempted rape two, kidnaping and murder two, burglary two, striking white men two, murder two, homicide in self-defense one, assaulting officer one, drawing pistol one, stealing whisky one, impudence one, no charge two, as examples three.

Probable Penalties Listed

She said that probable penalties under the law had the victims been proved guilty would have been:

Nine would have had death, five imprisonment, one possible imprisonment, seven fined, five no punishment.

Of the methods of lynching she told the council, three of the victims were hanged, four shot and hanged, three flogged to death, 13 shot, two burned and hanged, two beaten and hanged.

In Alabama she said a $400 reward had been offered for apprehension of the lynchers but she had been unable to get an interview with the governor.

Attitude of Governor

Of the other states she described the following as the attitude of the governors:

California, approved lynching.

Louisiana, no action or notice.

Maryland, vigorous efforts to apprehend.

Missouri, vigorous efforts to apprehend.

Mississippi, refuses to commit himself.

North Carolina, orders investigation after pressure.

South Carolina, ordered investigation.

Tennessee, no action or statement.

Texas, complete silence.

Georgia, no answer when lynchings were brought to attention of governor.

Later, however, a letter was read to the council which Mrs. W. J. Neel of Forsyth, the chairman, said had been written to her by Governor Talmadge. The letter contained the following statement:

12-9-33 Macon Telegraph Macon Ga

"Lynching is generally a culmination of the people's impatience and resentment of the technicalities and delays of the courts.

"Lynching in the last analysis is anarchy and shows a disregard of the law.

"If the same effort and zeal were put forth in upholding the law that the mob has to put forth in a lynching, this country would be served a great deal better."

Mrs. Ames told the council that "I think the women are very much less committed to the ark of the covenant of states rights than men." Again referring to the filibustering to death of a federal anti-lynching bill by a southern senator, Mrs. Ames predicted that "if the southern senators and congressmen think southern women are considering the subject (federal anti-lynching legislation) they will not be so enthusiastic about filibusters."

She said the women's organization was determined to make a personal investigation of every lynching this year which involved a white woman.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
December 9, 1933

Federal Anti-Lynching Law To Come Before Group Jan. 7

Association of Southern Women Hears Reports on 27 Persons Killed in 11 States.

By W. F. CALDWELL,
Associated Press Staff Writer.

The subject of a federal anti-lynching law was brought forward in the Georgia Council of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching here Friday, after being told that 27 persons had suffered death in the United States this year to date through lynching.

Several members informally expressed approval of anything to curb lynching but the council itself took no formal action on the question. It recommended that the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching consider the question at their meeting in Atlanta, January 9.

The council expressed its "hearty appreciation" of the recent condemnation of lynching by President Roosevelt and Attorney-General Cummings and commended the steps taken by Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, and Governor Park, of Missouri, in lynching cases in their states.

"These were the more notable by a contrast with Governor Rolfe's abject surrender to the mob and the official inaction so commonly observed in such cases," the resolution by the council said, after several speakers had criticized the statement of the California governor relative to the San Jose lynching.

Lynchings by States.

Of the lynchings by states this year, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive director of the council, said that Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina had four each. Mississippi followed with three; Tennessee, two; California two; Maryland, one; Missouri, one; North Carolina, one, and Texas, one.

The alleged offenses of the victims as detailed by Mrs. Ames were: Rape, two; murder of white women, three; insult to white women, two; attempted rape, two; kidnaping and murder, two; burglary, two; striking white men, two; murder, two; homicide in self-defense, one; assaulting officer, one; drawing pistol, one; stealing whisky, one; impudence, one; no charge, two; as examples, three.

She said that probable penalties under the law had the victims been proven guilty would have been:

Nine would have had death, five imprisonment, one possible imprisonment, seven fined, five no punishment.

Of the methods of lynching she told the council, three of the victims were hanged, four shot and hanged, three flogged to death, thirteen shot, two burned and hanged, two beaten and hanged.

She made a written report o[illegible] she said her organization had found as to the attitude of the governors the states in which the lynchings h[illegible] occurred.

In Alabama she said a $400 reward had been offered for apprehension the lynchers, but she had been unable to get an interview with the governor.

Of the other states she described the following as the attitude of the governors:

California, approved lynching;

Louisiana, no action or notice;

Maryland, vigorous efforts to apprehend.

Missouri, vigorous efforts to apprehend;

Mississippi, refuses to commit himself;

North Carolina, orders investigation after pressure;

South Carolina, ordered investigation;

Tennessee, no action or statement.

Texas, complete silence;

Georgia, no answer when lynchings were brought to attention of governor.

Letter From Talmadge.

Later, however, a letter was read to the council which Mrs. W. J. Neel, of Forsyth, the chairman, said had been written to her by Governor Talmadge. The letter contained the following statement:

"Lynching is generally a culmination of the people's impatience and resentment of the technicalities and delays of the courts.

"Lynching in the last analysis is anarchy and shows a disregard of the law.

"If the same effort and zeal were put forth in upholding the law that the mob has to put forth in a lynching, this country would be served a great deal better."

Mrs. Ames told the council that "I think the women are very much less committed to the ark of the covenant of states rights than men." Again referring to the filibustering to death of a federal anti-lynching bill by a southern senator, Mrs. Ames predicted that "if the southern senators and congressmen think southern women are considering the subject (federal anti-lynching legislation) they will not be so enthusiastic about filibusters."

She said the women's organization was determined to make a personal investigation of every lynching this year which involved a white woman. She referred to the declaration of the association that "public opinion has accepted too easily the claims of lynchers and mobsters that they are acting solely in defense of southern womanhood. In the light of facts, women dare not longer permit the claim to pass unchallenged nor allow themselves to be the cloak behind which those bent upon personal revenge and savagery permit acts of violence and lawlessness in the name of women."

LYNCH STUDENTS PLAN NEW PROBE

News

'Real Story Behind Each' Is Object Of Study

12-11-33

ATLANTA, Ga.—(AP)—Personal investigation of every lynching in 1934 and publication of the "real story behind each" will be among the subjects for discussion by the Southern Association of Women for the prevention of lynching at its Atlanta meeting Jan. 9.

Dallas

The investigations would be made by members of the Women's Council of each state in which lynchings take place, said Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive director of the council. The results of the investigations would be printed in pamphlet form and distributed to the members of the council, law officers, judges, and other leading men and women.

Mrs. Ames stressed this personal investigation as one of the objectives by the Southern women when she reported Friday to the Georgia council that 27 persons had been lynched in the United States this year.

Another topic on the program at the January meeting is the suggestion for consideration of a federal anti-lynching law. This topic promises to be one of unusual interest.

Mrs. Attwood Martin, of Louisville, Ky., is chairman of the Southern Council and Mrs. W. A. Newell, of Salisbury, N. C., is secretary-treasurer. There will be delegates from 13 Southern states in attendance.

Negro Press, Northern.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

3904

Shoreman, Tho Timid, Says "To Hell with Lynchers"

Former Dover College School Head Greeted with Hisses When He Said Shoremen are Helpless.

Boos, hisses, catcalls and shouts of disapprobation set the Anti-Lynching Conference at the New Albert Auditorium, Saturday night, into a seething uproar as the Rev. William C. Jason asserted that colored Eastern Shoremen were helpless—"We can't fight and we can't run, what can we do?" asked the clergyman.

Disapproving of the lack of militancy displayed by the venerable minister, the delegates shouted and roared their dislike of his pacifist attitude, until Richard B. Moore presiding, was forced to beg for quiet and order.

Shoreman is Delegate

The Rev. Mr. Jason was sent to the conference as a delegate from the Eastern Shore after residents of three towns there had refused to accept the offer, fearing reprisals.

As he was introduced to the militant audience, a wild burst of applause greeted him, as the chairman told of how the minister had dared to risk position and personal safety, in order to attend the meeting.

Tall, slim, brownskinned, with white mustaches and horn-rimmed glasses, the Rev. Mr. Jason took the platform, amid wild cheering and applause.

His dark suit and heavy gold watch chain added to his appearance of quiet gentility, as he launched into his address to the conference, as a "witness" before the tribunal set up to investigate lynchings and injustices.

Audience is Militant

The tone of preceding speeches had been militant, with angry phrasing and denunciatory expressions. All expected the minister to follow the same trend. Himself a Shoreman, the audience wanted him violently to decry lynching.

"Do not decry Eastern Shoremen," he began, saying that sentiment seemed to be widespread against the questioned manhood of colored persons living on the Shore.

He cited figures and facts to prove that colored Shoremen were in the minority there, 1 to 4; and that they were hepless against the force of the whites.

"We can't fight and we can't run—what are we to do?" he cried, helplessly, in the face of the rising chorus and boos and hisses. The outcry of the audience drowned out the words of the aged minister as he vainly tried to stem the voluble disapproval of his statements.

"Fight," Cries Audience

"What can you do?" came shouts from the crowd of 1,500 that packed the hall, many rising to their feet in angry disgust. "You can fight," they cried, and cries of "Fight," "Fight," rose from all sides as the clergyman stood bewildered before the onslaught.

Richard B. Moore quieted the crowd with difficulty. Militant in spirit, the pacifism of the Rev. Mr. Jason had struck an unwelcome note for the crowd.

Willing to be Led

Following restoration of order by Mr. Moore, the clergyman was allowed to resume his address. He repeated his statement that he was helpless before the force of white Shoremen and added that he was willing to be led by the conference, in choosing a path of future conduct.

"Give us Shoremen a program and help us to find the right way to follow it," he answered.

In conclusion, turning rout into victory, he swung his arms above his head, dramatically shouting, "But this I can say—**to hell with lynchers.**" And the crowd cheered, shouted and yelled in approval.

Ralph Matthews, city editor of the AFRO, took the platform behind the pastor, to ask for tolerance on the part of the audience, himself asking, "What can we expect these Shore folk to do? Tell them to leave, but where are they to go?"

Struck Note of Conference

Unknowingly, perhaps, the note for the conference had been struck by the venerable clergyman. "What are we to do?"

Later in the conference, speaker after speaker made reference to this problem.

School Head

The Rev. Mr. Jason was for 27 years head of the State College for Colored Students at Dover, Del. Since 1923 he has been preaching in the Methodist Episcopal Church, at present being pastor of Waters M.E. Church, of Oxford, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

He was appointed as a delegate to the conference by the Rev. W. J. Helm, superintendent of the eastern district of the M.E. Church, after the Rev. Mr. Helm had vainly tried to find other influential Shoremen who had sufficient courage to attend the liberal and radical convention in Baltimore.

Jason Quietly Courageous

Despite the discourteous reception given the clergyman, he exihibited more courage than most of the delegates present, in that he risked his position and safety of life and limb in attending.

It was rumored that the danger to Shoremen attending the conference was so great that masks would be used, to hide their identity. This however, while attesting to the danger attached, was denied by the pastor, who said no such proposal had been made to him.

Later, he sat through the following sessions of the conference, taking notes and quietly observing all that was said. He was appointed on the presiding council, a position of some importance, which showed that he was restored in the good graces of the body.

Afro-American
10-28-33

Lynchings Go Up

A mob of four men entered a jail at Ninety-Six, South Carolina, Sunday night. They found that the door had been unlocked by prearrangement with a jailer, and they beat their man to death with automobile inner tubes. He was said to have threatened a white man with a knife.

The second lynching of last week occurred at Labadieville, Louisiana. A suspected murderer was hanged to a bridge, Wednesday night. Although the jail was broken open, no one seems to have seen members of the mob.

10-21-33

This brings the total lynchings of the year up to thirty-two, according to records kept in the New York office of the International Labor Defense.

Opportunity

Since August 27 we have averaged one lynching a week. In this short period, we have had more mob killings than for the entire year of 1932 (the Federal Council of Churches recorded six lynchings in 1932).

Investigation will probably show that back of the new activity of Dixie mobs is the N.R.A. and its insistence on minimum wage scales for all workers.

One minister in the far South barely escaped with his life when he stated his belief that the Negro should not be content with long hours and low pay.

All over the South, white employers have supplanted Negro workers with white workers wherever they could. Where this was impossible, they have used various subterfuges and even intimidation to avoid paying higher wages and shortening the hours.

Under such circumstances, it is a crime for a Negro to acquaint himself with the N.R.A. codes and to talk about them.

The courageous stand of General Hugh Johnson, N.R.A. chief, that the codes shall apply to all workers, and the support given to this stand by Dr. R. R. Moton at Tuskegee have done much to cheer thoughtful workers everywhere.

The fact remains, however, that diehards in rural areas resent any inclusion of the Negro in the N.R.A. program on an equal basis, and the likelihood is that they will express dissatisfaction by running up the total of 1933 lynchings to the highest peak in ten years.

Ardmore Hard Bent To Fire Lynch Killer

Tribune
10-21-33
Philadelphia, Pa.

Petitions Are Placed in Circulation to Ask Early Action

Mass Meeting Slated

"Put him off the force!"

That is the battle cry as hundreds of Negro residents of Ardmore signed petitions that will be sent to the Police Commissioners of Ardmore who have charge of the Lower Merion Township police force of which William F. Denston, son of the alleged raped woman, is a member.

A gigantic mass meeting was held last Saturday night at which time O. B. Cobb, president of the Bryn Mawr Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., presented a petition demanding the immediate discharge of Denston as a police officer in the township. Other organizations which took part in the meeting held at the South Ardmore branch of the Negro Independent Voters League, 35 E Spring st., were the Phyllis Wheatley Civic League, and the Spencer Reid Post No. 547, of the American Legion.

The petitions are expected to be completed by today (Thursday) and Robert N. C. Nix, Philadelphia attorney has volunteered to attend to the legal end of the case for the organizations.

In Philadelphia under the direction of M. Stern, district organizer of the International Labor Defense, several mass meetings were called in West Philadelphia Monday night protesting the action of Denston at the Maryland lynching and are also filing petitions to be handed to Chief Police Commissioner William Richardson.

Hon. John W. Harris, Jr., of Philadelphia, State legislator, has also written the commissioners urging Denston's removal.

C.M.E. Resolution Raps Lynching

Nearly 200 Ministers and Laymen Sign Document at Macon

Macon, Ga.—The committee upon the state of the country, with J. A. Martin, editor of Sunday School periodical, chairman, with Bishop J. A. Hamiett, presiding, reported, and the central Georgia conference of the CME church adopted the following resolution in part:

"With grave concern we note not only the increase in numbers lynched this year over that of 1932, but a wider range of territory, an increase in boldness, varied types of savagery, with implication of officers actually taking part and directing these lynchings, or giving sanction to these crimes.

"Second, we send warships to Cuba demanding a safe government of foreigners while our flag makes no attempt to safeguard life at home. We find a nation passing laws to electrocute kidnapers and silent upon the horrors of lynching.

"Our ministers are vigilant in preaching prohibition, and with few exceptions, are silent regarding brutalities in their communities. We find our college heads avoiding the issues of life in matters of protesting wrongs.

"This situation furnishes a field for the growth of communism or any other organization that points the direcion of freedom. Honesty and justice demand the removal of the causes of discontent rather than the destruction of our dreaded foe.

"For the above reasons the CME conferences in Georgia and throughout the nation call for action upon the part of the prophetic voice and the strong arm of the government lest we perish from wihin and without."

The document was signed by nearly 200 ministers and laymen of the annual conference.

LYNCHING, NATIONAL MENACE

While the president of the United States and the chief advisors are busy with matters which are affecting the nation financially, the lawless and lynch crowd are busily building up the lynch record in this country. Already, according to published report, their have been sixteen lynchings in this country during the past ten months, an astonishing record in such a short while.

Argus

We had thought and had hoped that this lawless barbaric practice was fast passing into history. But now we wonder if the lynchers have taken the "new deal," as enunciated by President Roosevelt, to mean a new lease and license to lynch, to burn and to kill with all disregard for the constituted law authorities and to arrogate to themselves the power of prosecutor, judge and jury. We do not think that the president had any such intentions. Therefore, we, here and now, call upon Presidet Franklin Delano Roosevelt to speak. Speak, Mr. President. Speak out against mob violence in your country and ours.

10-27-33

The attention of the president of the United States is directed to the very recent lynching and burning of a Negro youth by a bloodthirsty mob in the State of Maryland in which women and children took part. Women with babies in their arms and expectant mothers ~~took~~ part, even by their presence, and saw the victim dragged through the streets tied by the neck to a speeding automobile while they looked on in fiendish glee. Just think of it. Get a picture of this barbaric scene. What a crop of lynchers there is coming on that will outdo the present crowd unless something is done to check it. Such a condition is like "sowing" the wind, and the natural results will be a whirlwind. Mobs of this sort are more of a menace to civilization than are the kidnappers or gangsters. There are only a few kidnappers and a few more gangsters, but because of fear, they keep isolated from decent and orderly society; but in the lynch crowd, there are thousands, yea tens of thousands, of well known murderers walking around unmolested, so far as the law is concerned.

St. Louis, Mo.

Undoubtedly it is from just such ranks as took part in the lynching of the Negro youth down in Maryland a few days ago that kidnappers, gangsters bootleggers, etc., are recruited. The youths learn from such incidents disrespect for law and order which they never forget. They cheerish these things in their hearts and at sometime and at some place, the spirit gives expression which costs the nation dearly.

Many of the good people of this country, have expressed much sympathy for the Jews in Germany. They are strong in their condemnation of Hittlerism, but the Germans say, Beholdest thou the mote in thine brother's eye, but cannot see the beam in thine own eye.

> Thou, hypocrit, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

How true might this be said by many other nations concerning the people of the United States. Lynching and barbaric practice in America gives the lie to our missionaries in Africa, China, Japan, India, and other places where we pretend to be interested in humanity.

Surely, this is the time for President Roosevelt to speak out. His power over the people of the nation is at its peak. He is hailed as a fearless champion of the rights of the people. What a challenge, Mr. Roosevelt, does mob violence hurl in your face.

AMERICA MUST STOP LYNCHING ORGIES

THE brutality of the lynching at Princess Anne, Maryland, last week makes it mandatory for America to take action to prevent its recurrence.

Indiana

No reasonable person can believe the victim of the mob guilty. He was either not guilty of the crime or else an irresponsible idiot. From either point of view, he should not have been lynched.

10-21-33

But that is beside the point. America must stop lynching. The Federal Government must stop lynching. The President of the United States must use the great moral force of his office to prevent the continuation of this beastly crime. AMERICA MUST STOP LYNCHING!

Philadelphia, Pa.

American Negroes have been too easy on the question of lynching. The Christian church has accepted it as a necessary evil. The Federal Government can send kidnappers to jail for life. But a mob may storm a jail, take its victim before the home of a judge and hang his naked dead body before the eyes of women, while the machinery of the entire nation remains motionless. The law officers protest their helplessness. Battle ships go to Cuba to protect American property and war is suggested to prevent Germany from harming a single hair of an American citizen who has blue eyes.

AMERICA MUST STOP MOB MURDERS. The American press must stop justifying lynchings by left-handed editorials. Euel Lee had no more to do with the burning of George Armwood than he did with the other 15 mob atrocities which have happened in Maryland. The thing which is responsible for the lynching orgies is the certainty of the mob that the law will permit its members to escape punishment; the knowing smiles and open assistance of law officers.

Governor Ritchie must do more than order an investigation. He must see that there is an investigation which will bring the culprits before the bar of justice. It is impossible for the State Police and the Sheriff not to have recognized some members of the mob. The sons of the old woman stated that there would be no hearing in the case. They must have known what they were talking about, because Armwood was murdered. Governor Ritchie must act positively or never again even think of trying to be President.

IF AMERICA REFUSES TO STOP LYNCHING, NEGROES MUST STOP IT. A mob is a bunch of yellow cowards. Negroes must remember Atlanta, Washington and Philadelphia. There will be no lynchings in either of these cities. If the law of this land continues to refuse to protect the lives and property of Negroes, they must look to themselves. No mob must be permitted to take its victim unless at least some members of that mob go along on the last long journey with him. LYNCHING MUST STOP! Lynching will stop, when those who engage in it realize that they will end up in jail or perhaps in the grave.

Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

Negro Press, Northern.

3805

3905

London College Men Ask AFRO Editor Why Negroes Do Not Shoot Back at Lynchers

Details of Maryland Mobbing Appeared in English Papers. Students Puzzled that Rest of Us do Not Help Put Down Mobs. William N. Jones Quizzed as He Addresses College Students.

(By Mail)

LONDON, England—"Why in the world do not some of the 14,000,000 colored people in America you say live there shoot back at some of the lynching mobs?" was one of the questions asked at a meeting of the Cosmopolitan Club at the London College of Economics following an address by William N. Jones, of the Baltimore AFRO-AMERICAN staff while on his way to West Africa, October 19.

Although Mr. Jones was not discussing the lynch practice in America, the question was raised by a student who had just read a dispatch in a London paper giving details of the recent Maryland lynching.

Are Puzzled

Some of the London students were puzzled because of the fact that at some of these lynchings, the victim or some colored people did not use some kind of weapons of defense. There would be h—— to play, blurted out one young man, if they lynched that many Irish people over there.

Even a labored and detailed explanation of the methods used by mobs and the fact that most victims are in the hands of officials of the law when taken by mobs did not satisfy some of the listeners that more could not be done to halt mob action by people who opposed it.

Jnes's Address

In his address, Jones pointed out that men and women of color in America, as well as other parts of the world, now understand that they must keep step with the vanguard of civilized humanity. This, he said, involves not only the responsibility of contribution to world progress, but the same enjoyments of the rights and privileges of modern advancement along with other peoples.

There is coming more and more he said, a grim determination to refuse to accept that without struggle any status in communal life that other peoples of the earth would not accept. This formula might be expressed, he said. in the general statement now heard so often in the States—complete political, economic and social equality.

Must Make Appeal

For some of these privileges, he continued, colored races must become prepared to obtain them only through that determined will which has led so many white groups through struggles of revolutionary action. But there is a more abiding hope that coming generations of young men and women of the white race as seated here tonight, will have the mental and moral sense of human justice, as they take hold of life's affairs, to make such sacrifice unnecessary.

British Policy

The speaker called attention to the present British policy toward African colonies, particularly pointing out the injustice which the recent event in Bechunaland and the present attitude towards Liberia, in West Africa, signified.

In America, he said, some whites resort to the crude barbaric custom of using the rope and faggot with which to wreak injustice on human beings, and keep them exploited. Over here you crucify them on a fine spun diplomatic cross of color with the same final results.

Mr. Jones said further:

"I have just read in today's paper Sir John Harris's veiled suggestion that the powers should wipe the Liberian Republic off the map merely because there has not been 100 per cent efficiency in government.

"And in an adjoining column, I read the open and bold accusation made by your own head of the police department that this great city's Scotland Yard, is honeycombed with graft and corruption. But no one suggests that the powers of the world step in and abolish British autonomy. Every young student here before me knows this land would be soaked with human blood before Britain would stoop to such humiliation."

World Issue

"The problem of Africa," said Mr. Jones, "is becoming a challenge to colored prestige throughout the world. The colored peoples of the United States, of Haiti, of Abyssinia and in the African colonies, themselves, have realized that if Liberia is crushed as a republic, it will mean a serious blow to every human ambition of every colored man and woman in the world."

"For this reason," he continued, "The Baltimore AFRO-AMERICAN is making a first-hand study of what immediate steps can be taken to protect the prestige of the colored world. 'Save Liberia' will probably become one of the most vital slogans with which American, African and Island colored peoples have ever been fired to action."

Other Addresses

While in London, Mr. Jones was also guest speaker at the West African Students' Union and the League of Colored People...

A Possible Reason for Maryland's Lynchings

Elsewhere in these columns is carried a summary of the homes and farms owned by Negroes on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where at Princess Anne there was a recent lynching. Three lynchings have taken place in this section in the past twenty years.

In studying the facts we find two very significant conditions existing in this section of Maryland.—Striking indeed is the fact that the Negroes in this section are the most prosperous in the entire state of Maryland and equal to any group of our people in the United States. And even more striking is the fact that the four counties comprising this section have the highest percentage of illiteracy among the native whites than anywhere else in the state of Maryland.

In the light of these facts could it not be assumed that these jealous, envious whites, engage in this form of terrorism (lynching) to drive from these fertile lands and prosperous farms and beautiful homes and excellent fishing shores these owners; and so discourage and intimidate the sons and daughters of these substantial citizens as to cause them to leave the section in order to live in an atmosphere of greater protection with a greater degree of happiness?

This policy on the part of ignorant whites is nothing new. All our city race riots, from Atlanta to Chicago, had back of them the purpose and hope of stopping the spread of Negro property ownership and occupation in sections where they were not wanted by the poor whites.

Trivial and minor excuses and pretences were given in each case for the attacks on the part of the whites who precipitated these awful riots with their terrible bloodshedding. But behind it all were envy, jealousy and a greed to have that which the Negro through sacrifice and thrift had acquired.

It is to be hoped that Governor Ritchie of Maryland will put a stop to these acts and will, through the prosecution of the fiends who recently lynched Armwood and thereby to some little extent save the fair name of the Free State of Maryland.

Pennsylvania State Council Protests Lynching Increase

CHEYNEY, Oct.—The Pennsylvania State Negro Council met in special session here last Saturday afternoon to protest the recent increase in lynchings and to study the NRA program. As a result two lengthy telegrams were sent to Governor Albert C. Ritchie and President Franklin Roosevelt asking both to speak out against what it termed a "monstrous, mounting defiance of law and a shameless assault upon the honor of every American citizen."

Prof. G. David Houston, principal of the Dunbar High School, Washington, was the main speaker on the problem of the NRA, which seemed to have the entire group at sea. He was preceded by Wayne L. Hopkins, secretary of the Armstrong Association, who carefully surveyed the effects which the new industrial program has had upon Negro labor in Philadelphia. Mr. Hopkins held that despite the fact that some Negroes may have been dismissed by the coming of minimum and maximum wage scales, on the whole they were destined to share proportionately in the general restoration.

Mr. Houston prefaced his speech by saying that he had no message for the group in respect to its relation to NRA as Negroes, but rather as Americans bent upon the recovery of the entire country. He conceded that there are "evidences of embarrassments to Negro groups," due to the arbitrary actions of certain employers, but added that "there are refreshing symptoms elsewhere of profound interest in the Negro's cause."

In stressing the need of good followers under the Administration's banner in order to achieve the ultimate goal, Mr. Houston said:

"In such a crisis as this, the avenue to prosperity must be pointed out by inspirational leadership and traversed by faithful followership. Most fortunately, the country has, during these most vexing times, a leadership that is far-sighted, humane and courageous. It is, therefor, in th followrship that lurks the danger, thus requiring just such conferences as this gathering, to advise, direct, and inspire various groups of citizens to give the administration's program their shoulders and their hearts.

"It must be expected that along with such a gigantic undertaking certain situations will develop, requiring correction. Such situations are the inevitable by-products of any innovation on such a huge scale. Not all, however, can be corrected over night. Some will be slower than others in responding to cures, but the point of primary consideration is that the NRA recognizes no class distinctions, but fosters the welfare of all. It must, therefore, be interpreted properly and followed religiously."

The president of the council, Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, head of the Cheyney State Teachers College, presided.

ANTI-LYNCHING LAW

Tribune 11-2-33 Philadelphia

THE Lindbergh kidnapping outrage caused a Federal Law to be passed against the dastardly crime.

It is openly admitted and facts prove that the several States are helpless to prevent lynchings.

The States objected to a Federal Anti-Lynching Law on the ground that it would be interfering with State Rights. It is submitted that a Federal law against lynching would not encroach upon the rights of the State any more than the Kidnapping law.

The Kidnapping Law was enacted because of the wave of public indignation over the Lindbergh case. America should come to the same conclusion as to lynching. The brutal lynching in Maryland was in every particular just as terrible as the kndnapping of the Lindbergh baby. And from one point of view it was more horrible. The law enforcement officers did nothing to prevent it. The culprits are known. The naked body of the victim was hanged before the house of a judge. The organized legal machinery of the State was defied.

The Federal Law against kidnapping has established the precedent. There is no longer any valid argument either against the need or the right of a Federal Anti-Lynching Law. The only requisite is law making officers with courage backed by an aroused public opinion.

It is not enough to condemn lynching. The press, the pulpit, the Congress, the public must bestir themselves to see that laws are enacted to untie the hands of the Federal Government, so that it can no longer be said there is nothing to be done when a lynching shocks and disgraces every American who is decent.

GOVERNOR ROLPH SHOULD BE IMPEACHED

12-1-33 St. Louis

Judging from the newspaper reports of the part Governor James Rolph, Jr., of California played in the lynching which took place at San Jose, California, he should be impeached and removed from office immediately. Governor Rolph, by his action in this case has shown himself utterly unfit for any kind of public office. He has not only violated his oath of office, but every spirit of law and decency.

We believe that a charge of murder will be against him. If those who actually held the "battering ram," those who adjusted the noose about the victims' necks, and those who held one end of the rope while the victims were being strangled to death by their weight were guilty of murder, then, again, we say that Governor Rolph is guilty before the fact and should forthwith, without any dilly-dallying and a lot of technicalities, be removed from office. Then, too, one who holds such an important office as that of governor of the state and disregards his oath in such a flagrant and defiant manner is, by the act itself, unfit for office.

By his action, Governor Rolph has set a bad precedent. He has put his hand of approval upon lawlessness, and has given impetus to the very thing which he claimed to have been endeavoring to stamp out. Lawlessness begets lawlessness, and the Governor's act in this case is none other than one of "sowing the wind," and we, here and now, predict that e'er tomorrow he may reap the whirlwind of his deeds of today.

Sheriff William Emig and his deputies are said to have taken their lives in their hands in an endeavor to uphold the "majesty of the law," while Governor Rolph, like the Arab, cowardly sulked in his tent. Assuming that the Governor was sincere in his action, thinking that his conduct would stamp out lawlessness, we would like to know what kind of mind, what line of reasoning does he use when he puts two lawless men to death and, in so doing, makes ten thousand more criminals of the worse sort; because the thing which he has done has a more far reaching effect upon the populace of his state and on the people of the nation in a criminal way than the deeds of the kidnappers. We are told that thousands took part in the mob, including women with babes in their arms—Just think of it! Just think of the demoralizing effect which such a gruesome sight will have upon the young.

If the policy of Governor Rolph is to turn the state over to lawlessness, then there may be those of his state who are willing to take him at his word and feel perfectly free to take the law in their own hands at any time. Should the gangsters get on his trail, they may act under the old saying of fighting fire with fire. Thus, we see the dangers, and many they are, that have been brought to the fore by the action of the California Governor.

It is just such spirit as this that has brought the lynch murders in this country during the past twelve months to an amazingly large number. Some reports have it that more than forty have been the victims of the spirit of Governor James Rolph, Jr. That's a nice record to be plastered on the Governor of the State of California!

Our position in this matter is logical in view of the fact that most of the victims of mob rule were members of the Negro race.

IMPEACH ROLPH!

(An Editorial)

Defender 12-2-33 Chicago

Governor James Rolph Jr. of California should be impeached! He should be impeached because he has proved himself unfit to be a governor—unfit to hold public office of any kind. He is unfit to sit in any position of trust and authority—unfit to bear the respect of his fellow men!

Governor Rolph proved his absolute unfitness in his blatant mouthings concerning the lynching of two white men at San Jose Sunday afternoon.

"They made a good job of it and I hope this lesson will serve in every state of the Union."

The "good job" he referred to was the taking of two men by a mob of 10,000 headed by a young white girl, dragging them through the streets of San Jose and hanging them to sycamore trees in a public park. His "good job" included the battering down of a jail, beating and mauling of a sheriff and a score of his deputies, stripping the two men of their clothing so that they hung exposed to thousands of girls, women and tiny children, and setting fire to the feet of one of the men.

"I don't think they will arrest anyone for the lynchings. If they do, I'll pardon them."—Governor Rolph.

And for that statement alone he should be impeached. A governor, however stupid, ought to know that mobs do not mete out justice. He ought to know that no crime, however heinous, is expiated by lynch law. He ought to know that a public carnage in a public park in no way wipes out the horror of a previous crime, however vicious.

What is the world coming to, anyway, when a governor, elected to uphold the law sits idly by chatting while his government is taken over by a screaming, savage horde of barbarians? If our governments are going into the hands of mobs, to whom can decent, civilized Americans turn for protection? Are oaths taken so lightly now that those who are elevated to high places through confidence of the people can with impunity condone and support open violations of the laws in open violation of their oaths?

Even Governor Rolph should know that a lynching of kidnapers merely makes two crimes where only one existed before. A mob of 10,000 merely increases the criminal element by 10,000 instead of leaving the original two criminals involved.

But apparently Governor Rolph does not know this, and for his ignorance he is unfit to be governor. Californians today stand disgraced before the world, not so much because of the actual lynching, which was bad enough, but because of the attitude of their governor, who, had he the intelligence and courage required of him by his office, could have prevented this lynching orgy. And now that the outrage has been committed, he has the shameless audacity to say that it was a fine thing. He not only ought to be impeached, but he ought to be sued for damages by the relatives of the mob's victims for inciting a riot.

Lynchings-1933 Discussions.

Negro Press, Northern.

3906

Lynched Man's Mother

Miss Irema Armwood (left) tries to comfort her mother, Mrs. Etta Armwood, whose son, George, met a horrible death at the hands of a barbaric mob at Princess Anne, in the Eastern Shore district of Maryland. Mothers and others who sympathize with the heart-broken Mrs. Armwood may write to her in care of The CALL.—(Cooperative Publishers Photo).

Call 12-?-33

BAPTISTS PRAY FOR PUNISHMENT OF LYNCHERS

Afro-American 12-4-33

Governor Visibly Disturbed at Impromptu Invocation.

Baltimore Md.

RITCHIE TALKS FOR AN HOUR

Told Need for Colored Policemen in City.

ANNAPOLIS, Md.—An impromptu prayer, delivered by the Rev. A. J. Payne at the State Capitol brought a striking climax to a protest against lynching by the Baptist ministers of Baltimore, after an audience with Governor Ritchie Tuesday.

The Governor was visibly disturbed at the powerful prayer in which the Rev. Mr. Payne asked God's condemnation of all officials and participants in the mob.

The delegation, headed by the Rev. Junius Gray, was received by the Governor who listened attentively to their presentation. At the close of the protest the Governor took nearly an hour explaining his part in the lynching and showing the steps he took to insure the safety of the lynched man.

The Rev. Junius Gray, introducing the delegation, told the Governor he can not run the state without the Negro because they help pay his salary and therefore he should see to it that colored people could be employed as policemen and in other state positions.

Complaint was made, he said that police work was dangerous and Negroes wawn ta chance to share that danger. They stand ready to share it.

The protest read by the delegation was as follows:

We, the ministers and leaders of the Baptist forces of Baltimore and the state of Maryland, representing fifty thousand faithful, loyal and law-abiding citizens come to you as the head of this state in this hour of its shame and degradation before all the nation as the most appalling and fiendish in the annals of the state.

We believe your sense of justice and fair play will accord to us your patient hearing.

It is your power more than any other man in the state to remove this stigma from the fair state of Maryland. We refer to the lynching and burning of the imbecile, George Armwood at Princess Anne on the evening of Wednesday,, October 18.

Country Disturbed

Most surely you realize that a large per cent of the citizens of Maryland and the United States are disturbed beyond measure as a result of this dastardedly crime. Surely you realize that any dilly-dallying or buck-passing in attitude on lynching has come to an end, and there is no disposition to longer peacefully tolerate this wicked and atrocious imposition and encroachment upon a peaceful citizenry.

Your explanation in the press as to your position and power in the matter is not savory to say the least.

The public must still believe that you could have averted this lynching. To say that you did not know your duty in the matter is to acknowledge incompetency. To say that you did not know of the removal of Armwood is to say that you did not know what was published in the associated press in the morning papers, and was common knowledge throughout the state by ten o'clock Wednesday morning, ten or eleven hours before the lynching. To take the position that the trial and conviction of the guilty parties are in the hands of the local authorities of Somerset County is to say there will be neither trial nor conviction. Somerset county is guilty of the lynching and people do not usually convict themselves.

Represent Fifty Thousand

As representatives of a constituency of fifty thousand, and behalf of the whole body of the Negro population of Maryland, many of whom had faith enough in you to cast their votes in the selection of you as head of the state and custodian of the laws thereof, we come to you in the name of righteousness, justice and equity urging you to use your office and powers, and influence to:

(1) To bring to the bar of justice every man who was on the scene, who was in any way aiding or abetting in any way whether they actually struck a blow or not. Who would doubt for a moment if this had been a Negro mob that the very presence in the crowd would have been taken as prima facia evidence of their guilt? It is absurd to entertain for a moment the thought that any considerable number of that crowd could not be identified.

(2) We further urge that you use your authority, power and influence to impeach every officer of the law from the judge down and from the deputy sheriff up that participated in the removal of Armwood from Baltimore and failed to protect him. And we further urge their being officers will not render them immune from charges of murder and conviction just as any other citizen; that hohest investigation be made as to the part they played and that they be subjected to trial and conviction just as would be done to any other ordinary criminal. Every officer who failed to do his duty, and every citizen that encouraged in any way is particeps criminis in this affair.

Urge Legislation

(3) We further urge that you use your influence with the legislature as soon as possible to enact a law that will give every citizen of Maryland that protection guaranteed in the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

You have virtually said that you and no other power in the state had any authority under existing laws of the state to protect the citizens of any one section if the local authorities of that section did not chose to protect them.

If things continue in the trend they are going what will be the need of our legal machinery? And if officers are sent to quell riots with a tacit understanding that they are not to shoot whether the offender is white or black, why go to the scene of the riot with guns? The officers say they had orders to shoot only in last resort, if the last resort did not come in the name of all the gods in Homer's catalogue what did they term the last resort? No one will honestly doubt that if the officers had shown an undaunted determination to quell that mob, it would have been quelled.

Bloody Record

With a bloody record of fifteen lynchings in the fair state of Maryland with beastly passion overriding the law, you should have been well informed as to what to do. The laws of Maryland in the main fair, are intrusted wholly into the hands of your racial group. This puts a double responsibility upon you to safeguard the rights of the minority group, and to protect them from the hoodlum element, moved only by beastly passion fed by the fires of prejudice. With a full sense of the position in which you are placed, and the full gravity of the situation, we look to you to salvage what is left of the honor of the fair state of Maryland.

That a great mistake was made in turning Armwood over to be carried back to Princes Anne, no one will deny, but this mistake will be nothing as compared to the mistake that will be made if these culprits are not run down and convicted. We trust your honor will do his duty to the fullest extent to the end that justice may be had and he colored citizenry may feel safe in any part of the fair state of Maryland in the so called land of the free and home of the brave.

(Signed)

Revs. Junius Gray, chairman, A. J. Green, J. R. Butler, E. W. White, secretary, S. H. James, Civic committee.

Those in the delegation were:

Reverends J. W. Luck, pastor, Metropolitan Baptist; T. S. Hendershott, pastor, United Baptist; P. J. Jennings, pastor, First Baptist Mt. Washington; Simon Williamson, pastor, Faith Baptist J. P. Posey, pastor, Symrna Baptist Junius Gray, pastor, Psalmist Baptist A. J. Payne, pastor, Enon Baptist;

W. D. Yerby, pastor, Perkins Square Baptist; B. J. Legins, pastor, Pilgrim Baptist; D. Bryant, pastor, New Shiloh Baptist, Turner Station; A. J. Frye, pastor Berean Baptist; E. D. Mead, pastor, Mt Sinai Baptist; J. T. Johnson, pastor First Baptist Baltimore County.

A. J. Greene, pastor, Grace Memorial Baptist; S. P. Robinson, pastor, Abyssinia Baptist; E. W. White, pastor Providence Baptist; J. B. Baldwin; J. Timonthy Boddie, pastor, Union Baptist; S. H. James, pastor of Leadenhall Baptist; W. L.Green, pastor, Mt. Moriah Baptist; B. F. Jackson, pastor, Fulton Baptist; George W. King, pastor, Abyssinia No. 2; J. R. Butler, pastor, Union Baptist No. 2; A. W. Taylor, pastor, Mt Calvary Baptist.

G. A. Crawley, pastor, St. Paul Baptist; F. F. King, superintendent, M. E. Church; W. M. Hudnall, pastor, First Mt Olive Baptist; Matthew Wilkerson, pastor; W. J. Brokenburg; Mr. T. Alex Date Providence Baptist; Mr. J. R. Norris; J. H. Matthews;

T. H. Anderson, G. P. Cunningham pastor, Pleasant Hope Baptist; B. Thompson, pastor, Olivet Baptist; L. L. Price pastor, Mt. Horum Baptist; Mr. C. G Boyd, president Baptist Sunday School Convention; J. Vance; Mr. R. J. Dixon M. C. Ferguson; E. W. Burk; W. M. Tapscott, pastor, Morning Star Baptist, Catonsville.

The following ministers accompanied the Baptist group to Annapolis: A. J Mitchell, pastor of St. Paul M.E. Church F. F. King, District Supt. of M. E Church; Bishop J. M. Turpin, pastor Apostolic Faith Church.

WHY WE BOLTED LYNCH AND SHALL SUPPORT RUSSELL FOR RE-ELECTION

Much has been said during the last few days as why the "Lynch-for-Mayor Campaign Committee of Colored Voters" bolted Lynch for Mayor? As is true in all cases, the question is a two-sided one.

A whispering campaign was begun and is now being conducted by the paid hirelings of the Lynch Committee to the effect that Thomas Harrison, the organizer of what was the Lynch-for-Mayor Committee has double-crossed John D. Lynch and that he has sold out to Russell for $500 after misappropriating $130 from the Lynch Committee and also that Harrison withheld money from the paid workers at the polls on primary day.

It has always been our policy to ignore rumors and political lies during a campaign but, in order to bring out the real facts of why we bolted Lynch for Mayor it is necessary to reply —Yes, we plead guilty to having received at different times beginning on or about September 3rd, a paltry sum of $140—to wit, J. Frank Facey, $30; Hayes of the American Oil Co. and Treasurer of the Lynch Committee, $50; and Paul Dever, Manager of the Cambridge Campaign Committee, $60 at different times. This great sum of $140 was spent as follows: Rent ending October 18th, $25; Telephone ending October 18th, $15; Newspapers, $30 and Typewriting, $5.00. Nine (count them) nine different rallies on different dates and places. Added to these expenses must, of course, be included miscellaneous expenses, such as fuel, cleaning, carfares, postage, and yet we have added no service charge for our editorial work in the Boston American and Colored Press.

The one question is asked and must be answered is: WHY DID WE BOLT LYNCH FOR MAYOR?

Some time in August our aid was solicited to rally to the cause of Lynch for Mayor. We were told of his square dealing to all people. We were told of his human sympathies. Of course, we became interested in such a man and expressed a great desire to meet him. Some time later a conference was arranged at 54 Brookline Street where Mr. Lynch came and spoke to our selected few. At this time Mr. Lynch said: "As Mayor of Cambridge, I shall be Mayor of all the people, I have no prejudicea against any man because of his race, color or religion." Well said, and seemingly well meant. Upon such a straight-forward and unsolicited statement coming from a man whom we hailed as a second Lincoln, at once we organized a Lynch for Mayor Club of Cambridge. Enthusiasm ran high; Lynch for Mayor rallies were held; newspapers were brought into action for Lynch. Our members were coached to speak for Lynch everywhere and anywhere. Following our organized efforts (the very first organized group for Lynch) came the general organization of a general Campaign Committee of Lynch-for-Mayor of Cambridge. Not one of our workers was invited to take part in forming this body of Lynch workers; we were invited to attend some of their meetings held at a well known hotel in Cambridge and even there we were made to feel and realize that Candidate Lynch's statements made at 54 Brookline St., as being void of race, color and religious prejudices; neither he nor his general committee meant to include us as being part of the Citizenry of Cambridge.

The real test of our self-respect and racial integrity came last week when our attention was called to a Caricature take-off of Mayor Richard M. Russell which depicts him as an "African Chief Executive." Many of us have already heard of the whispering campaign thrust at Mayor Russell. Such caricature could only come from the brains of a diseased minded person.

Mr. Lynch and his Committee saw this dirty and libellous picture and approved of it decorating their walls of their headquarters at 1380 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass. This picture is both nasty, dirty and libellous on both Mayor Russell and the Negro people and should be rebuked on election day by casting your vote for Russell for re-election.

In common with many others, we honestly believe Mr. Lynch to be sincere in his intentions. We have friends on his committee whom we trust for fair play but those who are closest to Mr. Lynch and who would no doubt become his advisors at City Hall don't mean a thing to our race. These men even now actually believe that they are going to get great support from Negro voters through their back door Brigade but it just can't happen.

Issued by Colored Men's Democratic Club of Cambridge, Kenneth St. John, President; George Margetson, Vice President; Joseph A. Dorsey, Secretary; Arthur Stead, Treasurer. Headquarters: 54 Brookline Street, Cambridge, Mass.

DANGEROUS TALK.

One need have no opinions one way or the other in the events which led up to violence at Lodi to recognize in the utterances of the Justice of the Peace there that which was dangerous, improper, and, in its direction, every bit as radical as are the words and acts charged against some of the strikers in the scene.

In the courtroom the judge is said to have predicted a possible return to lynching and to have addressed the attorney for an arrested man in these words: "These men are nothing but a bunch of rats, Russian anarchists, cut throats and sweepings of creation. This defendant does not know when he is well off if he wants a jury trial. In some places they would take him and the rest of his kind out and hang them from the nearest limb."

While feeling in the community, with all that occasioned it, may be appreciated, words of the kind from a Justice of the Peace are almost beyond precedent. They are of the sort which would enable the radical to point with reason to a denial of rights in the court and cannot in any way aid in the cause of justice and the people whom the courts must represent.

Incidentally it may be pointed out California has a new law on its statute books, an anti-lynching law which makes punishable by imprisonment for not more than twenty years any person who participates in any lynching. "Lynching" is defined as "the taking by means of a riot of any person from the lawful custody of any peace officer." It does not have to result in a fatality to be an offense punishable to all who participate by imprisonment. Lynch talk in a court room and denunciations of a defendant, before trial, such as this justice is said to have uttered are attacks upon law and order from a source which should uphold the same.

TAKES BACK WATER

POLICEMAN William Denston of Lower Merion township now comes and says he did not say "Even lynching was too good for that damn——."

The son of the 81-year-old Maryland woman whose alleged attack caused the mob atrocity two weeks ago realizes that he talked too much. He did not know that as bad as Pennsylvania is, it is not the equal of Maryland; that Negroes would go after his job.

A TRIBUNE reporter visited officer Denston to check on the story published in the daily paper. At that time he had nothing to say. He would neither affirm nor deny that he had said what was published. It is difficult to believe that a reporter could have made the story unless Mr. Denston had talked.

Our opinion is that since his job is threatened the bragging officer wants to retract. His statements did not look so good in print to civilized people. Those who are trying to have the officer discharged should not quit until he is fired or else it is proven that Mr. Abbott of the Record is a liar.

It sincerely hoped that the Commissioners who have charge of the police will not hesitate to dismiss so dangerous an individual. No one holding Mr. Denston's views has any business carrying a gun.

DO IT OR ELSE

An Oklahoman tells us that Governor Murray of his state, when told that the national guard was asked for to stop a lynching, called up the sheriff by phone and told him to be sure that his prisoner was taken only over his dead body. If it was otherwise, then be sure that he got so far out of the state that he could not be brought to account for his negligence of duty. There was no national guard sent, there was no lynching.

Gov. Murray of Oklahoma has never been one to follow the orthodox course. He is his own counsellor and is not a bit perturbed to find himself doing the unusual. In answering the mob's attack upon the law, he ran true to himself. If more state executives would demand of sheriffs and police that they do duty, lynching would come to an end. As it is, the mob reminds the sheriff that he holds office by their votes, and therefore he must agree that they have their way. Not one of the would be lynchers risks anything. He is sure from the very beginning that his bloody impulses can be satisfied with no danger to himself.

Not because it means an occasional Negro saved from death, but because it means the upholding of our government, the mob should be crushed out. The two cannot hold dominion at the same time. If lynchers can summarily try and punish, the orderly processes of the law are proven unnecessary. Both cannot be right. Since good sense upholds the one, it must do away with the other.

Governor Murray is right,—any officer worth the position he holds, will hold a prisoner against the mob when it is put up to him squarely to do so or pay the penalty of his failure.

Negro Press; Northern.

3909

Lynchings-1933 Discussions.

OFAY BAPTISTS RAP LYNCHING

Afro-American 5-27-33 Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON — The Southern Baptist Convention, white, numbering 300[illegible] delegates [illegible] states closed its session here Monday night with the adoption of resolutions that included a condemnation [illegible] unceasing efforts to safeguard human liberties, and a forceful rap at "public servants" for their failure to see that justice is exercised for all in the courts and legislative bodies of the country.

The convention also deplored the use of President Roosevelt's influence for the repeal of prohibition.

The resolutions specifically condemned lynching and other forms of lawlessness and urged good will for all men.

The resolutions represented a part of the twenty-fifth annual report of the convention's Social Service Commission, headed by Dr. Arthur J. Barton, pastor of Temple Baptist Church, Wilmington, N. C.

The report also set forth approval of the lowered lynching rate for 1932. A statement sent in by Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee, listing eight lynchings for 1932, is included. The Atlanta Interracial Commission was praised for its work.

—Cooperative Publishers Photo

Russia's distaste for American lynchings is shown in postal cards now on sale at all newsstands in Moscow. The above is a reproduction of one of the scenes portrayed.

INVITING LYNCHING

(Editor's Note: Here is what a Mississippi daily thinks about the Scottsboro and the Tom Carraway cases.)

(From the Greenwood (Miss.) Commonwealth.)

Tom Carraway, coast Negro, under sentence of death for an alleged attack on a white woman, has carried his case into federal court, charging that the Mississippi jury system violates the Fourteenth Amendment because no Negroes were on the panel which tried him and that fear of mob violence prevented two Negroes who could prove an alibi for him, from testifying.

The Carraway case, viewed in connection with the Scottsboro, Alabama trials and the attack of a Negro on the jury of system of Virginia when extradition was sought, gives the appearance of a determined and concerted effort being made to break down the laws of the southern states under which Negroes are practically excluded from juries.

The attempt will be viewed with great concern by southern people who are and have been sincerely interested in eliminating lynching in the southern states, for if every trial of a Negro accused of a heinious offense must be fought through to United States Supreme Court before final conviction, on technicalities, there are going to be more lynchings and fewer trials in the state courts, for there has yet been devised no system of appealing from Judge Lynch's decisions whether right or wrong.

Urges Fair Trial for All Men in Order to Insure Safety

Chicago Defender 8-11-33. Chicago, Ill.

MACON, Ga., Aug. 11. — With white women of the state actively and openly denouncing lynching and such an influential newspaper as the Macon Daily Telegraph taking a definite stand editorially against the evil, Georgia should soon lift itself above its unsavory reputation of the past and become known as one of the most progressing and liberal states in all Dixie.

A committee of white women, members of the powerful Methodist Episcopal church, South, and the Southern Baptist churches, only last week met in Atlanta and adopted a blanket resolution, condemning the practice of lynching.

Women Demand Action

The women went into the counties of Warren and Baker, in which three lynchings occurred recently, and appealed directly to the officials and demanded that immediate and positive steps be taken to apprehend and punish those who were guilty.

On the heels of this action by these prominent women, among whom were Mrs. W. J. Neel, Forsythe; Mrs. E. M. Tilly, Atlanta; Mrs. E. M. Bailey, Acworth, and Mrs. C. C. Sapp, Albany, comes a scathing editorial in the Telegraph, soundly denouncing lynching.

Newspaper Praised

The editors of the Telegraph are to be commended for their position and bold stand on this important subject. Perhaps no other newspaper in the South has ever been as outspoken against lynching. The editorial states:

WOMEN CAN SPURN TRUTH

"'He insulted a white woman,' is the terse and sufficient language pinned to the dead body of a Negro strung up in Mississippi on Saturday. There is no way of learning now whether he did or not. He has been gathered to his fate without the right of being heard, or even to be confronted by his accuser—and there is no sure way of knowing that any such accusation was made against him.

"Thus the most sacred of all rights has been trampled under foot. The real cause might have been that some one in the mob had a spite against him. It might haye been that he had property that somebody wanted, and maybe he wouldn't sell it. It might have been that some white woman became peeved with him because he would not or could not extend some favor she asked. Many white people thus hold the fate of Negroes in their hands, especially white women.

Situation Dangerous

"It is possible for a white woman to make the charge of having been insulted against a Negro and have him strung up immediately. If he denies it, then he should be hung for 'disputing a white lady's word.' So, the Negro is on both horns of a dilemma.

"This is a dangerous situation. It involves more people than Negroes. Because, if people become so hotheaded and unjust toward a Negro, on some woman's unsupported word, it is, inch by inch, establishing a precedent and practice by which the same sort of 'justice' can be meted out to white men who 'insult white ladies.'

"'White ladies' ought to be protected, of course; but the utmost care ought to be taken in seeing that the innocent who are unjustly accused are also protected. A woman can be easily mistaken, especially if she is angered and desires to get revenge. All she has to do is to call her men folk and cry and sick them like a pack on the victim. Several years ago this ruse was used in Georgia to chase a Negro out of a community where he occupied a particularly nice piece of farming land, which it was afterward learned white people had been trying to buy from him and which he didn't want to sell at any price. All his life's efforts had been wiped out, his home broken up, his good behavior went for naught. His crops were left in the field; all he had was sacrificed for whatever was offered by the 'indignant' whites.

Women May Be Mistaken

"We claim to be a superior race, we white people. Superiority and power carry responsibility—to do justice. We ought to have more sense and understand the danger of destroying the very institutions that we have set up for our own protection, to appreciate them too much for us to take unnecessary chances with the truth to be considered honorable, according to the above. The villainies of mob violence. Plenty of women can be honestly mistaken or dictionary does not hold them to the take liberties with the truth. In fact, same standard for telling the truth Webster's dictionary describes honor in every case as it requires of the 'specifically in men as integrity, upmen.' rightness, truthworthiness; in women, purity, chastity.'

"While we do not wish to be too severe on the women, it should be observed that they don't have to tell

KIDNAPERS VS. LYNCHERS

According to newspaper reports from Washington, the United States Government has taken sufficient cognizance of the evils of kidnaping to step in with the strong hand of the government to stamp out this growing menace against law and order. Quoting from the press report, we note, "Backed by President Roosevelt, Attorney-General Cummings and his Special Assistant, Joseph B. Keenan, a nucleus has been set up for the campaign aimed to crush racketeers, gangsters, kidnapers, extortionists, bombers and hoodlums."

And while we do not rejoice at the suffering which the kidnaped undergo while in custody of their abductors, yet we do get just a bit of satisfaction out of the thought that something has become so terrible in the United States that Uncle Sam is taking official cognizance of it. It will be remembered that the horrible crime of lynching has gone steadily on in this country for several years and that Uncle Sam has found, always, some loophole which excused him from exercising the power of the government to break it up.

It has been interesting to see the many and all kind of excuses that have been given by the government when its plain duty regarding lynchers has been laid before it. But since the racketeers, extortionists, kidnapers, etc., have annoyed the rich, the government is now ready to bring in all of its power to suppress or to break them up. Not a word is said about "state rights." The foreword which is to be used by the government is "Human Rights." And on this theory, the strong arm of the government is to be employed in suppressing this whole lawless outfit which has gotten beyond the control of the local authorities. Now, Uncle Sam, what we want and contend for is that the same line of reasoning by which you find excuse to "thumb down" on kidnapers be used by you to suppress lynching in the United States. Do you not understand, Mr. Cummings, that as long as you attempt to enforce law for the rich and ignore the law when the rights of the poor are at stake, you build a one-sided government which can never function properly? A one-sided law enforcemet is like the automobile that's hitting on three when it should be hitting on six. It cannot properly function, and only half performance is to be expected. If you prosecute the one hundred gangsters and let the one thousand lynchers go scot-free, you have increased lawlessness by nine hundred.

These are some of the facts which we think the President, Mr. Roosevelt, the Attorney-General, Mr. Cummings, and the Special Assistant, Mr. Joseph B. Keenan, should have in their possession when they start out on their expedition of stamping out gangsters, etc.

WHY BLAME THE "REDS"?

ALABAMA WHITES staged another Scottsboro scene near Birmingham when they shot to death two Negro youths and dangerously wounded another. The lynching is over and now the dixie sheriff who had the victims in his charge offers as his alibi which is that the interference of communists provoked the situation to the extent that it was impossible for he officers of the law to give protection for the three Negroes. This alibi is a gross insult to American justice. Why can't the sheriff surrender and admit that he and his deputies failed to protect their prisoners from the blood thirsty savages who have as their motive to always kill Negroes when some crime has been committed against white women.

It is reported that many precautions were taken to prevent mob violence, but the lynching took place in spite of the precautions. A number of other similar lynchings have happened in the south and even in the state of MISSOURI, precautions were taken to prevent many of these lynchings in the past, but they took place.

The fact that the interference of the International Labor Defense aroused race hatred is in no way an alibi for people to take the law in their own hands and administer what they call justice to Negroes. I admit that the policy of the "Reds" is one that creates bad situations for Negroes in the south, but I cannot find any excuse for white people lynching a Negro. The law says that it is wrong, public opinion says that it is wrong and the lynchers themselves know that it is wrong. Apparently the white folk in Alabama are sore because they have failed to convict the nine Scottsboro boys and are attempting to take care of all other cases before accused Negroes are placed in safe keeping. Obviously the mob knew that if the three youths reached Birmingham, a lynching would be impossible. Birmingham is a large city and it is not easy to stage a lynching as the savage element is somewhat scattered over the city. However don't misunderstand me, the savage element is present in Birmingham and all over the south and by the way KANSAS is not a big exception to Alabama.

The nature of the alleged offense--which was in this case killing of a white woman does not justify lynching. Officers of the law are supposed to do their duty even at the risk of their own lives. In most lynchings officers of the law are always unharmed. What alibi does the Alabama sheriff offer for this? It appears to me that if sheriffs do their duty and mobs really want to lynch prisoners there would be some shooting between mobs and officers of the law.

—WEC—

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AND LYNCHERS.

THE DEPARTMENT of justice in the United States has started a big campaign against racketeers, gangsters and kidnapers. Arrests have been made in a number of cities and some have been convicted. The present crime wave in the United States is so intense that the department of justice is going to have plenty of work to do. It has been reported that the aim is to end crime in this country. Their program as stated above is to wipe out racketeers, gangsters and kidnapers, but as far as I know there has not been anything said about lynchers. Mob violence cannot be condoned any more than the evils of kidnapers. The kidnaper catches people, take them off, torture them, molest parents for money and will resort to murder if necessary. Lynchers are even worse. They take the law into their own hands and in many cases murder innocent Negroes.

Lynching just as other major crimes are no longer a local problem. It is a Federal problem and the Federal government should act to avert America's most hidious crime. It should be a Federal offense for a sheriff to let a mob of savages take a prisoner away from him without putting up some fight for his security, denying an orderly process of justice to take place. Still further it should be a Federal offense for a mob to murder human beings just to satisfy their savage appeal. There should be a prevailing public sentiment of the entire nation against lynching. There is no compromise, no excuse and no cause for lynching. The American press muss must rise and condemn lynching and not compromise with savages who may or may not support a large number of dalies.

In the Kansas City Times of August 15, there appeared a very good editorial under the caption of "Mob Violence Is Without Excuse." The editorial emphatically condemned lynching as an unexcusable crime but in spite of the frankness of the editorial there was the element of compromising in the climax. The editorial reads in part:

"Prevailing public sentiment of the South, as of the whole country, is positively against lynching, a condition that has been reflected in the rapidly decling number of mob outbreaks.

"To the extent that officers do their duty in protecting prisoners and that prosecution is aimed at the securing of plain justice, there will be a continuously lessened number of lynchings and possibly the final removal of these disgraceful blots upon the country's record."

The Times has published several editorials condemning racketeering, gangsters and kidnapers, but in my judgement none of them have been of a comprmising nature. The writer has been emphatic in his denunciation of lawlessness. As far as I am able to interpret the policy has not been one of hope for a decrease in the actions of the above violators, but to wipe them out. Neither was anything mentioned in this editorial about the department of justice making investigations concerning lynchings. The white press all over the country must uncompromisingly condemn lynching. The department of justice must consider lynching a great social crime and include it in their program against the criminal element of the nation. Present day conditions demand that Negro citizens of the United States must have Federal protection from the white savages of the south. Present day conditions demand that the courts of this country must give justice to Negroes. Until this is done every Negro boy or girl, man or woman is unsafe just as much as millionaires are with kidnapers, or the honest business man with racketeers and gangsters.

Negro Press, (Northern)

Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

3910

Views Of Other-Editors

Lynchings Last Year

(From The Newport (Va.) News)

We lynched "only" thirty-seven people in this land of the free and home of the brave last year.

Of course those who lynched were not braves and the miserable victims of their wrath were not free, but let that pass.

"Only thirty-seven" is a "good record," we are told. It is "good" in comparison to the "bad" old records, when folks used to drive away boredomby grabbing the first Negro who had been vaguely accused of "the usual crime," taking him out and hanging, shooting, beating or burning him to death. Sometimes they killed him by using a little of each method.

Of the "only thirty-seven" people done to death by mobs in the United States last year, two were white.

We do not know just how the mobs happened to lynch two white people. The fact is all we have. Of course mobs have just as much "right" to lynch white men as black.

And of course they have just as much "right" to lynch white men on suspicion of attacking Negro women as they have to lynch black men on suspicion of attacking white women. But, somehow, attack by white on black doesn't arouse mob fury.

Some years ago a mob down South chased a black man, captured him, kicked and cuffed him around, tied a rope around his neck, tied the other end of the rope to a bridge railing, then kicked the black man off the bridge. Before they did this, though, the victim protested, "Honest to Gawd, gen-lemuns, I don't know why you should bother me, I ain't done nothin'." He was right. He was not the man who had committed the crime the mob was out to avenge. Ten minutes after the unfortunate Negro ceased to kick at the end of his rope, the mob discovered its mistake.

"But," said a newspaper editor, "the mob had just as much right to hang the wrong man as the right man." Which is about as pitilessly ironical as logic can well be.

We are a lawless, a brutal and a hypocritical people. We murder more people than are murdered any place else in the world; our gangs shoot their victims down in cold blood under the very noses of the most highly paid police forces in the world, and we send more missionaries to the "heathen" than any other people.

And, with all our lynchings, murders, gangs, law defiance, we prate about our Christianity with unctuous complace[illegible]

Science s[illegible] [illegible]asoning can be made of fertilizer and will be fit to eat. But no seasoning this season.

LOUISIANA SH THE WAY

While all America was looking toward Miami where an Italian gunman was being tried for the attempted assassination of the future president of the United States, the state of Louisiana was giving a demonstration of how to enforce law and order. It was at Ringgold that the demonstration was given Sunday.

Some time during Saturday night a bank cashier was forced, at the point of a gun, to go to his place of employment and attempt to open the safe. A time lock having been set, this was impossible, and so the robber proceeded to beat the man to death. His wife, who also went along, and who, according to her statement, was almost assaulted by the gunman, told authorities that he was a "Negro." A few hours later Nelson Nash was captured by a mob and lynched. Although the woman admitted that she had been in the presence of the murderer for several hours, she could not identify him, but this fact did not deter the mob in its eagerness to stage a lynching.

After the man was hanged and his body riddled with bullets, police gave out the story to the press that he had confessed to the crime. We doubt that he did. This is the usual procedure. We know, also, that bank robbery is not a crime indulged in by black people of the South.

NO IDENTIFICATION!

But the important point in this is the fact that Nash was not identified by the only person who saw the crime committed. And we know also that had this white woman been 50 per cent certain that he was the man, she would gladly have said so. But she persisted that she could not identify Nash. Yet he was lynched.

Now, let us consider the important facts in that Miami crime. Here, there was not a scintilla of doubt as to who attempted to kill Mr. Roosevelt and who actually wounded the mayor of Chicago so seriously that he may never recover. The man was not only caught in the act, but he confessed to his crime and regretted that he did not kill Roosevelt. Yet he was not lynched. Not only was he given a fair trial, but the prosecutors of Miami went to the greatest of pains to secure the best legal defense for him available in that state. Although there were 25,000 white citizens on hand at the time of the shooting, there were greater pains taken to protect the shooter than there was desire to lynch him.

We call attention to these facts, not that we are advocates of lynching in any of its forms, or for any cause, but because we want the world to know that we notice such things as this. Nash was lynched in Louisiana not because he killed a white man, but because a white man was killed and Nash happened to get in the way of the mob. He was lynched because the white South is still steeped in barbarism and savagery and jumps at every excuse to exercise its savage tendencies.

ZANGARA GETS FAIR TRIAL

Zangara, the Italian assassin, gets 80 years for his shooting of five persons, one of whom is mayor of America's second city; Nash is lynched because he happened to be near the spot where a man was killed in an attempted bank robbery. Zangara was seen to do his shooting—Nash was not identified by the only person who witnessed the crime for which he was lynched. Zangara, even after his confession that he had tried to kill the president-elect of the United States, was given a fair trial and ample protection—Nash was given no trial at all. He was rushed into the lynchers' rope just as hundreds of other black Americans have been treated in this country.

Who knows what facts might have been brought to light had there been less haste to put Nash to death? We have not yet forgotten the case of nine boys who were sentenced to death at Scottsboro on the testimony of a woman. Now, two years after the woman made her accusations that brought these boys face to face with the electric chair, she confesses that she told a "G—— d——" lie and that the boys did not touch her at all. Had these boys been lynched or executed Ruby Bates would never have written that letter. She would have reasoned that the incident was closed, and nothing could be done about it. But delay has brought many new facts to light.

Lieutenant Massie of the United States navy took the law into his hands in Hawaii last year and lynched Joe Kahahawai, a Hawaiian, because Mrs. Massie claimed that he, with four others, raped her. Now we have the Pinkerton detective report that there was doubt that Mrs. Massie ever was raped!

Lynchings, we repeat, have never proved anything. They have never served any purpose of law enforcement. They have never added one straw to the respect for law and order—nor have they contributed anything to the campaign of imbecillic whites that the sanctity of white women (if there is any such thing) must be preserved.

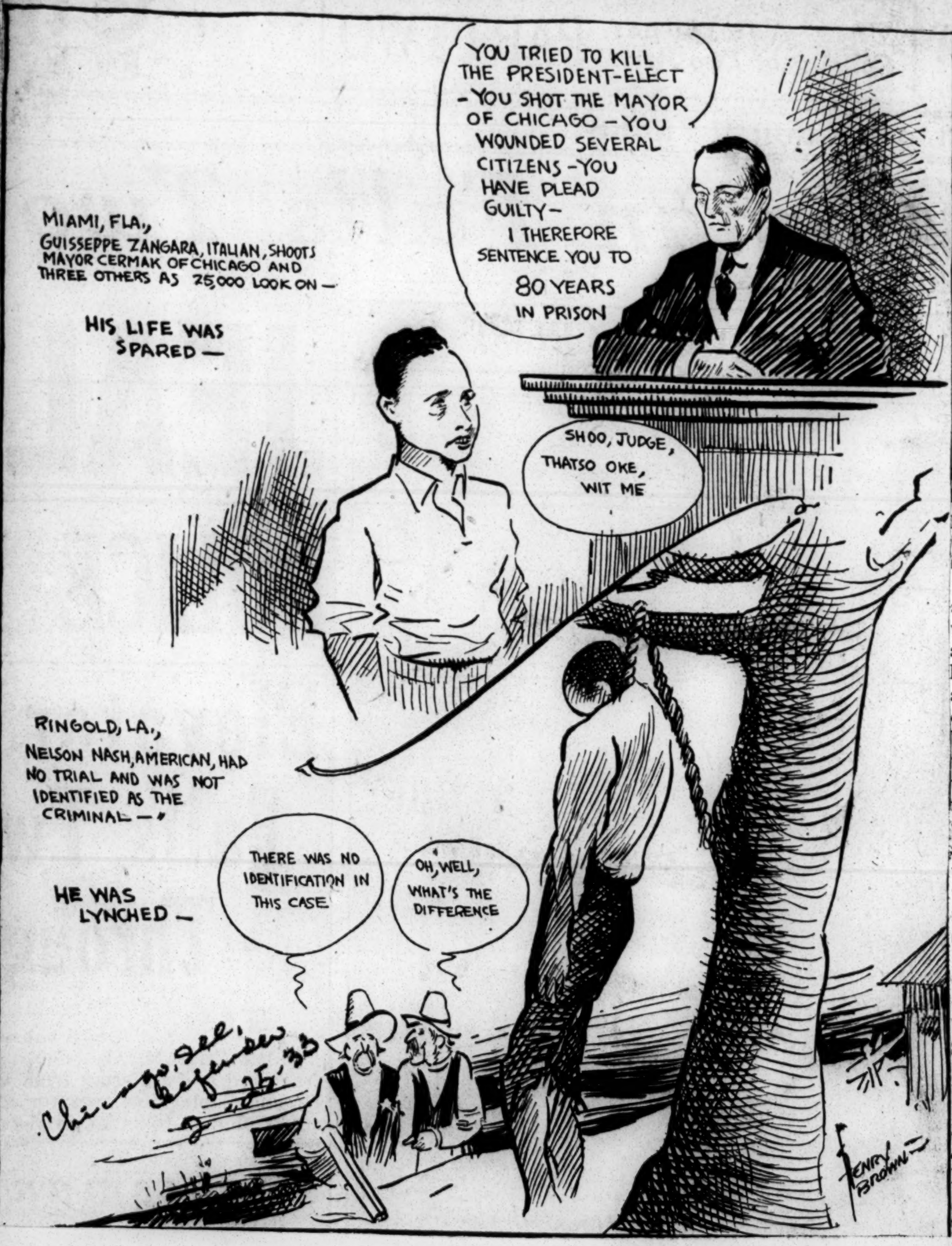
But, coming again to the Miami case, we wonder whether it is a greater crime to shoot at the president-elect, shoot a mayor and two other innocent bystanders, or to be black and to live in the South. And especially grave is the crime to be found near the spot where a white man has been killed by a bank robber under the cover of darkness! White America may one day find it to its benefit to answer these questions!

ANY VICTIM WILL DO FOR LYNCHING

RINGGOLD, La.—Arrested 15 miles from the scene of a crime on flimsy evidence, Nelson Nash, 24, was seized from police by several score of white men and women, Sunday, hung to a tree and his body riddled with shot.

Nash had been arrested in connection with the murder of a Ringgold bank official and attempted rape upon his wife. Although the woman did not identify him, the fact meant nothing to the police and the mob which was allowed to string him up.

THE AMERICAN METHOD



TWO MORE LYNCHINGS

Courier 3-4-33

LOUISIANA and South Carolina, two of the most backward States in the Union, disgraced civilization last week by lynching Negroes on the same day. In Louisiana the Negro was lynched by a huge mob; in South Carolina (at notorious Aiken) by a small mob, but in both cases it was a mob. In Louisiana the members of the mob have not and will not be apprehended; in South Carolina the four alleged assailants have been arrested and jailed. Dear old Southland!

Lynching Number One

WE REGRETTED very much to read the other day that there goes to the discredit of the state of Louisiana the dishonor of the first lynching of 1933. It was our sincere hope that the low record of lynchings for 1932 would soon usher in a year when our country should be spared of the discredit of the illegal hanging of a criminal, real or alleged.

The story of the alleged crime of the first Negro lynched this year reads more like newspaper fiction than fact. Our newspaper writers should not be so ignorant as to believe they can dupe the reading public forever with the purest impossible nonsense.

In the first place, the description of the alleged crime is seriously faulty and unworthy of credence. It is untirely unlike a Negro robber to kidnap a banker, force him to go a considerable distance to a bank and demand money, failing in this to murder him and then attempt to rape the banker's wife. It is also doubtful whether the Negro lynched had anything whatever to do with the crime, as he was not identified as the alleged murderer by the banker's wife. The alleged confession is the usual and customary concoction of the newspaper writer, and the attempted rape clause is that which is invariably resorted to by newspaper writers to justify in the minds of readers the crime of lynching.

It is not at all strange that the white women of the South themselves, disgusted with the justification of lynching by hiding behind their skirts, are in the most of the Southern states passing resolutions against lynching. They know the falsehood and brutality underlying lynching, and are anxious to see a better and more orderly enforcement of law and to rid themselves of that brutality underneath the whole lynching system from the beginning.

In self-defense, the white race should rise up against lynching. It is a reflection upon its ability and self-control to direct the affairs of an orderly community. Even if it be granted that there are criminals who commit crimes which are an outrage to the sense of decency in the community, shall a whole community brutalize itself to punish a criminal in its midst? The reaction of lynching upon the morality of the white race is far more serious than many of them realize. Looking at lynching as a means of intimidating other Negroes and putting fear in them to commit crime may appear beneficial, but the cultivation of the brutal spirit in the white race and a lack of respect for human life among its youth is productive of a race of murderers no less undesirable than rapists. We are grateful, however, that in the very heart of the South there are leading sentiment makers who are out-and-out opposed to lynching. The following editorial from the *News and Courier*, of Charleston, S. C., is only a sample of those which often appear in the leading newspapers of the South:

"In *The American Spectator* (literary newspaper) is a story of a lynching, a brilliantly told, revolting, and realistic story. The scene is not laid in South Carolina, where lynchings have sometimes been brutal, but where have been no burnings of men. We can be thankful for that. The nauseating and horrible thing is that what Mr. Vernon C. Sherwin has written is essentially true. No matter what the provocation, there is no excuse for lynching. When young people in the high schools and colleges are taught the history of the "Dark Ages," their tortures, brutalities, bestialities, are they reminded that such things are sometimes done in the Southern States of the United States? As long as we shall have lynchings in the United States and shudder at the tales of atrocities of savage peoples, we shall be hypocrites."

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

Negro Press, Northern.

3911

Lynching

IT IS quite encouraging to note the strong sentiment being developed against lynching in the South itself, where most of the lynching is done, although the danger of mob murder is not confined to any one section of the country. There is very little difference between the attitude of white people towards Negroes anywhere in America. In some section Negroes are not so numerous as in others, resulting in lesser race contacts and the problems resulting from them. There is also that difference which has resulted in lack of segregation and jim crow laws growing out of the conditions immediately following emancipation in sections of the country where the Negro was not numerous enough to create a problem. Were the North, East, and West making as much progress in race attitudes and relations as is being made in the South, a bearable system of race relations would soon exist in America, somewhat harmonious with true American ideals and standards.

A large part of the Southern attitude toward Negroes is almost purely social, except that among the poorer whites who have the added factor of economic and industrial competition. This much can be said concerning the attitudes of the leading aristocratic Southerners. They do manifest that good will and willingness to let live and enjoy some measure of economic and industrial success toward Negroes much stronger and more genuine than that of similiar groups of white people living in other sections of the country.

One will have to search far and wide to find such powerful agencies against lynching as is expressed in the following resolution by the women of the South and the high editorial position taken by the editor of the Arkanas *Gazette*, from which this editorial is taken.

"We declare lynching is a indefensible crime, destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved. . . . . We shall teach our children at home, at school, and at church a new interpretation of law and religion; we will assist all officials to uphold their oath of office; and finally, we will join with every minister, editor, school teacher and patriotic citizen in a program of education to eradicate lynching and mobs forever from our land."

Those extracts from a declaration signed by more than six thousand women of the South express the spirit of the Association of Southern women for the Prevention of Lynching, one of whose leaders, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta, spoke before the Arkansas Council of the association Monday afternoon.

While lynching is slowly fading from the American scene, denunciation of mobs never will halt them for the reason that they result from emotional explosion originating either in prejudice or ignorance, or both. Mass murder can the stopped only by the slow process of education, aided by courageous action of officers of the law.

Those six thousand women recognized that fact, so they wisely pledge themselves to "create a new public opinion in the South which will not condone for any reason whatever acts of mobs or lynchers."

The first lie which lynchers use in defense of their murders is the contention that "our women must be protected." That has been scotched by publication of figures which show that only 20.8 per cent of the victims during the last forty-six were accused of crimes of violence victimizing women.

But lynching is not the only injustice these women are attacking. They demand that equality before the law for all races be recognized, that social and economic justice be meted out, that there be lifted from the Negro the burden of discrimination found all too often in his experiences with our enforcers of law. It is not too much to ask and those women of the South deserve the support of every decent citizen. These times are teaching us that depressions are no respecters of persons. They also should teach us that the Negro's lot is hard enough at best without the added weight of undeserved distrust."

It is by uniting with such forces for equal justice and consideration that the Negro will find the best and quickest solution to his problems. Such minority radical groups like communists, no matter what they offer, have no power to do anything worth while. Ranting among ourselves also about injustice perpetrated upon us may appear well in our own feelings and misguided judgment; but they accomplish nothing. Kindling the fires of hate in our own hearts against those who hate us can never bring the results we desire. An expression of pity of a race so lacking in human sympathy and sense of justice as to ill-treat a handicapped and under-privileged people will be a thousand times more effective in bringing about desired results than all the indignation meetings we may get together and all the resolutions of protest we may be able to pass. In fact, those who hate us get the feeling that their efforts have been effective, when we are strongest in our indignation and loudest in our protests.

4-6-33

Alabama and Blood

ALABAMA, SOUTHERN breeder of the Scottsboro case, likes its blood. That Bourbon state upheld its reputation for leadership in the old Southern sport of lynching early Sunday morning when Dan Pippen, Jr., 18, A. T. Harden, 18, and Elmore Clark, 28, were snatched from Sheriff [illegible] and deputies by a mob near Birmingham. Pippen and Harden were found shot to death. Clark, seriously wounded, was found later hiding in the woods. Charged with the murder of a white girl, the three men were being transferred from the jail at Tuscaloosa for "safe-keeping" at Birmingham. A short time after this lynching another Negro was shot to death near Tuscaloosa. Officers said that he resisted arrest on a charge of stealing chickens.

Governor Miller of Alabama, who has sputtered in feigned indignation before when Negroes were lynched, sent a telegram to Judge Henry B. Foster of Tuscaloosa, in whose court Pippen, Harden and Clark were to be tried August 22, asking the jurist to conduct a grand jury investigation. Foster promised to do so. The good judge, sworn to uphold the law, started off on his "investigation" by blaming the double murder on the International Labor Defense.

Last week three I. L. D. attorneys were refused the right to represent the three held for murder. The National Guard escorted the lawyers from Tuscaloosa and the townspeople threatened to string them up for daring to ask to defend Negroes. A southernized Tuscaloosa Jewish merchant sent a letter to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise in New York urging him to keep Jewish lawyers from coming down and disturbing the cordial relations of Jews and gentiles in Alabama. Some Tuscaloosans had remarked that this would not be another Scottsboro case.

From these incidents it is easy to see that Tuscaloosa had no idea of permitting Pippen, Harden and Clark to escape death, even if they were acquitted. For fifty years Alabama has supped the blood of Negroes and bred a race of murderous bigots who have no respect for even the semblance of justice offered Negroes in her courts. Tuscaloosa is not different. Although the seat of the state university, she is among the most backward of Alabama's brood. A few weeks ago President Roosevelt sent a message to Alabama urging that state to vote for repeal. We wonder whether the Chief Executive could manage to find time now to say something about a more important issue. Alabama needs some urging.

8-19-33
New York N.Y.

ALABAMA UNREPENTANT

Alabama played into the hands of the International Labor Defense [illegible] it permitted Negroes to be lynched though it had escorted out of danger the white lawyers sent to be counsel for the Negroes.

There is no hiding the fact that the I. L. D. is striving to convert Negroes to radicalism. Lacking labor troubles as an opening, it seizes upon criminal cases, such as this one and the Scottsboro boys. The obvious move for the South to make is to give the Negro even-handed justice. Such a policy would be a change of front, but there is every reason why Negroes would take good treatment from whites whom they know even more readily than from the I. L. D. which up to a while ago was an utter stranger.

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad," is an old saying whose truth is being driven home by what we see of Alabama. Rather than confess its past wrongs that state continues to oppress Negroes, even turning them over to the mob in this case. The inadequacy of the defense for the prisoners is in such startling contrast to its effectiveness for the lawyers that the lynching must have been intended.

Kansas City Call
8-18-33
Kansas City Mo.

Tuscaloosa Lawyers Report

FACED INJURY OR POSSIBLY DEATH TO SECURE HEARING IN ALABAMA COURT

New York—The full story of the threats against their lives made in Tuscaloosa courtroom when they were barred from the defense of the frame-up victims there who were lynched Sunday, on August 13 was told in a special interview here by Allen Taub and Irving Schwab, International Labor Defense attorneys.

"What happened in that courtroom was preparation for the lynching," Schwab and Taub said. "We had exposed their legal-lynch maneuvers. The "best people" of Tuscaloosa did not want another exposure like the one in the Scottsboro case. They barred the I. L. D. attorneys in an attempt to prevent it.

"The announcement of the I. L. D. that it would enter the case of Pippen, aroused furious hostility among the ruling whites. They terrorized the local Negroes; they called meetings of leading Negroes of Tuscaloosa and demanded that they pass resolutions against the I. L. D. Sheriff R. L. Shamblin refused us permission to see the defendants in jail, saying that he was not satisfied that we were the attorneys, although we had retainers signed by all the nearest of kin.

"We arrived at the Tuscaloosa court house on the morning of the trial, August 1, at 9 o'clock. There was an immense crowd in front of the courthouse, and the corridors were jammed. As we pushed our way through the corridors, we heard members of the crowd—who had been told all week through the press and other means that the I.L.D. must be kept out of the case—say loudly: 'There they go. There go the sons ——! Let's get 'em now!'

"Inside the building barricading the entrance to the stairway, was a high wooden fence. Guarding this entrance were armed deputies.

"When we entered the courtroom we found every seat taken. Many of the leaders of Alabama's ruling class were there, among them William Brandon, formerly governor of Alabama. There were many other officials, and quite a number of judges and former judges from other parts of Alabama.

"Frank Irwin, our co-attorney in the case, a native of Birmingam, rose in court to make the following statement: That he had been retained by the defendants in the case; that he had gone to the jail in Tuscaloosa to see the defendants, but was not allowed to consult with them; that he had succeeded in seeing only young Pippen in the Jefferson County Jail in Birmingham; that although he had written the clerk of court of his retainer in the case, he was not notified according to legal procedure of the date of the trial, but had to find this out through other channels; that because he had not been permitted to see his clients he felt himself to be unprepared to proceed then with the case and therefore asked a continuance. Irwin then showed the court the retainers signed by Dan Pippen, Jr., and by the nearest of kin of the defendants.

"All this time the militia was being held in readiness half a block away and the crowds at the courthouse and in the corridors were as menacing as ever.

"At this point John D. McQueen, one of the attorneys appointed by the court for the defendants, called for a recess. The five 'defense' lawyers appointed by Judge Henry B. Foster, the lawyers for the prosecution, and the judge himself, all retired for consultation.

"When they came back, McQueen arose and spoke words that had a startling resemblance to the words of Stephen Roddy, Ku Klux Klan lawyer appointed to 'defend' the Scottsboro boys at their first trial. 'This is a sad duty indeed,' said McQueen. 'Defending these men is not something I would have wished for myself. We are here just to carry out our duty, and we are here under direction of this court.'

"The state then put on the stand young Dan Pippen, and forced from him a repudiation of the retainer he had signed in jail. Pippen had been thoroughly beaten in jail, and the bandages about his head had been removed only a few days before the trial.

"At this point the judge adjourned the session, and ordered that the court be cleared. The three lawyers of the I. L. D. remained in the room. A note was passed in to the judge, stating that the crowd outside was growing more threatening and had determined to lynch the attorneys. We could hear howls outside the door: 'Let's get 'em! Let's get the b——!'

"A telegram was put into the hands of the judge. It was from William L. Patterson, secretary of the International Labor Defense. It exposed in no uncertain terms the frame-up nature of the charge against the defendants; it denounced the attempts to terrorize the defendants and to keep the I. L. D. out of the case, and it held the judge responsible for the safety of defendants and lawyers, and expressed the determination of th I. L. D. to fight for Negro rights.

"When Judge Foster read this telegram, the pretence of 'fairness' dropped from him like a mask. He clenched his hands and began to shout 'I'll kill the son of a — who wrote this telegram. I'll make him answer for this.' One of the deputies said: 'You don't have to do it, judge; we'll do it for you.'

"The militia now entered the building. They cleared it of spectators and all clerks and other workers. National guardsmen surrounded the courthouse. We knew very well why they were taking these precautions. Having worked up enough lynch spirit against us to justify taking us out of the county, they were now afraid that the crowd which they had whipped to fury, would get out of hand. Attorney McQueen had said in open court: 'No harm must come to these I. L. D. attorneys, because we dont want to stir up the Negroes here.'

"We were taken down to the ground floor, dressed in slouch hats, coats were taken from us. Disguised in this way, we passed out of the building in single file and entered the cars provided by the guardsmen.

"When we got to the Tuscaloosa station, we found a crowd waiting for us. The train was late, and the crowd got bigger every minute. They shook their fists in our faces and cursed us. On the train, we were led into a private compartment, in which we remained throughout the trip.

"Thirteen miles out of Tuscaloosa, at Cottondale, the train came to a sudden stop. We found out later that the airline had been cut to halt the train while a lynch crowd boarded the car. We heard heavy footsetps tramping the corridors, searching for us. Once we heard someone say distinctly: 'There's three of them.' Probably about 100 men passed through the train at Cottondale. Finally the airline was repaired and we got into Birmingham.

"In Birmingham we were met by eight policemen and the national guardsmen with mounted rifles. They put us in a patrol wagon and drove us to the city hall. Chief of Police Fred McDuff said that he had been informed of a crowd from Tuscaloosa headed for Birmingham. During our stay in the city hall there were constant telephone calls from the lynchers asking our whereabouts. A policeman came in and reported that 20 autos were on the way from Tuscaloosa. There is no question that this lynch gang had been organized against us by the ruling whites of Tuscaloosa, who then had a fine excuse for driving out attorneys pledged to show the frame-up nature of the case and to raise issues of Negro rights."

Boston Chronicle 8-26-33 Boston, Mass.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

Negro Press, Northern.

3912

Last Night's Ghastly Tragedy, Deplorable Statement of Governor Rolph, Following

Oakland California Tribune 11-27-33

It is unfortunate that the Governor of the State of California should have publicly condoned last night's ghastly incident. Officially representing the sovereign State of California and what it stands for, and sworn to uphold the law, he announces to the world that the hanging of men, stripped of their clothes and one of them unconscious, in the presence of men, women and children was "the best lesson that California has ever given to the country."

A small boy climbed a tree with a rope which he placed over a limb at the suggestion of the mob Children in arms were held high by mothers and fathers to see what happened; women screamed encouragement and later, there was dancing in the streets. California can no longer point to the Southern States as lawless commonwealths.

The Tribune is not unmindful that the Brooke Hart kidnaping and cold-blooded murder aroused every right-thinking citizen of California and the nation. There was no reason to doubt that speedy justice would have been meted to the fiendish perpetrators of the kidnaping and murder. Finding of the body removed the last legal obstacle to a conviction; it left no technicalities of which advantage could be taken.

Public sentiment was so strong that no jury could fail to bring in a prompt verdict of murder in the first degree. Even in the City of San Jose, where the feeling was tense as it should have been, the citizens on second thought will probably regret last night's brutal evidence of mob psychology.

The majority of people of California and San Jose will not agree this was the "best lesson which California has ever given to the nation."

ATTENTION MR. PRESIDENT! OUR SECOND APPEAL

Jefferson 12-2-33 Chicago, Ill.

To our president: Since your election as chief executive of the nation 39 human beings, 2 white and 37 black, 3 of the latter being women, have been lynched in America. As a result of this increasing savagery we had hoped and are still hoping that our appeal would penetrate the veil of silence which seems to have its conscious thought in political expediency.

We have urged upon you that some expression be given the American people indicating, with respect to these lynchings, that you hold with other great men of your country that "a nation cannot survive half slave and half free." If the Constitution, which we uphold and support as the fundamental law of the land, Mr. President, is inadequate to afford security to all citizens alike in their natural rights of life, liberty and pursuit of happinss—and if this inadequacy is proved—then it has served its purpose and should no longer be recognized as the Magna Charta of a great and free people.

We are entirely in accord with that portion of your speech made at Savannah, Ga., in which you said: "With our sense of proportion we understand and accept the fact that in the short space of one year we cannot cure the chronic illnesses that beset us for years, nor restore the social and economic order with equal and simultaneous success in every part of the nation and every walk of life."

Yet we regard this as being the proper time for some public expression to come from the president of the nation indicating that he considers the sovereign rights of the black people in this country in their fight to obtain their rightful place in the scheme of social justice as being an inescapable part of what you have been pleased to classify as the new deal. It must be evident to your most cautious adviser that there can be no necessity for continual silence as to your attitude with respect to the question of lynching.

As American citizens our complaint is a grievous one and, in fact, one that strikes a severe and sinister blow at the very heart of our natural rights as citizens. We were pleased to note in your Savannah speech that you paid high deference to a message delivered by your distinguished predecessor, Theodore Roosevelt, quoting a portion of one of his speeches as possessing values of sustaining qualities essential to you in your present effort.

We are happy to inform you, Mr. President, that in another speech and on another occasion while serving as president of the United States Theodore Roosevelt in no uncertain terms branded lynching and lynchers as typifying those of depraved minds and whose conduct and activities found no accord in the high ideals and purposes of respectable citizenship.

On another occasion, Mr. President, Theodore Roosevelt while president made this utterance: "To turn this government either into government by a plutocracy or government by a mob would be to repeat on a larger scale the lamentable failures of the world that is dead."

To this, Mr. President, we can only add that we hope in these statements you will also find sustaining values in carrying out the high purposes of your resolve to introduce into this country a new deal in which lynchings and lynchers will be informed by your utterances that they are in no wise a part of your scheme of justice.

Governor James Lyncher Rolph

Afro-American 12-9-33 Baltimore, Md.

Last week Governor James Rolph of California declined to pardon Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, both white, convicted of bombing a Preparedness Parade in 1916 in San Francisco.

Las week Governor Rolph promised to pardon anybody arrested in San Jose for the lynching of two white kidnappers who were dragged from their cells, hauled through the streets and hanged.

Concerning the guilt of Mooney and Billings, there is considerable doubt. Evidence has been submitted showing that testimony against them was faked and that they were imprisoned only because they are radicals and communists.

Concerning the guilt of the San Jose mob, there is no doubt, for the leaders in statements to newspaper men boastingly told of recruiting the mob from the speakeasies of the city and storming the jail.

Before the lynching Governor Rolph refused to call out the militia to protect the jail and the prisoners. After the lynching he said:

"This is the best lesson California has ever given the country. We show the country that the state is not going to tolerate kidnapping. A good job....If anybody is arrested I'll pardon them."

So California's governor puts himself in the awkward position of keeping the innocent in jail and keeping the guilty out. No wonder ex-President Hoover was among the first to rebuke him. No wonder this first outspoken public utterance, approving lynching, to come from the governor of any state shocks the nation because that state is California.

We predict the day will come when smart, wise-cracking Governor Rolph will repent the day he permitted his tongue to run away with his judgment.

Should he by any misfortune be elected to the Senate of the United States or become President or a great public benefactor, even then he will never be permitted to forget that he favored anarchism and mob rule.

Our Readers' Opinions

Tribune 11-30-33 Washington

Local Doctor Resents Lynch Law, and Makes Timely Observations

To the Editor:

The newspapers of the Hearst Syndicate, represented in the capital by the Washington Herald, carry today, Tuesday, November 28, a front page special article, "The Lynching." One who understands America finds easily the explanation for lynching and for the occasional public official, like Governor Rolph of California, who brazenly condones, justifies, and praises lynching, forgetting entirely his solemn oath to uphold the law and to protect every citizen in his constitutional rights.

One who understands America explains easily the faulty logic, the emotional rhetoric, and the unsocial thinking of a man like Arthur Brisbane on such a social disease as lynching. When, however, an American newspaper syndicate, reaching millions of readers daily, and bent upon shaping the opinions and policies of the world's greatest nation, flagrantly and deliberately defends and preaches lynching, one stands aghast.

Lynching is a cancer in the body politic and is without justification under any circumstances. Mob law, like cancer, is anarchy; it does not discriminate in its destruction. The victims, innocent of crime or guilty of atrocity, are tortured and mutilated, but the history of lynching indicates clearly that no social purpose is ever served by lynching. The roots of crime, the seeds of perverted and subnormal intelligence remain in the body politic to grow violently in the ashes of mob violence.

Lynching and the crimes which it pretends to punish are the products of American civilization. Our philosophy of Rugged Individualism with its religion of Wealth, continues to overlook the social need of developing fully the productive capacities of all individuals on the one hand, and the detection and early control of anti-social individuals on the other. From the latter group, rich or poor, come the criminals.

Those who have faith still in the intelligence of the American people, should make that faith felt by refusing to spend even a few pennies to support any newspaper that flagrantly and deliberately preaches lynching.

H. A. CALLIS.

Rolph or Ritchie?

At last a lynching which has focused attention nationally to this form of lawlessness being practiced more and more in this country has taken place. Perhaps now a wave of public opinion will

so crystalize itself as to make possible the national anti-lynch law so long hoped for by us—and by other law-abiding seeking citizens.

The attitude of Governor James Rolph, Jr., of California in not only commending the lynchers but assuring them immunity if any officer in California should have the manhood to arrest the persons guilty of this horrible crime is inexcusable.

Lynching is a far greater crime than kidnapping. To say the least, under no conditions, no matter what the crime, should the right of fair trial be denied those charged with its commission.

How in the name of God's heaven can law and order be respected by the people if and when the chief executive of a state puts his official approval on the crime of lynching?

At the same time Governor Rolph was praising "his lynching citizens," Governor Ritchie of Maryland was sending troops to Princess Anne, Md. to make arrests of alleged lynchers of a Negro, whom the local enforcement officers refused to arrest. Rolph is to be condemned and Governor Ritchie commended. Rolph should be impeached. Ritchie should be supported by all the fair thinking people of this country.

We can add nothing to the statement of Dr. Will W. Alexander, president of the Southern Commission on Inter-Racial Relations, when he said:

"As between lynching and kidnaping, lynching is the more serious crime of the two. It involves not a few individual criminals here and there, but enlists whole cummunities in orgies of violence and murder, in which law and civilization are lynched no less truly than the human victims. In recent months the authorities have demonstrated their ability to cope with the kidnapers, as they were doing in this case. On the contrary, the almost universal failure to convict lynchers indicates that lynching is a much more difficult crime to eradicate."

CAIN'S BRAND BURNS DEEP

Lynching is more than an offense against the law. It is a crime against nature. Man survives because the will to live is instinctive in him. Of necessity the taking of life is repugnant to him. Even where the state takes life to punish crime, men abhor the hangman, though he is known to be the state's agent.

If women and children did not take a part in lynching, if it were not a gala event perpetuated in memory by souvenirs, even by flesh and bones from the victim's dead body, it offends our sensibilities because essentially it is the taking of a life. In vain its defenders try to turn attention from its evils by pointing out the crime. It is still abhorent to our instinct.

Preservation of life being the first law of our nature, it follows that some terrible penalty is visited upon those who violate that law. The brand of Cain is more than a figure of speech. In this St. Joseph lynching, one young man mounted the swaying body of the mob's victim, planted one foot on the head and the other on the shoulder. Then he thrust his legs with all his might and the crowd heard clearly the sound as the neck snapped. Look at him, the product of schools, churches, charity drives, and a government which declares in its highest law that an accused person is entitled to trial by a jury of his peers and that even if guilty he shall not suffer any inhuman cruelties.

To some mother that young man swaying on that broken body is the little child with a cluster of curls that came to be the joy of her life. He was told about the good fairies and how he might become president. Yet caught up in the mob's frenzy, he committed a deed worthy of a South Sea head hunter.

Let them scoff who will when we say the brand of Cain burns deep into the soul of the killer. Down in Louisiana some years ago a coming young lawyer led the mob that shot and hung its man. Five years later he became insane. Even our World war,—we called it a holy war—has produced tens of thousands of "shell-shocked" men.

It is not mere whim that causes capital to flee from the place where mobs go mad and kill. If men break the supreme law of their nature, they will attack property.

Society must restrain the killer. Protection of life is the test of its power to do all other things. A mob which lets go of all the restraints that man has acquired on his way up from the cave and the club is civilization's greatest enemy.

THE EX-PRESIDENT AND THE GOVERNOR

The willingness upon the part of Governor Rolph of California to hurriedly ally himself with the lynchers of his state occasioned the return to public notice of Ex-President Herbert Hoover. Mr. Hoover availed himself of the opportunity, in conjunction with several other leaders of the state, to go on record as being opposed to lynching. His public expression in connection therewith brought quite a heated retort from his excellency the governor, who sought to remind the ex-president that he himself had made some not altogether worthy contributions to murder and massacre which apparently had the sanction of the federal government.

The merits or demerits of the discussion which for the past few days has more or less interested the public, between Ex-President Hoover and Governor Rolph would be of little importance were it not for the fact that they both have been intrusted by the people with great responsibility and each of them in equally as great a measure has signally failed in the final test of their obligations.

Mr. Hoover had many opportunities during his term as president to place himself on record as having been unalterably opposed to lynching. He did not find it politically convenient to do so; either that, or the color of those who were victims of the lynchings was responsible for his silence. It does not enhance either his past political fortunes or his future with respect to history to attempt to do by words alone what he could have made effective by official power.

Governor Rolph as the chief executive of California has already written his own obituary—his place in history will be among the infamous. Those who have betrayed the better judgment of the nation and encouraged the frightful terror of mob violence and disorder will find Governor Rolph a welcome member in their midst.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

Negro Press, Northern.

3913

THE DISEASE AND THE REMEDY

MOBS in widely separated sections of the country have defied weak-kneed law officers and lynched four men. Recruited by plug uglies from the worst elements of the population, fortified by cheap liquor, aided by hordes of supposedly respectable white citizens, encouraged by wrist-tapping and friendly police officials and virtually egged on by responsible elected representatives, these fiends have destroyed human lives and property with no fear of punishment.

Courier

Although the ringleaders of the mobs in San Jose, Princess Anne and St. Joseph are well known to the authorities and have boasted loudly of their participation in the savage orgies, District Attorneys wring their hands in fake despair and wail that they "can do nothing about it." In San Jose officers elected or appointed to defend their prisoners from mob violence pointed out the lynch victims to the mobs. The Sheriff at St. Joseph delivered innocent Lloyd Warner to the white fiends to be burned alive. Governor Ritchie belatedly dispatched militia to the rebellious Eastern Shore of Maryland to seize the lynch leaders and these citizen soldiers "escaped the mob" with "great difficulty." Governor Ritchie has now "abandoned lynch action," according to the press.

12-9-33

What has happened in the past few days in Maryland, California and Missouri can happen anywhere. In each case, as in practically all such cases, the so-called law enforcement officers and the militia have refrained carefully from using the only means known to be effective in resisting mobs: bullets and cold steel. Every one of these lynchings could have been prevented had the officers really defended their prisoners by firing upon or bayoneting the bloodthirsty ghouls who milled around the jails. That they did not do so and were not ordered to do so is proof positive that lynching is condoned by American officialdom.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

It is now established beyond doubt that local and State authorities are on the side of the lynchers. If they do not openly aid and abet mob violence like Governor Rolph of California, they at least give it tacit approval by negligence, which the mob has come to recognize and expect. Worse, the comments of some of America's leading citizens in all walks of life show that many of our so-called "best people" are lynch-minded. The reaction of "high society" to the Massie--Fortesque mob murder in Honolulu two years ago established that fact.

Since local and State officials refuse to enforce the law and punish the lynchers or protect prisoners threatened by mob violence, there is obviously but one way to deal with this lynch evil: i. e., by the enactment of an anti-lynching law with more teeth in it than a shark possesses. Whenever the time comes that a community or county will have to pay $5,000 or $10,000 out of its treasury to the Federal government for permitting the staging of one of these sadistic spectacles, there will be a sharp slump in the lynching rate.

Thus, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People again demonstrates its race statesmanship when it insists upon just such Federal legislation. The embers had not cooled around the roasted flesh of Lloyd Warner in St. Joseph before the N. A. A. C. P. announced that it had obtained the agreement of Senator Edward P. Costigan of Colorado to introduce an anti-lynching bill in the U. S. Senate in January. The measure will have the support of such able solons as Senators Hamilton E. Kean of New Jersey, Burton K. Wheeler of Montana and Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota, and many other members of the Congress. The Association's legal committee already has drafted the bill.

The rest is up to the Negroes of the United States. Those familiar with legislative procedure know full well that it takes persistent lobbying and ceaseless pressure on legislators to pass such a law. That requires money and lots of it. Pushing such legislation to enactment requires trained legislative agents and an aroused public opinion. The issue must be kept before the people every day, every hour, every minute. Telegrams, letters, resolutions and delegations must converge on Washington. Every member of the Senate and the House of Representatives must have the issue presented intelligently and persuasively to him. Pressure groups must be organized and kept active in every community.

It will take money, and lots of it, to win the passage of a Federal anti-lynching law. The American Negroes should gladly contribute a million dollars to put such a law on the books. It would be cheap at the price. Fifteen or twenty cents from each and every adult Negro will assure such an anti-lynch fund. To be on the safe side it will be well for each adult Negro to contribute a dollar. The N. A. A. C. P. cannot have too much money with which to fight mobbism.

The time to send your dollar is immediately. The place to send it is: The Treasurer, the N. A. A. C. P., 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. All preparations to push through this Federal anti-lynching bill must be completed BEFORE Congress convenes. Let us again rally enthusiastically, wholeheartedly and effectively behind the cause of justice and right, as we have so many times in the past. Let us, if we are red-blooded men and women, again follow in the footsteps of our forefathers and make a sacrifice for the future.

COMMITTEE AGAINST LYNCHING ORGANIZED

St. Louis Argus 12-8-33

Many Civic And Social Organizations Unite To Help Bring The St. Joe Lynchers To Court

Will Demand Removal Of Sheriff Theisen. Silent Parade Now Being Planned

As a direct result of the lynching-burning of Lloyd Warner at St. Joseph, Mo., a few days ago an organization to be known as "The Missouri Committee Against Lynching" has been formed in St. Louis.

The purpose of the committee, as announced by its members, is to work for the speedy apprehension and conviction of all persons responsible for the lynching at St. Joseph. It will further use its influence to crystalize public sentiment against mob violence throughout the nation. To this end a "silent parade" is planned to take place in St. Louis in the near future. The committee will also delegate some of its members to call on Governor Park and urge the chief executive of the state to use his influence to bring the lynchers before the law. In furtherance of its plans the following resolution has been adopted:

RESOLUTION

Whereas during the last year there has developed in the United States a reign of lawlessness manifesting itself in mob violence resulting in many cases in the burning and lynching of human beings;

And, whereas, in the last few weeks the Governor of California has publicly condoned and approved of mob attacks upon law enforcement officials and lynchings;

And, whereas, a few hours after the public declaration of said Governor, there took place in the State of Missouri, at the City of St. Joseph an assault by a mob upon the County Jail of Buchanan County followed by the lynching of a prisoner who had been turned over to the mob by the Sheriff of Buchanan County:

Be it therefore resolved that we, the Missouri Committee Against Lynching, composed of representatives of all races, creeds and political affiliations, do publicly denounce and condemn Governor Rolph of California as a public enemy and call upon the people of the State of California to repudiate his actions and recall him from office;

Be it further resolved that we do hereby protest the recent lynching at St. Joseph, Missouri.

and do condemn the Sheriff of Buchanan County and the State Militia of the State of Missouri for neglecting and failing to perform the duties of their respective offices in resisting the mob attacking the jail of Buchanan County, to the best of said officials' ability; and we do hereby demand that the said Sheriff of Buchanan County be removed from office by Governor Park for malfeasance and that those members of the State Militia present at the time the said prisoner was surrendered to the mob, be court martialed and properly punished;

And be it further resolved that we call upon the State Legislature to enact such laws as may be necessary to curb mob violence and provide for the punishment of persons participating in lynchings;

And be it further resolved that we do condemn the lynching of human beings, whatever the nature of the crime with which they may be charged, as not only being illegal but also as being barbarous, inhuman and destructive to the very fundamentals of civilized Government.

PRIEST INFORMS SHERIFF WHO JAILS GIRL'S SLAYER; MOBBIST DIES IN WRECK

A thorough investigation was made at both Labadieville and Napoleonville, La. last Sunday afternoon relative to the recent lynching of Freddy Moore, seventeen-years-old, who was strung up to the girder of the Labadieville bridge where his body hung for many hours and was finally taken down when the sheriff from the adjacent parish, Thibodaux, demanded its removal because of its hiedous appearance which resulted in many women fainting after viewing it.

Step-Father Confesses

The investigation started at Labadieville where Moore met with his fate. He had been charged with the murder of Annie Mae LaRose (white), found dead in a cane field not far from her home. Moore was the last one seen to converse with her and this is what led to his arrest and lynching.

EXTRA! EXTRA! EXTRA!

NAPOLEONVILLE, La., Nov. 10.—Special invesigators sent here Sunday by a committee of prominent Negro men disclosed the fact that Freddy Moore, seventeen-year-old Negro who was lynched by a mob at Labadieville, La. on the night of October 11, was innocent.

These investigators succeeded in uncovering a hidden fact, viz., that the murderer of the dead Anna Mae LaRose (white) is a white man, her stepfather, who confessed to a Catholic priest, the latter summoning the sheriff who arrested Darvie, as he is known, and lodged the culprit in jail where he is now confined.

Knows Mobbists

The strung-up victim after being tortured with every kind of branding implement supposedly confessed to the mob that another man by the name of Norman, aided him in the murder. The mob then readily sought for a man named Norman Thibodaux, and in view o fthe fact that the latter was in this city on the day of murder of the LaRose girl, proceeded to rope him.

Thibodaux was taken hold of and also brought to the Labadieville bridge, where he was made to walk up and take a look at his buddy. For a minute the mob hesitated as to whether it would burn or hang Thibodaux. Deciding to do the latter, a new rope was secured and with one man astride the top girder of the bridge ready to pull the rope and one on the bridge firmly fixing the hemp knot around his neck, the signal was given to begin the "cheap fun" as it was termed by the mobbists.

After being unfurled to the breeze for several minutes, an humble bridge tender, and the pleas of R. M. Robichaux, wealthy planter of Assumption parish at whose home Thibodaux had worked earlier in the day, were sufficient for the mob to loosen the dangling victim and grant him his freedom.

Thibodaux was then taken for the proverbial ride, his garments crimston stained from innocent blood failed to touch the hearts of his torturers and when he ejected from the auto in which he was riding, fell in the cane brakes to avoid the leaden misseles which he stated whistled by his ears.

The freed man later found his way to the city where after undue delay, he was given his liberty. Thibodaux knows many of the members of the mob and says that he can and is willing to identify some of the men who sought to kill him.

Do Not Deny It

At Labadieville, no attempt is made to deny the fact that the lynching took place there and that the victim was meted the punishment he deserved. The operator of a Shell oil station said that it was first lynching tnat had occurred there and that probably there would not be another soon unless the occasion warranted it.

He likewise stated that the lynched victim was a bad character and got what was coming to him. His only apology for the mobbists was that if it had caught the Moore boy a month or two later, he would not have been lynched, but the informant said that the men were so heated up that they had to do it.

When the investigator who stopped at the above named oil station expressed fear as to the people of the town, he was told by the station attendant that the people there did not bother any one who "minded' their own business.

Mob Members Hurt

A further uncovering revealed that X. Dugas, clerk of the court at Napoleonville, La., and the deputy sheriff, A. Landry, Jr., were hurt seriously when the car in which they were riding while on their way to Baton Rouge. met with an accident near Donaldsville which proved fatal to the former. The deputy sheriff it is said is not expected to live. It was further stated that the mother in law of the town officer passed away when she learned of the auto mishap.

Another source disclosed that on Friday morning a truck of colored and white hands, the latter having taken part in the mob, were imperiled when the fog blinded the driver of the truck causing it to overturn at an embankment. It is said that not a member of the colored hands was either maimed or badly crippled

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

Negro Press, Northern.

3914

SHOREMAN DISOWNS THREE SPOKESMEN

Afro-American 12-16-33

CAMBRIDGE, Md.—In a letter to the AFRO, Jerome Williams of this city denies that the three spokesmen of the Eastern Shore speak for other colored citizens here when they uphold and condone lynching.

The three men, the Rev. James M. Dickerson, James Johnson, retired school teacher, and James F. Stewart, mortician, made public statements last week blaming Bernard Ades for recent Shore lynchings.

Mr. Williams said, in effect: "The statement of the three Jameses is not the feeling of the Shore Negroes. It is not even their own feeling (the three) but probably the feeling of the big bosses."

Continuing, he stated, "We will always have (lynchings) as long as the Jameses are in the forefront...get rid of them.55 He then asks for more men like Ades "to champion our cause."

NATION TO HEAR LYNCHING EVIL

Tribune

Walter White to Speak on Mob Law Over Network of Radio Stations

12-14-33

NEW YORK.—Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will speak over a network of the National Broadcasting Company on the subject, "Fighting Lynch Law in America" on Saturday, December 16, at 1:45 p.m. New York time, 12:45 p.m., Central Standard time.

Mr. White will be one of four speakers at a luncheon given by the League for Industrial Democracy at the Hotel Woodstock.

The other speakers who will also talk against lynching are Roger Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union; Heywood Broun, journalist; and Scott Nearing, author and lecturer.

A Statement in Defense of Maryland's Lynching Shore

Afro-American 12-23-33

This statement issued by James F. Stewart, undertaker; James M. Dickerson, M.E. pastor, and James L. Johnson, retired school teacher, of Salisbury, Md., has created such wide-spread comment that the AFRO prints it here in full.

"To all the people of the Eastern Shore:

"We appreciate this opportunity to bespeak the thoughts and interest of the colored residents of the peninsula and in this statement we shall endeavor to deal only with facts.

"During the past two years we have seen a new series of events here. It is not necessary to repeat what has happened. It is only necessary for us to look to the cause and having determined the cause to try to remove it.

"We hold Bernard Ades, Communist attorney of Baltimore, entirely responsible.

Euel Lee Case.

"As is well known the entire disturbances here have grown out of the Euel Lee case into which he injected himself not at the request of, nor in behalf, of the people of our race.

"After his first pronouncements in that case his ideas were found to be so different from those of all of us on this peninsula that he incensed the people of the Eastern Shore. On the strength of that resentment which he had brought about himself, he began to argue that Euel Lee could not secure a fair trial on the peninsula.

Confidence in Courts.

"We, however, had confidence in the justice of the local Courts and so far as the Courts were concerned, believe that he could have received a fair and impartial trial. There was no reason to presume otherwise. We had seen the orderly process of law carried out for so many, many years here, that it would have been foolish and unfair to make any other presumption about the people of the peninsula.

"Further than that we may state that there are none of our people here who doubt the guilt of Euel Lee nor who feel that his crime did not deserve the punishment it brought upon him. We do not believe in crime. We have spent years trying to teach our people to live peaceable and industrious lives and it is worthy of note in this connection that Euel Lee was not a native of this peninsula.

Martha Miller.

"In behalf of our local people and their attitude on such matters it is worth while to call attention to the fact that the principal witness against Euel Lee was Martha Miller the colored woman with whom he was living in Ocean City.

"We state, without fear of contradiction, that it was the tactics he employed in that case which caused the death of Matthew Williams and George Armwood.

"It is not to be understood that we condone lynching any more than we condone the acts of the persons lynched and yet we are able to look through it all and see just why these things happened. We sincerely regret that our race has been exploited by this man Ades who is only a self-seeking individual and one who cannot possibly contribute anything to the happiness and stability of the colored people of this state. His ideas of fair play are as far removed from ours as is the East from the West.

Happy Shore.

"We enjoy the lives we live here on this beautiful Shore, graced by nature and abounding in plenty. We feel that our people here, on the average are more intelligent, more understanding, more prosperous, more industrious and happier than are our people in any other section of this nation. We have come to know actual contentment in such a short space of years and we know that contentment and security come only through cooperation with others.

"We enjoy, and are fully appreciative of the educational facilities which have been afforded us here. We have never had reason to complain of the 'persecution' which Ades and other agitators have alleged was customary against our people here.

"It is therefore a privilege to condemn Bernard Ades and all others who would disturb those happy conditions. We do not crave to blaze the paths of history. We believe that with constructive thought and effort all problems solve themselves and we believe that there are minds in Maryland entirely capable of solving any problems that confront the people of this state. We believe that those minds are, however, in the bodies of native Marylanders who have lived here for years. One might presume from the 'fatherly instinct' which Ades takes upon himself in behalf of our people that he fought the Civil War single handed. Such a condition is of course false. So far as we know our ancestors were in this country workinga nd enjoying its benefits long before he and his ilk came here from Russia to spread Communist propaganda.

Ades.

"We, therefore, in order to remove any suspicion of any alliance between our people and Communism unhesitatingly deny any connection with Ades and Communism and assure the people of this state that we are interested only in an existence such as we have long enjoyed.

"We pledge our efforts in the continued elimination of crime and also outside interference. We have confidence in the justice of our Courts.

"As further evidence of this fact we propose to prepare and submit to various gatherings of our people proper resolutions which will be passed in support of this statement.'

(Signed)
J. F. STEWART,
J. M. DICKERSON,
JAMES L. JOHNSON.

Realistic Lynching Protest Nearly Kills "Hanged Negro"

Courier 10-28-33

BALTIMORE, Oct. 26—An open protest meeting held by nearly 200 Communists and members of the International Labor Defense League held last Thursday in the City Hall Plaza nearly ended in death for an unidentified colored man.

As the meeting broke up into a parade protesting the lynching last Wednesday of George Armwood at Princess Anne, a motor truck in which the unidentified man was riding with a noose around his neck and an imitation gallows underneath him swung into the line of marchers.

Moving slowly along the route of parade, the truck hit a rut in the street. The unidentified man fell from his elevated support and was left dangling by the neck from the end of the rope. Quick action of his fellow lynching protesters rescued the man from possible death.

OBEY YOUR LAW, BISHOP JONES TELLS EASTERN SHORE PASTOR

Afro-American

Salisbury White Parson Defends Lynching at Council

12-16-33

ZION BISHOP IS QUICK TO REPLY

Baltimore

Urges Whites to Obey Laws They Make.

WASHINGTON—(AFRO Bureau)—Opening the most spirited discussion period during the Federal Council of Churches' two-day conference here last week, Bishop John A. Gregg, of Kansas City, Kan., condemned the general apathy and hypocrisy within the Christian church, in its failure to speak out more potently against racial antagonisms, lynchings, and injustices against colored people.

Bishop Jones

"But," said he, stopping for a moment to raise his head heavenward, "every Negro in America today has lifted up his head in hope, because of that wonderful pronouncement made by President Roosevelt against lynching."

Bishop Walls

Strongf criticism of Governor Rolph, of California for his public condoning of the recent San Jose lynching of two white men, and praise for Governor Albert C. Rit-

chie for his sending of troops to arrest suspects in the recent Salisbury lynching, contained in a resolution introduced by Bishop W. J. Walls, of the A.M.E. Zion Church's New England district, elicited a spirited defense, of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, from the Rev. Leonard White, white, superintendent of the Wilmington conference of the M.E. church.

Only Lynching Shoreman

Flushed and almost trembling the Rev. Mr. White asked for the floor. Thundered he amidst an ominous silence:

"I am perhaps the only representative of the Eastern (Lynching) Shore of Maryland, which has come into recent unfavorable publicity.

"I applaud the President's plea against lynching, but I applaud even more the other things mentioned in that speech.

"Judgment should not be passed upon the Eastern Shore until all the facts are known. I am the district superintendent of the Salisbury district of the Wilmington Conference of the M. E. Church. I have worked on the Shore for 28 years, though I was not born there.

"We are in danger of doing a great injustice to a people whose ideals and culture are as good as our own. We had had no crime there until two years ago."

Bernard Ades

Referring to the Euel Lee case, he said:

"A man came down from Pennsylvania, where he had been convicted of larceny. He came to work for a poor farmer and his family. He forced himself on them to work. They gave him work. Then one day people missed the farmer and found him and his family murdered. This man confessed twice. Then the I.L.D. and Bernard Ades began a long struggle to get him free.

"They appealed on the ground that no Negroes were on the jury which tried the man. In the meantime there had come an epidemic of rape."

The minister then attempted to give a short review of the circumstances leading up to the Armwood lynching.

"I am simply explaining the chain of circumstances that caused that mob to lynch in Salisbury."

Kneeling at Altar

Describing his reaction to the Armwood lynching, he said:

"I was in Princess Anne the night of the meeting. I was preaching at an evangelist meeting. I was kneeling at the altar, when the mob dragged that poor man down the street.

"I shall never forget it; the contrast between the spirit in the church and that outside. But, that mob would have lynched a white man had he attempted to protect the man. I think we should act justly. That mob was protesting against the slowness of the law in the Euel Lee case. If that case had been disposed of properly, there would have been no lynching.

"I am not defending the lynching, God forbid, but I am saying that if we had the processes of law and a Governor in the chair, of the right sort, we would not have had that lynching.

Governor Unfit

"Governor Ritchie, I submit, is not a fit subject of commendation in this matter."

The Rev. Mr. White sat down amidst applause.

Gaining the floor, almost before the applause had subsided, Bishop E. D. W. Jones of the A.M.E. Zion Church answered the Rev. Mr. White, in his naturally rasping voice. Said he:

"In reply to the gentleman from Salisbury, let me say that the Negroes in this country are not against lynching Negroes in this country.

"The excuse that perhaps the mob would have lynched a white man is not enough. We want lynching wiped out entirely in this country.

"Relative to the appeal our attorneys made for the condemned man. Our fathers perfected that basis of the law that makes it possible for a condemned man to appeal a decision."

"You Made the Law"

Pointing dramatically to the Rev. Mr. White, Bishop Jones shouted:

"You made the law. All we are asking this afternoon is that you set the right example since it appears we will have to follow you for a few years yet."

The conference was mixed in its applause and its silence.

Dr. R. R. Wright, Jr., president of Wilberforce University, told the conference that:

"We will do a great deal to strengthen the law and the orderly process of justice if we put colored people on juries."

NRA Codes

Pointing out that the unfairness and discrimination against Negroes in the operation of the NRA codes, Dr. Wright added:

"And we must spread the sentiment as ministers, to give a square deal to the Negroes in this country in the carrying out of the codes."

The meeting, held at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church here, last Thursday afternoon, marked the high point in the closing day of the conference. Approximately 300 prominent laymen and high church officials attended.

Among the prominent Churchmen present were:

Bishop P. A. Wallace of the A. M. E. Zion Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Bishop E. D. W. Jones, A.M.E. Zion Church, Washington, D. C.; Bishop C. H. Phillips, C.M.E. Church, Cleveland, Ohio; Dr. R. R. Wright, Jr., editor of the Christian Recorder, A.M.E. Church, Wilberforce, Ohio; John R. Hawkins, secretary of finance, A.M.E. Church; Bishop J. A. Gregg, A.M.E. Church, Kansas City, Kan.; Bishop William A. Fountain, A.M.E. Church, Atlanta, Ga.; Bishop R. C. Ransom, A.M.E. Church, Wilberforce, Ohio; Bishop M H. Davis, A.M.E. Church, Baltimore, Md.; B. G. Dawson, A. M.E. Church, Baltimore, Md.; C. C. Ferguson, A.M.E. Church, Baltimore, Md.; B. H. Lucas, A.M.E. Church, Morganton, N. C.; Bishop Kyles, A.M.E. Church, Winston-Salem, N. C.; Bishop W. J. Walls, A.M.E. Zion Church, Chicago, Ill., and Dr. George E. Haynes, of the Federal Council of Churches, New York.

Commissioners Hear Plea That "Lynch Cop" Be Fired

(AFRO Bureau)

PHILADELPHIA — Colored residents of Lower Merion Township demanded the dismissal of William Denston, motorcycle policeman, last Wednesday night, because of statements he made about the lynching of George Armwood, alleged attacker of his mother, in Princess Anne, Md., last month.

Armwood was lynched in Princess Anne, Md., on October 18, by a mob of 3,000. He was reported by police to have confessed attacking Mrs. Mary Denston, 71, wife of a Somerset County farmer, and mother of the Lower Merion Township policeman.

Led by Richard York Nelson, a graduate of the Temple University Law School and defeated candidate for the township Board of Commissioners from the West Ardmore District, 75 citizens appealed to the board last Wednesday night that Denston be discharged.

Hold Mass Meetings

Several mass meetings had been held to organize the march on the board. At the meeting in the Township Building in Ardmore, Nelson claimed Denston's statements after the lynching showed him to be "wholly in sympathy with mob violence, a sentiment which should disqualify him from the position he now holds."

A petition presented to the board last Wednesday night asserted that Denston said upon his return to Philadelphia from Princess Anne after the lynching, "Even lynching was too good for that ———. Yes I was there; my mother was revenged."

Special Meeting

The board ordered a special meeting of its police committee to consider the evidence presented. Frank Hoy Mancil, president, said: "We do not condone either the attack or the lynching. We are to decide but one fact; whether Denston made the statements attributed to him.

"If we find from the evidence that Denston is in favor of mob violence he will be dismissed. If we should find otherwise, he will not be discharged."

Lynchers are Not Christians, Mrs. Terrell Tells Council

WASHINGTON. — Prefacing her remarks with, "I am a colored woman, as you can see," Mary Church Terrell told the Federal Council of Churches, meeting here last week, that the answer to Bishop Gregg's speech, "What is Required for a Spiritual Advance in the Relation of the Churches to the Race Problem," was simple.

Said she, "It is simply to follow the tenets of the Christian religion and love thy neighbor as thyself."

Church Fails.

Pointing out that the failure of the Christian Church to strike out boldly for justice has caused colored youth to turn from the church. She continued:

"I wonder whether the good white Christians realize how skeptical they are making our young colored boys and girls who are going to college and learning to use their brains?

Youth Wonder.

"I could not go forth from this conference unless I said that the attitude of the Christian Church toward lynching and the injustices perpetrated against the colored people is such that colored youth are wondering whether they can put any faith in it at all."

Mrs. Terrell said she had been often asked by these youngsters what her attitude was toward those whites who profess Christianity yet lynch and segregate colored people. Said she:

"This was my reply: 'There are still Christians among the white people in the land. We have colored schools built by white Christians. But those who cause lynchings are not Christians, and if they thought they were, then I wouldn't want to be a Christian.'"

MRS. MARY CHURCH TERRELL

Negro Press, Northern.

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THIS HORROR OF LYNCHING

TEXAS ANSWERS PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT—

On Wednesday night of last week President Roosevelt called for "action" to end "that vile form of collective murder—lynch law." On Thursday night of last week Texas replied at Kountze with the most unspeakably heinous and vile lynching that the nation has ever been made to suffer. So unspeakable was it that last Sunday's Henderson News, white daily paper of Henderson, Texas, after doubtfully suggesting that, if they had to lynch the man, they could have been more decent about it, added that the mob "turned back the calendar hundreds of years and acted like a bunch of uncivilized brutes."

Informer

THE CHIEF PROTECTIVE LIE—

The chief ostrich's-head-in-the-sand lie which is told to protect the abomination of lynching and Rolphism is the lie which the newspapers are saying that the officials at Kountze are telling. One newspaper stated it as follows: "Officers investigating the gruesome episode said tonight they believed they will be unable to identify positively any member of the mob." As long as that lie is permitted to go unquestioned, nothing will be done about either lynching or Rolphism. Some way must be found to crush that cruel lie and to turn the spotlight of truth upon America's indigenous vile form of collective murder."

12-16-33 Houston, Texas

THE STATES HAVE FAILED—

While it is the primary duty of the states to handle the question of lynching and Rolphism, yet, as a final resort, it is just as much the duty of the Federal government to see to it that its citizens are not lynched and Rolphed as it is, as a final resort, for the Federal government to see to it that its citizens do not starve. We have reached the final extremity. The states have abdicated and miserably failed. Everywhere they confess (even though it is a lie, which makes the confession more hideous) that they cannot "identify" the lynchers and Rolphers. But they have gone further: one great state now says boldly that, if perchance, any of them are "identified," they will be quickly pardoned of every sin.

FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCHING BILL—

We must have a Federal anti-lynching bill. Only the Federal government is now left to try its investigative machinery in a desperate final effort to "identify" these vile murderers. And, when they are "identified" and convicted of their heinous brutalities, the pardoning power must rest in the hands of the president of the United States, where the nation may have confidence that it will not be used to turn brazen murderers loose upon the land.

Body of Lynch Victim Mutilated, Dragged Through Streets

Defender 12-16-33 Chicago, Ill.

"This new generation, for example, is not content with preachments against that vile form of collective murder—lynch law—which has broken out in our midst anew. We know that it is murder, and a deliberate and definite disobedience of the commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill.' We do not excuse those in high places or low who condone lynch law."—President Franklin D. Roosevelt, by radio to America, Wednesday, Dec. 6.

KOUNTZE, Tex., Dec. 15.—Two days after President Roosevelt issued his first statement denouncing lynching, Texas answered. It answered in typical American fashion by shooting a man to death, taking his body after life had fled, cutting out the heart and carrying it, still dripping blood, through the town of Kountze, dragging the body tied to an automobile through the streets, and finally burning it in the heart of the Jim Crow section.

The victim was David Gregory. He had been accused of assaulting and murdering a white woman. Because he had served a sentence once before for some petty crime, he was immediately suspected of this crime. Knowing that he was being sought, he fled and took refuge in the belfry of a church in the little town of Voth. Sheriff Miles Jordan, acting on a tip from a Race stool-pigeon that a "strange Negro" was in town, hurried to Voth with his "deputies." Immediately they surrounded the church and yelled for Gregory to come down. As soon as the man appeared in sight to comply with the demand, a member of the sheriff's "posse," by the name of Chance, raised a shotgun and blew off one side of Gregory's face.

Mob Notified

Word was then flashed to other members of the mob, who had assembled on the highway, that Gregory had been captured and in possesion of Sheriff Jordan. At the point agreed upon, the mobs met and found the dead man chained to the back of the sheriff's car. So enraged were the members that they did not have a hand in his killing that they set to work to mutilate the body. They cut out his heart, still warm and fluttering, and carried it at the head of the procession. Down one street and up another the jubilant citizens went dragging the pitiable body behind them.

In the Jim Crow section, the fence of another Race citizen (who had been too uppity) was destroyed to make a bonfire upon which to "cook" Gregory's body. And as the man burned the crowd sang patriotic songs and renewed their pledges of loyalty to Vice President Garner and their contempt for the sentiments expressed by President Roosevelt.

After the lynching fever had cooled, Sheriff Jordan issued a statement in which he declared that he knew Gregory was guilty, although he didn't explain how he arrived at his information, especially since no trial had been held and the victim could make no statement. The sheriff further claimed that he took Gregory to a hospital, but there was no explanation as to how the man happened to be found in the street when the mob arrived on the scene.

THE HYPOCRITES OF INDIANA

Recorder 12-16-33 Indianapolis, Ind.

To the Editor,
The Indianapolis Recorder:

LYNCHING

There has been much comment recently about lynching. The stand taken by the President of the United States is certainly gratifying. The attitude of the President is quite significant, because of his honesty, and integrity plus his desire to see that all people in the United States be allowed to share in the blessings of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness.

At first though we are likely to be so elated over the President's attitude, and so disgusted with that of Gov. Rolph of California that we might praise the one and condemn the other out of due proportion. Let us for a moment analyze the attitude of Governor Rolph. First, let us assume Rolph was wrong. Sceondly, he was unwise, but neverless he is not the coward that so many of our officials are. He thought the proper thing had been done, the lynching, he condoned it. He let the world know where he stood. He was not a hypocrit. He did not promise protection, and on the other hand allowed slaying to go on while making excuses. It is interesting to note the comments made by some of our leading officials of Indiana on the California lynching, who sat mute on the Marion lynching. Most of these men who denounced the California Governor seem not to be aware that Indiana had a Governor in the person of Harry G. Lesley, who apparently never became interested, not withstanding both National and international publicity was given the affair. The people of California, in spite of the Governor's approval of the lynching did not wish to commercialize on the situation as did the Good citizens of Indiana. Until the N. A. A. C. P. interfered, pictures of the hideous crime were on sale in downtown stores in Marion and thousands of them were sent through mail to other cities and states. The situation can not be placed one against the other. The out break of violence, mobbing, kidnapping, robbing, banditry, and lynching all are here to stay unless our courts assume a different attitude and revamp their methods of deaying with crime.

P. S.—By Vernon Anderson. Editor note:—Another section of this letter, too long to be printed in its entirety, will appear next week.

THAT ST. JOE LYNCHING

We are not inclined to lay the lynching of Lloyd Warner by a mob at St. Joseph, Missouri at the door of Governor Rolph of California. But in justice to all concerned, we must point first to Sheriff Theisen of Buchanan County who, according to newspaper reports, not only failed utterly to protect his prisoner but deliberately unlocked the victim's cell door and turned him over to the mob with the injunction, "Do what you want with him."

Of all the lynchings which have occurred in the United States, we do not recall where, in any instance, the sheriff has made a public statement saying that he turned over his prisoner to the leaders of a mob. Of course, we have heard the regular stereotyped statement which says that the sheriff was overpowered, his keys were taken, the mob took the prisoner, etc., but we have never before heard of an outright confession on the part of the sheriff that he did the unlocking of the cell and turning over of the prisoner himself. If this is true then, we say that Sheriff Theisen should be promptly removed from office and prosecuted with the others who lynched and burned Warner at St. Joe. Had Warner attempted, in some way, to escape from the custody of the sheriff there would have been no hesitancy on his (the sheriff's) part to "shoot to kill;" but when it comes to a mob demanding his prisoner in violation of the law he cowardly surrenders the victim to be dragged through the streets, hanged and burned. And now, we are told that he attempts to justify his action on the grounds that he was afraid somebody would get hurt if he should exercise his power and duty as sheriff. Well, if that's the way he feels about it, then, we say, that is another reason why he should be removed and prosecuted. Then, too, we wonder what does Sheriff Theisen think that the law gives him the authority to arm himself and arm citizens and deputies for in case of riotous assemblages? Does he think it is to play with the people, or to fraternize with those who are bent on tearing down the jail house and releasing all the prisoners in order to satisfy their bloodthirstiness for some particular human being? The truth of it is we do not believe that Sheriff Theisen was so dumb as he is pictured to be, based upon his conduct before this lynching. He, undoubtedly, must have been in with and a part of the mob intentionally and purposely. And now he comes forward with the statement that he did not know any of the members of the mob.

Then there are the troops ordered to the scene by Governor Park who made no attempt, whatever, so far as we have been able to learn, to protect the life of Warner. Their part, it looks to us, was the highest piece of cowardice we ever heard of coming from members of a state militia acting under orders of the governor of a state. The whole law enforcement machinery which was on the scene looks to us as a dismal farce.

The conduct on the part of Governor Park in this situation indicates that he did use the power of his office as governor to prevent that horrible lynching-burning. But the conduct of his national guardsmen should be investigated (we do not mean white-washed). Following this lynching, we think that the governor pursued the proper course in ordering an investigation through the attorney-general's office; but in the face of the conditions, he cannot afford to let up until Sheriff Theisen is removed, and his men of the militia who cowardly failed to do their duty, are kicked out of the service of the state. Of course, we fully realize that it will take courage on the part of Governor Park to perform this duty which he owes to himself and to the people of the state, but somehow we believe he will do it.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON LYNCHING

Repeated appeals have been made by various individuals and organizations for President Roosevelt to publicly condemn lynching, one of the latest of these being a telegram sent by some eighty American writers and publishers, who formed the Writers League Against Lynching. Mr. Roosevelt chose his own time and manner of setting the seal of his disapproval upon the "pagan ethics" of "our boasted civilization", in a brief speech made last Wednesday night before the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. He first commended American churches for their work during the past twenty-five years, as having created a much needed union that seeks to better social and moral conditions.

Expressing his faith in the readiness of the new generation of Americans to help in collective effort on broad lines of social planning, Mr. Rosevelt referred to the menace of lynching in the following terms:

> This new generation, for example, is not content with preachings against that vile form of collective murder—lynch law—which has broken out in our midst anew. We know that it is murder and a deliberate and definite disobedience of the Commandment, "Thou shalt not kill". We do not excuse those in high places or the low who condone lynch law.
>
> But a thinking America goes further. It seeks a government of its own that will be sufficiently strong to protect the prisoner and at the same time to crystalize a public opinion so clear that government of all kinds will be compelled to practice a more certain justice. That function in many places has fallen into a sad state of disrepair. It must be a part of our program to re-establish it.

In condemning lynching as murder Mr. Roosevelt has the highest legal sanction, namely the Chief Justice of the United States, Charles Evans Hughes, who enunciated that truism before a mass meeting, held under the auspices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People several years ago. That the judicial function of government has failed to protect the individual and the community by administering equal and exact justice has been demonstrated in the recent trials of nine youths in Alabama.

The need for a stronger and more rigorous enforcement of the law against murder, whether by the mob or under the forms of law, is obvious. If there is any virtue in the Federal Consitution and its amendments, especially articles 5 and 6, there is grave cause for reform under both state and Federal authority.

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"THE CHURCH AND NOT REPEAL IS RESPONSIBLE FOR RECENT LYNCHINGS." SAYS R. H. BUMRY

Courier 12-16-33
Pittsburgh, Pa.

MILITANT

BISHOP J. ARTHUR HAMLETT of Kansas City, Kans., distinguished prelate of the C. M. E. Church, who scathingly denounced the crime of lynching and called on the Federal Government to take steps to stamp out this nefarious manifestation of bararism in America.

"The Church Must Cease Placing the Blame For Sin and Iniquitous Conditions On Other Shoulders While They, Like Pilate, Wash Their Hands," Declares Well Known A. M. E. Leader

By R. H. BUMRY

The biggest and best thing is the church, and when you have said that there is no room for argument with me. But when you attribute all of the present weakness and decadence of the influence and power of the church to "ignorant preachers," pilfering of church funds and individual cussedness, I demur and enter voluntarily and with heat into the polemic arena.

One among the hardest points of entry into the hearts of men, is their unwillingness to admit their sins.

The TRUTH of the CHURCH'S present condition is that CIVILIZATION got DRUNK and the CHURCH instead of remaining SOBER, got drunk with them. America, our Home, the land of the free (?) and the home of LYNCHERS!

Let me quote the NEW TESTAMENT: "From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your LUSTS, that war in your members (Jas. 4:1.). "For all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword" (Matt. 26:52).

Now there is no teaching either of JESUS or the Apostles that can in any way justify the CHURCH in its attitude toward the recent world WAR. And yet the CHURCH condoned it, preached hatred, enmity and the destruction of human life from their pulpits. From the same mouths that had preached Peace, Love, Forgiveness, and the Golden Rule, came words of the jungle, gangdom, and heathen slaughter.

But America was more drunk than Europe. They had been warned by the fathers of their country "not to entangle themselves in foreign affairs." But they went right ahead, taxed the people to their last dimes; cursed and imprisoned those that differed, left thousands of young men slain, mangled; broken hearted mothers and outraged fathers.

And the CHURCH preached Patriotism instead of CHRIST. It clothed Jesus in a soldier's uniform and misrepresented him as leading the armies. And the world of SIN looked on; the heathens became dismayed wondering where was all of that boasted Love of Jesus that they preached.

A Peace treaty subsequently was signed, and still there is no peace; and the Church put itself back for a half century. The present generation has lost all confidence in the Church. They are witnesses of its hypocrisy. They declare there is no sincerity in them. And there is not a man living in the pulpit or out of it that can justify the acts of the Church in the WORLD WAR by the teachings of JESUS.

America had no justifiable reasons, even under a humanitarian view, to enter the war. No body threatened the invasion of their country.

They never entered it for that purpose. They were drunk with their own conceit and the power of their wealth. Results: they came out of it worse off than any country in Europe.

But after the war had begun to slap its thousands, and the American people were being bled pale and lifeless from Liberty Bonds and excessive taxation, the Church became conscience stricken, and sought to, and did do, what neither the Old Testament or Jesus, ever thought of doing to build a Kingdom of righteousness: REGULATE THE MORALS OF MEN BY LAW.

Here again the Church failed! Why? Because there is nothing SPIRITUAL in the 18th Amendment. It was nothing more or less than a conscience stricken venture lead on by the Church. The Proverbist had said long ago, "Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him."

Isiah has said, "Go" ye that thristeth, come ye to the waters, and Jesus said unto the leper, "If thou wilt, thou canst be clean."

And throughout the New Testament by Jesus and the Apostles, men are made good by their WILL to be good, and not by any LAW made by men.

But the Church ignored the teachings of the New Testament with the Disciples in Samaria that would call fire down to consume the sinners, they called in the LAW to make people good. What is the result? The Church repudiated, and set at naught. Laughed to scorn, by trying to appease CONSCIENCE with man made LAWS.

So the Church has attributed its weakness, its loss of influence and decadence to everything under heaven except these two things mentioned above. I am not by any means ignoring the individual weaknesses and meanness of many professed Christians. All of these have contributed to break down the Church. We have always had such and will to the end of all things.

The Church is still unrepentive. It has never admitted its error. It is true that hundreds and thousands of Christians were out of sympathy both with the WAR and the 18th amendment. But as it regards the WAR, they were speechless. To have spoken their mind's view would have meant either imprisonment or death; and the present faith of Christians do not make martyrs. As it respects the 18th amendment it was held up as an EDICT from God. And while many doubted it, the CONSTITUTION was flaunted in their face to intimidate and make it treason to disobey. And yet there stood the 14th and 15th amendment staring them in the face, challenging their hypocrisy, replying that these were contrary to the spirit of the people. Yet when a show down was made, it was found that FOUR FIFTHS of the PEOPLE were opposed to the 18th amendment. Such inconsistency could not get past the average mind in our present civilization.

But further than that comes the North Carolina Methodist Conference of the M. E. Church, South, placing the blame of lynchings on beer and loosening of prohibition. Such fallacious reasoning can only be attributed to a determined desire in placing the AWFUL conditions of SIN and INIQUITY, outside of the Church, while they like Pilate wash their hands.

Everybody knows that lynching has been the amusement of the South, for the past Sixty years; and that liquors of all kinds could be purchased in every city and town in the South. To attribute the orgy of lynchings to the recent licensing of the sale of "beer" is down right NONSENSE.

The truth of the matter is: the CHURCH IS AS FAR IN PRACTICE, FROM THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS AS MOHAMMEDISM IS FROM THE CROSS.

I sincerely regret that the Negro Church has followed in the wake of these supposed Christian leaders. Fortunately, because of their religious nature, they have not as a church been as bold and irreverent as their leaders in RELIGION. Crime is not by any means as prevalent and savage as that which seems to exist among the dominant race. Yet these lynchings and proscriptions are propaganda in striving to impress the civilized world, that lynchings are the resultants of the criminal nature of the Negro race in America; many of whom are absolutely innocent of the crime accused.

I do not recall a case where a Negro has been so inhuman and savage enough to kill, cut up his victim or burn them up by fire and pass around the remains as souvenirs. Yet such cases are numerous among the dominant race in America. Such savagery has never happened among Negroes, and I do not believe it ever will. Th · are taught both from Pulpit and press to live peacefully with all men; to respect all races and religions. These things are preached from pulpit, press and Y. M. C. A's. There is only ONE THING TO DO, let the Church REPENT forget itself, and follow Jesus Christ

WARNER DID NOT ATTACK WOMAN, MOTHER STOUTLY MAINTAINS BETWEEN SOBS

Couldn't Look at His Body After Mob Burned Her Boy to Death—Ordered Undertaker Not to Open Casket —A Cold Drab Funeral Without Any Minister— Christmas Means Little To Her Now— A Heavy Cross To Bear

By FRANK A. YOUNG

ST. JOSEPH, Mo.—A heart-broken mother, whose sorrows seemed to have come double in the last few days, sat propped up in her bed in the front room on the second floor of her home at 410 South Nineteenth street. Her son had been arrested for a crime which she declares he could not have committed. He had been handed over to a mob which beat him to death, then strung him to a tree and burned his gasoline-soaked body as 10,000 cheered.

Between sobs Monday night, she told her story to THE CALL. Now and then she became cynical and bitter. As she unfolded the sad chapter in her life, her daughter, Mildred, 23, sat at the foot of the bed. There are two other children, Logan, 25, who is married and Joyce who is 21. The last named two were out at the time of my visit.

Christmas Will Mean Little

Mrs. Lucille Warner Mitchell, the mother, was brave through the ordeal. Yes, Lloyd, her youngest child, was her Christmas present. It would be 19 years ago the twenty-fifth of this month that he was born. Christmas wouldn't mean much to her this year. "It was the worse thing I ever heard of," she would repeat time and again.

"I know he didn't do it. The last time I saw him alive was on Sunday night (Nov. 26). He left here to go to the Lincoln theater at Third and Francis. From there he and Mildred went to the Charleston hotel. At the time the police say the Aronson woman was assaulted and robbed, Lloyd was with his sister," the mother said.

"When did you first hear of the trouble?"

"Well, I was on my way home from work Monday. I have worked for three families for years. I have reared my children on what I made each week. As I said, I was coming by the grocery store on the corner there (a block and a half away) when Mrs. Ockerman, the white lady there, called me and told me the officers had arrested Lloyd. That was the first I knew about any trouble. I asked her what they wanted with him. Then Mrs. Ockerman told me that they had called three or four times in the morning while Lloyd was out and when he came down the street she called him saying, 'Lloyd, come here.' He went to her. 'What have you been doing?' she said she asked him. His answer was 'nothing'.

"Mrs. Ockerman said she told Lloyd that the officers were looking for him. He said to her 'What do they want me for'? and turned to tell her he would step to the phone and call them. He phoned the police while in the store.

Could Have Escaped

"Now, you know, if he had been guilty of any crime and especially an attack on that girl, he could have got away then and there. He knew how to bum his way about too good. But he wasn't guilty of nothing. After he called, the police came and took him to the station on Seventh street.

"When Mrs. Ockerman told me about it, I tried to get in touch with the police to find out what it was all about but they wouldn't let me talk to Lloyd and answered me short and gruff—sometimes hanging the phone up.

"Then the paper came out Monday night talking about the 'brute' confessing the crime."

Mildred interrupted her mother long enough to tell about the pen knife found at the scene of the attack.

The police took her down to the city jail to question her about the knife. They asked her if she had ever seen it before and she said she had. "Her boy friend" had given it to Otto Stone some months ago. The blade was broken off and rusted, she said. She also told them that Otto Stone had left the knife in their home one night but whether he picked it up again or not she didn't know.

"'Well, we found it where your brother committed the attack at Twenty-second and Jule, Sunday night at 11 o'clock', the officers told me," Mildred said. "I told them that Lloyd was with me at the Charleston hotel at that hour and that there were others who would be witness to that fact. They never tried to find out about these witnesses."

"Because the knife was left in our home and others came and went was no sign that Lloyd had to be the one who picked it up," Mildred reasoned. "Besides, I know he didn't commit any attack because he was with me at the time."

Son Wore No Overcoat

The mother put a handkerchief to her eyes to dry the tears that were running down her cheeks. She resumed her story. "When the paper came out, the police said the woman who had been attacked said a Negro wearing an overcoat did it. My boy never wore his overcoat all this fall. He was content to go around with a lumber jacket on under his coat and vest like in his picture he had taken a month ago."

She sent Mildred to get the picture and showed it to me. "The whole thing seems so strange," the mother went on.

"They said Judge Gaddy appointed a lawyer. That's no such a thing. I got the lawyer myself Tuesday morning. I went to the grocery store and called him up. The judge never did appoint him."

Then she paused to think. A few minutes of silence passed. She continued, "The funny part of it is that Logan did housework for this Aronson family. They have called him several times recently to come back to work. When I found out that it was that family that caused all the trouble, I stopped Logan from going out there. Something might have happened to him. The father is a tailor and has his shop in the home at Twenty-second and Jule."

"When was the funeral"?

"Friday," came back a faint answer. Then the mother regained her poise. "I didn't go to the funeral. None of us went. I gave orders not to have the casket opened. I would rather remember 'my little Christmas present' as I last saw him." Then the tears trickled down her face and Mildred picked up where her mother left off.

No Sermon At Funeral

"We didn't want a whole lot of notoriety. We felt the quieter the better. There was a prayer, no sermon, and the undertaker, Mr. Ramsey, took the body to the cemetery."

"What cemetery?"

The mother then spoke up, "The city cemetery, where his father and baby sister and brother are buried. I have three out there now. My load is heavy. The cross is hard to bear."

"Did any of the Negro ministers here offer their services or churches to you?"

"Only one," was the slow answer. "I belong to New Hope Baptist church but usually attend St. Francis Baptist Temple with one of my daughters. Neither of the ministers of either church offered me his services. The Rev. Hollis of the A. M. E. church, whom I barely know, came around to say that he would officiate. But the children and myself decided that it would be best to hold a funeral from which outsiders would be barred."

A little mound of freshly turned earth in the city cemetery marks the spot where the unfortunate Lloyd now lies sleeping. The people of St. Joseph come and go as if nothing happened.

The Negroes will hold a mass meeting at Ebenezer church Sunday afternoon. The general impression among them is that a most dastardly deed has been committed and the stigma to St. Joseph will never be wiped out in generations.

Investigations mean nothing to the Warner sisters and the brother and to the grief-stricken mother. Lloyd is dead—a most horrible death—and all the investigations this side of heaven will not bring back Mrs. Warner Mitchell's "little Christmas present."

She said she hadn't been able to sleep much since the burning. She catches little naps now and then. The picture of the horror is ever before her.

Doesn't Know What to Do

"I don't know what to do," she said. "I was born and reared here. I married here and raised my children here. I have two uncles named Wright who live in Kansas City. One is a minister. I have worked for some people for years. I have not been back to work since the lynching. It was terrible. I hate to go back to them because I am afraid if they say something I don't like I will just up and quit."

"Have they been to you since they read of the trouble?"

"Not one of them," the mother said.

Just what she will do will be decided when she can get her mind so she can think what is best. In the meantime the family blames the sheriff and the police.

As I left the mother was still sobbing: "I know Lloyd didn't do it. He couldn't have done it." Mildred went to console her mother.

Out into the street I went. St. Joseph, Missouri. An erstwhile peaceful city where the relationship between the two races had heretofore been most cordial. Still peaceful but feeling the sting that will take 100 years to try and forget the work of the fiendish mob which murdered and burned a youth last week. Burned a youth who had not been proven guilty in the eyes of the law! Wiped out a life to satisfy the thirst and hunger for blood.

Christmas decorations bedeck the downtown streets but businessmen told me that the Yuletide spirit is lacking this year.

"Silent Night" will be sung by the choirs in the churches of the city. Out at 410 South Nineteenth street, Mrs. Warner Mitchell will sit with her son and two daughters on Christmas eve. It will be a "silent night" for them. Only those who know the anguish and pain of a broken heart can understand the grief stricken mother's burden.

Her words still ring in my ears, "I know Lloyd didn't do it."

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Mob's Victim

LLOYD WARNER

19-year-old youth who was put to death by a St. Joseph, Mo., mob Tuesday night, Nov. 28, while 10,000 persons stood on the sidelines shouting and cheering. The grief-stricken mother of the lad protests that her son was innocent of the crime of attack of which he was accused. But her protests now are vain, for her son, given to the mob by the sheriff, was beaten and abused, his body strung by the neck high upon a tree only later to be cut down, soaked in gasoline and burned.

SOUTHERN WOMEN PROTEST TO ROLPH

Telegram From Association For Prevention of Lynching Sent Governor.

ATLANTA, Ga., Dec. 7—Public approval by Governor Rolph of California of the lynching of the Brooke Hart kidnapers constitutes "a sinister menace to all forces of law and order throughout the country" and his action is "one of national concern." Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive director of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, Tuesday wired to Governor Rolph on behalf of the association.

Mrs. Ames, writing the telegram under the authorization of 16,000 women of the 13 Southern States who have signed resolutions condemning lynching, told Governor Rolph that the association condemns lynching for any cause, and deplores "your astounding attitude." She said that "we are grateful that no Southern governor today has made himself a public defender and protector of lynchers."

The wire was sent after she conferred with Mrs. Julian Harris, a member of the association, and over long distance with Mrs. Atwood Martin of Louisville, Ky., chairman, Mrs. Ames said. The association, she pointed out, in the belief that the record of lynchings in the South has come about because public opinion has accepted the statement of lynchers and mob leaders that they were acting solely in defense of womanhood, condemns acts of lawlessness in the name of woman.

Mrs. Ames telegram to Governor Rolph was as follows:

"The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, numbering thousands condemns lynching for any cause As Southern white women working for a public conscience which will insure all persons the constitutional guarantee of trial by jury regardless of race or alleged crime, we depuore your astounding attitude The South is still charged with brutal lawlessness because officers some time fail to protect prisoners against mobs, but we are grateful that no Southern governor today has made himself a public defender and protector of lynchers. Your public approval of these lynchings constitutes a sinister menace to all forces of law and order throughout the country and makes your action one of national concern."

Courier 12-9-33

Pittsburgh, Pa.

FISK STUDENTS PARADE CAMPUS, SCORE LYNCHING

Afro-American

Nashville Refused Permit to University's Silent Marchers.

12-30-33

PRESIDENT JONES TALKS TO PRESS

Baltimore, Md.

Students Deny Plan to March on Jail.

(Special to the AFRO).

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Despite refusal of permission to parade by the City of Nashville, a group of Fisk University students, augmented by citizens in the community, stimulated to action by the lynching of Cordie Cheek, staged a silent protest parade on Fisk campus Tuesday at noon.

Banners marked "Down with Jim Crowism"; "Give us an anti-lynch law"; "Black youth must take the lead"; "Down with the myth that lynching is necessary to protect white womanhood"; "Cordie Cheek" "America must wipe out lynching" "Why not full freedom of speech for faculties?"; "Education to meet Negro problems," were carried.

Starting from Fisk Memorial Chapel, the marchers proceeded past the home of President Jones, then by the women's dormitory, on across the Fisk campus proper, in front of the Meharry Medical College, and then back to the chapel.

Cites J.C. Theatres.

Howard Bennett, presiding over the meeting, retold the story of the abduction of Cordie Cheek near the Fisk campus and of his being taken to Columbia County and lynched. Mr. Bennett also pointed out the blight of Jim Crow that is tacitly approved by the students when they attend the theatres of Nashville. He said that the challenge for freedom of the Negro is to the Negro student.

Miss Cora Brown called attention to the inadequacy of Negro education in meeting the Negro problem. She also alleged that Negro schools were institutions of control and referred to the action of a Negro college president in Nashville who tried to suppress discussion of and protest against the lynching of Cordie Cheek and threatened to dismiss some of the professors who were taking a stand against this atrocity.

Need Federal Law.

Ishmael P. Flory, discussing the need for a state and federal anti-lynching law, pointed out the unreality of courses in political science for Negro students that had not yet instilled in the Negro leader the technique of using his political strength in getting such laws.

He also raised the question as to the sincerity of the so-called upper strata whites when it was this group, represented in the Senate, who defeated the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill after it had passed the House of Representatives.

Raleigh Morgan discussed a press release that quoted Dr. Jones, president of the university, a sstating: that "the students of Fisk University are highly excited as the result of the lynching" and that Saturday several hundred of them gathered together at the university and were preparing to march to the Davidson County jail in protest with banners when he arrived on the scene.

"I told them that such a march would be useless and would only cause more disorder and assured them that I would make a formal plea to proper officials asking that immediate action be taken by the regular law enforcement agencies . . . ."

Calls Statement Error.

Mr. Morgan pointed out, first, that this was a misrepresentation of the students of Fisk University, for such, as reported by the Tennessean, was not the intention of the students December 18; secondly, that this article tended more towards causing wide disorder than anything that had yet happened.

During the discussion a resolution was adopted that the president correct this report in the Tennessean. A proposal that the Denmark Vesey Forum, sponsor of the parade and mass meeting, study plans and lay a basis for action for the students of Fisk University. A suggestion to send a letter of condolence to the relatives of Cordie Cheek was adopted.

To Boycott Theatre.

A resolution to start a move to boycott Jim Crow theatres in Nashville was also adopted. A course in Negro History in Fisk University that would tend to create a higher degree of self-respect and pride in Fisk students, as well as a whole curricula more in keeping with the needs and problems of the Negro students was suggested in the form of a resolution to the student council and the administration of the University.

A Mr. Porter. poor, shabbily dressed, sincerely expressed in behalf of some of the participants from the community his sympathy toward the student parade.

THE MOB CHALLENGES THE LAW

Call 12-22-33 Kansas City, Mo.

A Tennessee mob lynched a Negro last week whom the grand jury had investigated and given freedom. It goes without saying that had there been the slightest evidence of his being guilty of raping a white woman as charged, he would not have been turned loose by a white grand jury in any southern state.

Those who defend lynching say the law is too slow, too merciful, too apt to let the guilty escape. But even they must admit that in this case the lynchers killed an innocent man.

Three weeks ago this paper called lynching savagery. A week later when Missouri had adopted Gov. Rolfe's view, we said lynching violates man's instinct to preserve life, not destroy it. Last week when a Texas mob lynched a Negro on suspicion, we said the effect of such irregular methods is to let the guilty escape. This Tennessee lynching proves that mob rule is also an outlet for barbarism, the lynchers wanting to feel human flesh quiver under their knife thrusts and die under their blows.

Lynching does not protect morals. It is no substitute for the law either in investigating or punishing crime. Lynching is simply bloodthirstiness, determined to have its fling at the expense of the persons who by reason of charges or race or both have no protection in public goodwill. The more unresisting and helpless the victim,

the more certain is the cowardly mob.

It specializes on Negroes, taking their lives even for being relatives of accused persons. At the same time whites accused of all manner of offense are seldom lynched.

Here is an innocent man who went forth free after an investigation. His inquisitors were not those who would favor him. They were representatives of the majority who have as their foremost public policy keeping the Negro down. This man must have been innocent. But the mob killed him ruthlessly as if he had been proven guilty.

Having permitted lynching on the excuse that it made for quick justice, this nation finds the mob no longer the instrument of a mistaken policy, but a despotic master that sets aside the findings of a grand jury. The law is paralyzed that permits such an usurpation of its prerogatives!

Already the American people show little respect for the laws they and their representatives have made. Now the evil they have permitted quits the dark places and boldly ventures into the open.

Differences of opinion about taxes, labor and similar problems always test the tolerance of the classes and of the masses. This nation is at peace within only because we all know that the Constitution and the courts protect us against summary action. This guarantee is destroyed if lynchers can kill, especially kill the innocent. The tiger cub that American people played with, has grown. Its claws and fangs are tearing at our throat. This outbreak in Tennessee is a direct challenge which the law must not and dare not refuse to meet!

MANLY MEN OF FISK

The students of Fisk university were refused permission by the city of Nashville, Tenn., to parade as a silent protest against the recent lynching in that state. They, however, asserted their manhood and belief in the right by parading on the campus of the university. Their activities were marked by many of the students carrying banners: "Down with Jim Crowism," "Give us anti-lynch laws," "Black youth must take the lead," "Down with the myth that lynching is necessary to protect white womanhood."

These banners indicate a new birth of freedom in the coming youth of today. It also indicates a willingness of the youth to assume a leadership contrary to the "hat in hand" policy of many of the leaders of today. Some of the old heads may say that this demonstration upon the part of Fisk university was ill-advised, but the answer to that is the scripture that declared. "Without the shedding of blood there can be no redemption of sin," is as true today—if true at all—as when uttered.

As long as the black men of the South permit their homes to be destroyed, the honor of their women violated and they themselves burned at the stake without a violent protest, just so long will these things continue. You are not going to stop southern white men who are making mob violence a pastime by prayers and pleadings; you are only going to check bullets with bullets. The first time a southern mob when it invades homes and lynches people is resisted by an organized effort using the same instruments that it carries will mob violence hesitate.

Lynchings Of Whites Shock America, But Burnings Of Negroes Overlooked

PASSAIC, N. J., Dec. 28—White America can give it, but they can't take it!

Today, America is in an upheaval over the lynchings of Thomas Thurmond and George Holmes for the murder of Brooke Hart. I do not approve the lynching of those two white men because the law would have given them their just deserts for the awful crime they committed.

Those two men really committed a terrible crime for which death should have or would have in any event been their end. But the crowd went wild, took the law into their own hands, strung them up, then America, or rather the United States went wild in protest to such action by a supposed civilized people and a Governor who is supposed to be above the masses he governs, educated, cultured and refined, showed himself to be worse than the morons who led the mob.

All America rises up in anger at these two lynchings. Why? Because those two men were white men. At least the mob had proof of those two men's dastardly deed and therefore a reason (if there ever could be a reason) but how many of our Negro boys and men have been strung to some tree "without any reason" other than that their skin is black and because some white woman, like some I've read about, who are so low morally and mentally, that the lowest colored man wouldn't wipe their feet on, much less contaminate their bodies and even their hands by touching them.

America did not think lynching so awful until it was tried on their own kind. One never saw headlines blazing protest against lynching before or heard radio broadcasts or topics discussed from the pulpits concerning mob violence by American white men; if one of you did read concerning a lynching, why you just read it and passed on to something more interesting, because you said to yourself, "It is only a Negro."

How can you Southern white men and women lead these innocent boys and men of our race to such horrible deaths without any justification; grandsons and great-grandsons of the so-called black mammys, at whose breasts thousands of you drew succor? And how can you white people all over America treat the Negro as you do, after he has given you his all, laid down his life for you, and you? Even the schools do not teach true history because some of the greatest men have been Negroes. What about Crispus Attucks on Boston Commons? What of Hannibal, a great warrior? What about L' Overture, a great martyr to his country? Cleopatra and Empress Josephine, all with black blood running through their veins and Alexandria the Great. All these and more were men and women that made ancient history.

America is drenched with the blood of innocent black boys, it is drenched with the tears of the mothers and sisters of our race, because of the bitter humiliations we are subjected to because we are Negroes.

The tables were turned the other day when George Holmes and Thomas Thurmond were lynched. There is an old saying that there is a "long lane that has no turn," well, here's the turn. God is tired of His people being mistreated, down-trodden and segregated because their skin is dark. After all He made us out of the dust of the earth and earth is dusky in color, is it not? Then that makes us much closer to Him and an honor to be black. I do not aim to make this a religious issue because my people have always left everything to God, probably that is why they haven't gone so far. They have been too God-fearing. Nevertheless, "God works in mysterious ways His wonders to perform."

American Negroes form one-tenth of the population of this democratic country. Did I say democratic? I think I made a mistake. Democracy? That makes me ponder. What is it anyway, especially here in America? What does it mean? Absolutely nothing.

Our boys, black, brown and tan fought in the World War for Democracy, they have fought in previous wars for other causes. They laid down their lives for a country that in time of peace can't tolerate them, because they are Negroes. Oh yes, they are alright to fight your wars, work in cheap underpaid positions, in fact, they are O. K. to do anything Mr. white man wants done and they (our boys) always go to do your bidding with a smile on their lips and a song in their hearts. Such loyalty as our race has to a country like this is to be marveled at, but when it comes to leading an ordinary citizen's life, after the battle and strife is over or the menial days work is done, then that is another question.

Those soldier boys came back from "over there," some blind, crippled and maimed for life in various ways. What did they fight for? Where are our rights as citizens, as boys and men, who went to the front? Where are the rights of the mothers, daughters, sisters and brothers that were left behind, while our young, strong and virile men went out to fight for "Old Glory?" The answer is in three words: "We haven't any." We couldn't and still can't eat in most restaurants, sit any place we like in most theaters or go in any swimming pools and very few public amusement parks without a great deal of trouble. They tell us to our face that we don't serve colored or colored can't sit here or go there. I've experienced it the same as millions of us have done. What is wrong with a neat clean colored person going wherever they have the money to go? I see plenty of whites enter a public place who is so dirty and unkempt I wouldn't under any circumstances like to come in contact with him or her, yet he or she is allowed in.

Just to cite one or two cases of recent injustice to our race, shortly after the lynching of Thomas Thurmond and George Holmes, they lynched a colored man in Missouri because he was supposed to have attacked a white woman. They say he confessed. I guess you would confess to anything too if you were being almost tortured to death. My theory is that those Southern gentlemen want two Negroes lynched because of those two whites.

I am told from authentic sources that the south in some places, if a white woman says a colored man did anything to her he is done for. That particular man may not have been anywhere near that woman, but she said so and her word goes. No trial, no positive means of identification is necessary.

The now famous Scottsboro case is another one of man's injustices to man. Seven young Negroes kept in prison two and one-half years for a crime they know and the world knows they did not commit and one of them sentenced to the electric chair for the third time. All this suffering because two girls of loose morals and their escorts feared the law for what they among themselves had done and in order to get out the easiest way they framed these innocent boys; two of which are too young to realize what it is all about. One of the young women felt the pangs of her conscience and told the truth and because she did she is afraid to return South. She knows what she is in for, if she does. The State also contends that the Honor of their women must be upheld at any cost, whether they be moral or immoral. On top of that the Judge tells the Jury what kind of verdict to bring back. How can one get justice in this way?

In speaking of upholding the southern white woman's honor, haven't the southern colored women any Honor? Where do most of our mulattos and octoroons come from? I'll admit some are legal offspring of mixed marriages, but how many are children of poor Negro girls bowed down in humble submission to the Southern gentleman's fancy? Now, in these days when civilization is supposed to be so far advanced there still goes on these awful attacks upon the young and innocent girls of our race.

I wish to apologize to the white people who read this who are noot

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guilty in thought or deed to the above-mentioned facts in this article, because I know and have had the privilege of meeting a few that are not. I know there are others, but their number all in all is quite small.

In closing this, my thoughts and attitudes toward the injustice suffered by the Negroes for more than 300 years, I know that I [illegible] not only voicing my opinion, but the opinion and attitude of 12,000,000 colored people in America.

This inhuman treatment of the race as [illegible] this lynching of innocent colored youth and men on the word of ignorant and immoral or any kind of white woman unless he be given a fair and square trial has got to stop.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt has lived a good part of his life in one of the worst States of the Union and I am sure he knows what it is all about. Instead of so much NRA and other New Deal projects that don't benefit the Negro, why doesn't he do something about the 14th and 15th Amendments? In the States where Negroes could vote they cast many a ballot for him to help him to where he is.

American Negroes want a New Deal and from now on we are going to fight to get it. Every white American knows these things I've written exist and Colored America has always known it. I have not told anyone anything they do not know, and I haven't tried to. I am not trying to excite radicalism, I am simply trying to tell America through the medium of the press how 12,000,000 Negroes think and feel.

CORA MAE G. COLLINS.
278 Summer Street,
Passaic, N. J.

Courier 12-30-33

THE LAST DAYS OF LYNCHING

Courier 12-30-33

IT IS always darkest before dawn. While the sudden spurt in the number of lynchings has saddened and depressed many of us, the belated reaction of the responsible citizens of the country is indeed heartening. From every direction comes sincere and strong condemnation of mob violence. Even more important is the swift action being taken by public officials in Missouri and Tennessee, and the awakening of thinking people throughout the country to the rising menace of mob murder.

With the exception of the small minority of white liberals and radicals the white people of America had become more or less indifferent to the lynching of Negroes, but now it is apparent to everyone who can see and think that the lynch spirit knows no color line. White men nave lynched, too. White men have just barely escaped lynching. A white woman, a civil works administrator, has been driven away from her home by a vicious mob of Tennessee farmers. State troops have been fired upon and public buildings have been ransacked by bloodthirsty gangs of irresponsibles. Even a man acquitted of a criminal charge has been kidnapped from the heart of one of our largest cities and lynched. No one knows how far this thing may go, and for that reason there is a strong sentiment abroad to put an end once and for all to this evil before it puts an end to our civilization.

It is not unlikely that we may be going through the last days of lynching. A strong anti-lynching bill, prepared by the legal staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will be introduced in the forthcoming session of the U. S. Senate. This bill will not only have the support of all intelligent Negroes, but also of a larger number of responsible white people than ever before. The majority sentiment is in favor of it, and if it is vigorously pushed it stands an excellent chance of being enacted into a law.

There will, of course, be opposition to it. That is to be expected. But that opposition can be beaten down if there is a powerful enough lobby behind the bill. Whether there is or not will depend very largely upon the amount of money Negroes themselves contribute to N. A. A. C. P. When the association was fighting for the passage of the Dyer anti-lynching bill, it had the united support of the Negroes of the country, but public opinion generally was not stirred up against the evil of lynching as it is today. If Negroes will rally again behind the association with ample funds to enable it to keep a trained staff on the ground at Washington and to arouse liberal white opinion, the bill will be passed. And it ought to be worth a dollar to each Negro to deal a death blow to crime that President Roosevelt has rightly described as "mob murder."

Wilmington's Councilman Introduces Resolution Condemning Lynching

JOHN O. HOPKINS, colored member of the Wilmington, Del., city council, who last Thursday introduced at the council meeting a resolution condemning the "grievous happening" of the Armwood lynching in Maryland. The resolution was unanimously adopted.

KEEPING UP THE FIGHT

Bystander

The N. A. A. C. P. has protested against the lynching of two white men by a mob in Tennessee, urging Governor McAl- the advancement of colored peo- lister to see that the lynchers are caught and punished.

The N. A. A. C. P. is run for the advancement of colored people, but it knows full well that if the lives of white men are jeopardized, the chances are slim for Negroes. The late Booker T. Washington once told this country that it was lynching Negroes then, but the time would come when they would be lynching white men. Dr. Washington's prophecy came true many years ago.

By the protest the N. A. A. C. P. shows that it is consistent in its fight against the evil of mob violence.

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A TIME TO SPEAK

We read in the Book, "a time to all things." Surely, this is the time for Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, to speak, yes, speak out against mob violence about lynchings in this country. Something should be done about, the action of Governor Rolph in California in encouraging the two lynchings in his state a few days ago, because of the far reaching effect which his actions may have upon the public and the people of the United States. Something must be done to counteract that influence. We know of nothing which will have the proper salutary effect upon the public mind as will a message from the President of the United States. Governor Rolph may merely speak for California, but Mr. Roosevelt can speak for the nation.

The rising tide of lynching is already at an alarming stage. Injustice toward the weak is rife in the nation. In these turbulent times, people are easy to become excited. Some say, "The evil days are here." Therefore, the souls of men need an anchorage as never before. President Roosevelt is "all powerful." He has wrought well and the people of the nation have followed his leadership unprecedentedly. His word is what is called "law and gospel." Therefore, we say to you, Mr. President, that the time was never so ripe, that things were never more propitious than now for the President of the United States to speak out against lynchings and mob violence in this country. Speak, Mr. Roosevelt, Speak!

RELATES HORRORS OF DIXIE 'JUSTICE'

"I'll Never Forget the Cries Of That Dying Man," Phantom Reporter Writes As He Recalls That Night of Terror.

Editor's Note—Because of the tense feeling in Louisiana following the lynching of Nelson Mash, the name of this eye witness to Ringgold's "Bloody Sunday" has been withheld.

(By An Eye-Witness)

SHREVEPORT, La., Feb. 19—I've just seen a human wolf-pack in full cry! I've just seen men—yes, and women, too—stripped of their veneer of civilization, take the life of an ignorant, deluded, black man.

And tonight, as I sit here trying to write the story of Ringgold's "Bloody Sunday," a day which blasphemed Him who gave His life that we might live, I can't seem to close my ears to the cries of that mob of bloodthirsty whites whose throats rumbled to the sky "We'll burn him at the stake!"

Nor can I shut out the agonized cry of poor Nelson Mash, whose voice rose in muted appeal as he looked to the Heavens and chanted "Oh, God! Forgive them, for they know not what they do."

A "Bloody Sunday"

Tonight the hands of more than 300 white men were drenched in the blood of a 24-year-old Negro, aftermath of one of the greatest travesties on justice this country has ever seen.

They told me that Louisiana was just a step removed from barbarism. Tonight I'm willing to believe it. I'm willing to believe, tonight, that a Negro in some parts of Louisiana dare not call his soul his own. I know his body is not his own.

Town Had Been Ugly

All day long the city has been in an ugly, bloodthirsty mood. I'm light-skinned, and even down here they don't know that the blood of Negroes flows in my veins.

Early this morning came the tale of the killing of J. P. Batchelor, bank cashier, of the Bank of Ringold, and the attempt to criminally assault his wife.

"Who was the nigger?" was the question heard on all sides.

I had been out in the streets in the early afternoon, and had returned to listen to Father Coughlin over the radio as he talked on "Justice and Equality." I had felt at peace with the world.

I really anticipated no trouble. I had heard the first rumble, and then I had heard other rumblings to the fact that the crime had been committed by some employe of the bank, who had blackened his face.

Most of the people hereabouts hadn't believed the hysterical utterances of Mrs. Batchelor, who told how she and her husband had been awakened at 4 o'clock Sunday morning and marched to the bank, in an attempt to rob it. The distance was almost a mile. Nor did they believe that he then marched them another mile to the edge of town, and clubbed the husband to death when he remonstrated with him about assaulting his wife. There seemed to be too many weak links in the story.

They Find Nelson Mash

But about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, less than 12 hours after the tragedy, I heard that they had found "the nigger" who committed the crime.

"And there's going to be a big party," I was told.

I hurried to the place where they had captured the alleged criminal, really nothing more than a mere lad. It was located about 15 miles out, near the little town of Ringold where the crime was perpetrated.

When I arrived, I found out that Sheriff Jordan of Arcadia Parish and his posse had placed the frightened lad in a vacant garage. I heard his half-hearted pleas to the crowd to let the law take its course.

But I heard no threats of shooting, and shooting to kill if the mob tried to take the prisoner. I heard Rev. B. McMillen, pastor of the Methodist Church of Ringgold make an impassioned plea to the mob to save the life of the lad.

And I pause right here to say that I believe he is a man called by God.

"—— Get Out of Our Way"

Then I heard the baying of that mob. One of the leaders, a big burly, red-faced brute, jumped in front of the rest of them.

"What are we gonna do about this," he asked.

"Are we gonna let a d—n nigger get away with trying to rape a white woman?"

The sheriff, hearing the cry, had tried to spirit the lad away. But no fool would have tried to do what he did. He was overtaken with ease.

"—— Get out of our way," yelled that mob of men and women as they clutched at the cowed prisoner.

And Then It Was All Over

It seemed to me like the Sheriff figured this was the easist way out of a tough situation. They didn't take the boy away from him. One could almost say that the sheriff gave the boy to that mob.

Ropes were in evidence. It had been raining, and the wet ground made a sobbing sound as those ruthless feet dragged the lad along to the nearest tree.

The rope!

Willing hands threw it over a limb. A slip noose was formed by a murderer's hands. Nelson was dragged to the foot of the tree.

But by now a fatalistic composure had seemed to settle over his youthful face. A clean-limbed lad he had strong, regular features. A few moments before his face had been contorted with fear. Now he was calm. He seemed to realize that the end was near.

And even while horror chilled the blood in my veins, I couldn't help but admire the calm courage which was his as grimy hands clawed at his clothing. sticks and stones struck his defenseless body and dirty words were hurled at him.

They tried to get a confession. I'm here to say that the boy protested his innocence to the last. They asked about a watch, said to belong to Batchelor. The boy insisted it had been planted on him.

Finally tiring of their barbaric fun, they gave the signal. Mash's body swayed in the air. A few convulsive jerks and I thought it was all over.

But no! A shot—then another—and another. More than 50 bullets riddled the body of that slender youth, turning his body first one way and then the other as they smacked into his body with a sickening thud.

And then, not content with that they tried to start a fire. But the underbrush was wet, and they couldn't do it.

Finally their insatiate lust for blood satisfied, they slunk away. Then came the officers to cut the body down.

Louisiana had had its "Bloody Sunday!"

WHAT GOVERNOR PARK CAN DO

The name of Guy B. Park, governor of the State of Missouri, has gained some prominence from the press and public forums of the country during the past two weeks because of his open stand against lynching and mob violence. We have been pleased to note these favorable comments concerning the governor of our state. We hope that such comments have acted as a stimulus which will further awaken the fine sense of justice and fair play in Governor Park and will encourage him to continue his efforts in a very definite way to see that those responsible for the lynching of Lloyd Warner at St. Joseph are adequately punished for their crime.

While it is true that we realize that the governor is busy with the affairs of the state, yet we believe that should he take it upon himself to do so he can bring about the arrest and conviction of the leaders of the mob. He can use his good office to summon or invite prominent citizens and officials to his office and advise with them the best methods to get results. He can urge the attorney-general and the prosecutor of Buchanan county to indict Sheriff Otto Theisen and bring proceedings to have him immediately removed from office because he has admitted that he did unlock the door and turn over the prisoner to the mob. He can order private investigations which, we are quite sure, will reveal the fact that the lynching was a pre-arranged affair, with the police and the sheriff aids participating in the arrangements. A further investigation will show that at four o'clock in the afternoon certain citizens of St. Joe were told over the phone, "Arrangements have been made. There will be a lynching tonight regardless of the mob proof jail." It will show that there were five officers and forty guardsmen on the scene in ample time to have protected the prisoner, but they cowardly refused to perform their duty. These are some of the things which Governor Park can do which will get results.

While it is true that Governor Park has received praise and commendation for what he has done, yet an official "white wash," which is now in progress at St. Joe, will counteract everything that the governor has done.

The statements, which have come from some quarters saying that Sheriff Theisen did his duty, to our mind, are far fetched and are intended as a cloak for the sins of the sheriff for his part in the lynching of innocent Lloyd Warner at St. Joe. He should be charged with murder and all the powers of the state should be mustered to secure his conviction.

By all the rules of the law, a man is presumed to be innocent until he has been convicted as charged. Warner had no trial, and since his murder there is an abundance of evidence to show that he was innocent of an attack on Miss Ruthine Aronson. The alleged confession was just another one of those stereotyped statements of the police, "he confessed." Thus, we can see that the whole affair should be thoroughly investigated.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

Negro Press, Northern.

3918

PEOPLE OF TOWN LAUGH AS THEY DISCUSS HORROR

PRINCESS ANNE, Md., Oct. 26—Weird hilarity and jocular utterances marked the universal discussion of the horrible lynching of George Armwood among the many groups on the street corners of this quaint old "cracker" town Thursday morning.

Comments which bordered from the inhumane to the ridiculous were heard here and there, discussing the uncanny and gruesome incident. "Well," observed one citizen, smoking a stogie in front of the Washington Hotel, "it would have cost the state $1,000, I guess, to hang that man. It only cost us 75 cents."

Interspersing the calm and heartless discussion of the murderous orgy, men here and there displayed "souvenirs of the lawless "party" the night before. One youth exhibited pieces of two tear-gas bombs which were exploded during the battle at the jail. Another displayed a piece of the rope used in hanging the victim. It was about 5 inches long, and both ends were wrapped with cord to keep it from unraveling and thus preserve it as a "souvenir."

Lee's Name Pops Up

Some of the talkers made no secret of their attendance at the lynching. They discussed it in all its details. And the name of Euel Lee, who will be hanged next Friday morning for the murder of a Worcester county farmer, was frequently mentioned.

"If it hadn't been for that Lee affair," said one man, "this would not have happened. They should have hanged him long ago."

Many members of the town's colored population were in evidence. One clump of men stood for hours at Main and Prince William streets, where Armwood was burned, and others congregated at the jail. Still others gathered at the lumber yard, where Armwood's body lay for hours before it was dumped into a rough box made of spare planks.

The Mob vs. The Law

STATE'S ATTORNEY ROBINS, of Somerset County, Maryland, in which GEORGE ARMWOOD was lynched at Princess Anne recently, has surrendered the forces of law and order in his jurisdiction to the mob.

Government and civilization have reached a sad impasse when an officer of a sovereign state yields to the spirit of lawlessness without so much as a respectable fight. Mr. ROBINS laid down before a single shot was fired.

Investigators for the attorney general of Maryland gave testimony which presumably implicates conclusively nine white citizens of Somerset County in the dastardly lynching. This information was transmitted to Mr. ROBINS along with a request that warrants be issued and the suspects brought before a magistrate for arraignment.

The state's attorney promptly refused, claiming that to do so would "create a condition that might be serious. The persons arrested would demand a hearing and would be so entitled, and this would attract a crowd, and if the magistrate would hold them without bond, which would be proper in view of the fact that they would be charged with murder, I hesitate to express my opinion as to what would then happen."

It becomes obvious that the state's attorney is conspiring to shield the lynchers when it is remembered that the procedure requested by Mr. LANE, the attorney general, would require a *public* hearing which would give to the world the truth of that brutal lynching.

The "better method" advocated by Mr. ROBINS is to submit the evidence to a grand jury. But that would be whitewashing the affair, for deliberations of the grand jury are secret. and if it should bring back "not true bills," the public could never know whether or not the evidence was sufficient.

Of course, on second thought, Mr. ROBINS later wrote to his superior justifying his stand by legal precedents. But everyone knows that a schemester can hide behind technicalities to justify even immoral positions. The conclusion is inescapable that Mr. ROBINS' first thoughts communicated to the attorney general correctly describe his motives.

If ever there was a more despicable case of a public officer surrendering the honor and dignity of his state, and yielding to the basest form of mob spirit, it has been our good fortune to escape its notice.

ASKS U. S. AID IN LYNCHINGS

Alabama Sheriff May Be Prosecuted for Boys' Deaths

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 4.—Two little used sections of the Federal laws, dealing with offenses against the civil rights of citizens, have been brought to light and made the basis of a request to the Department of Justice for prosecution of Sheriff R. L. Shamblin of Tuscaloosa, Ala., as the result of the recent lynching of Dan Pippen, 18, and A. T. Harden, 16, by an Alabama mob.

The statutes, enacted in 1909, were on the statute books during all the time there was agitation for enactment of a Federal anti-lynching law. The attorney general has promised to act if he should be convinced of his authority. The statutes were brought to his attention by a delegation headed by Attorney Charles H. Houston, vice dean of the Howard Law School, and Allen Taub, white, of the International Labor Defense.

The two laws are sections 19 and 20 of the act of March 4, 1909. Under the first a maximum fine of $5,000 and imprisonment for not more than ten years is provided in the case of two or more persons who conspire to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States . . . and shall be thereafter ineligible to any office or place of honor or trust created under the Constitution or laws of the United States."

Section 20 provides that "Whoever, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, willfully subjects, or causes to be subjected, any inhabitant of any State, Territory or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains, or penalties on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color, or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both."

The Higher Law

When the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the fugitive slave law in the famous Dred Scott case the people of the North flouted the decision on the ground that there was a "Higher Law," a law of God and Humanity under which slavery was a crime.

Similarly the people of the United States openly violated the 18th Amendment on the ground that Government had gone too far in regulating the private habits of the people.

Last week Governor Albert C. Ritchie rushed 300 national guardsmen down on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and with the expenditure of time money and energy arrested four men accused as lynchers.

The guardsmen barely escaped with their lives and their prisoners, and next day landed them safely in the Baltimore city jail.

Whereupon without a fight or a protest, the governor permitted the four men to be returned to the lynching town of Princess Anne and freed after an eight-minute hearing before local judges in which the governor offered not a single witness.

If Governor Ritchie, who is a lawyer, did not foresee the habeas corpus proceedings under which the lynch suspects were freed, certainly he was short-sighted.

If he did forsee this, he looms decidedly stupid.

In any event, in permitting lynch suspects arrested at such great cost, to be freed so easily, Governor Ritchie appears to us as vacillating and weak.

There is a higher law to which he may well have appealed with every expectation that the state would back him up.

If our present laws do not permit the state to step into a lawless county and punish mobsters who have destroyed law, order, decency and property, then any governor might well use the militia to arrest the murderers if he can and defiantly hold them until he can get from the legislature the authority to proceed further.

Let the Eastern Shore rave about democracy and home rule, the highest law of the land is that which guarantees peace, safety of life and property and trial by jury to every citizen.

Where communities for any reason, disregard these sacred rights, it is the duty of the state to interfere. It is the duty of the Federal government to interfere, and when there are no laws governors and presidents must proceed without them under the "Higher Law."

Not only did Massachusetts but the entire nation warmed up to Calvin Coolidge who as governor of his state during a police strike knew what to do during an emergency. Mr. Coolidge simply declined to let a mob stand behind a legal technicality.

Governor Ritchie had the same chance which came to Calvin Coolidge and he muffed it.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

Negro Press, Southern.

3919

Negro Zealots Call For a Revolution

Race Leaders Stirred Over Lynching

National Baptist Voice 11-11-33

Negroes in all sections of America are stirred as never before over recent outbursts of lynching and cruel torture of Negroes. While many of us have become accustomed to an occasional lynching in Alabama and Texas, we were not at all prepared for such a wild, inhuman and cannibalistic display as was evidenced on Maryland's eastern shore where George Armwood, a Negro, was burned at the stake after being dragged through the streets with a rope about his neck.

What are we to do about it?

Nashville, Tenn.

N. A. A. C. P. Leader Answers

Roy Wilkins, brilliant assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with headquarters in New York, speaking at an interracial meeting urged that Colored people themselves take up arms to halt mobs.

The Baltimore Afro Offers a Solution

The prosperous and well edited Baltimore Afro asks:

"Why not armed resistance? Why not less jazz and more target practice in the Lynching Belt?"

The editor of the Baltimore Afro turns to history to back up his suggestion and adds:

"How could the early American settlers have built up this country if they had shut up their houses, locked all doors and went to sleep whenever the Indians staged a raid? Yet that is exactly what happened in colored areas of Princess Anne two weeks ago at the lynching. . . "

The Baltimore editor concludes with the observation that "when a righteous cause has exhausted every peaceable method, there remains only an appeal to arms."

The Chicago Defender Asks a Question

The Chicago Defender, the largest and most widely read journal in our group joins the chorus and asks "Why Die Without Protest?"

The Chicago Weekly points out that thirty-three black men have been lynched this year; that the local governments where these lynchings have occurred with few exceptions utterly refused to protect black men and women from mob violence. The Chicago editor offers this suggestion:

"It must be plain to everyone that mob violence or mob activities cannot be pressed by using rose water. The same method must be used and administered to the mob that the mob administers when they come for their victim. This can be done by giving aid in organizing and joining the sheriffs in their efforts to resist the mob.

In his conclusion the Chicago editor takes a lick at the old leadership:

"The weak-kneed leadership will counsel you against joining the sheriff; they will tell you that you will be killed. To be sure, some will be killed, but what good is life to man if he cannot be protected in his home. That type of leadership is not expected to take any part in such procedure. . . . This thought is directed to the young men who believe in liberty and freedom and who believe also in sustaining the constitution. Why die without protest?"

An Alabama Mob

Weekly Review

Things are indeed "funny" in Alabama when a National guard unit is called out to protect the lives of two white men, lawyers to defend three Negroes charged with murdering a young white girl near Tuscaloosa. A mob of some two or three hundred gathered at the courthouse to get the white men and not the Negroes is too good to be true. "There is no feeling against the Negroes here and guards were not indeed to protect the defendants", is Judge Foster's statement.

8-4-33

As sensible human beings we cannot reasonably believe that the Negroes were not in danger with a surging mob outside the court room. However, we sincerely hope that the defendants are given the full protection of the state and that these men are given a fair and impartial trial instead of the "usual."

Birmingham, Ala.

With the Scottsboro cases and the Willie Peterson case as outstanding international traversities on the name of justice we hope that these Negroes are not added to the long list of injustices in the state.

That the International Labor Defense and its attorneys are not wanted in the case is evident but what about the defendants. They are not particularly interested in what kind of defense represents them. To be free men again and not to be victims of the electric chair is paramount in their minds and who could blame them?

The community has a fixed opinion as to the color of the murderers of the innocent girl who was brutally slain by unknown parties and for this crime a Negro must pay the penalty.

If a militia was needed to save the white man from a mob and the Negroes were in no danger we have reached a new point our racial relations in the state and the whites who composed this mob are to be congratulated. Our New Deal program has reached a new height and the Negro need not worry about being railroaded to the electric chair but instead his case will be heard and judged according to facts, should be a mighty fine thing to happen in this state. There is no earthly reason why this should not be but we cannot believe that the components of that mob, gathered to protect those Negroes from the foreign lawyers. That there would have been three less Negroes in Alabama today had the guard not been on duty is our belief.

That there are thousands of whites in the state of Alabama who would not want the name of the state blemished with a lynching is true. There are some who would boldly stand in front of a mob and risk death to prevent such an occurence, and fifty per cent of the mob was indifferent as to what took place is also true. Half of the throng would have followed the lead of the other half whether it be to lynch the victims or die to save them.

The crime was heinous—the guilty party needs the limit but let's first get the guilty parties and not take three Negroes and beat a confession out of them and then send them to the electric chair and let the guilty party go free. These so-called confessions are usually obtained by third degree methods. One of the defendants charges that he was beat in the Jefferson county jail.

It would do well to move the National Guard unit from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham and protect the lives of the large numbers of innocent Negro men and women who are slain each year by Birmingham's quick-triggered police force.

A chance to show where we are now on the scale of justice can be shown in the case of Charles Stevenson, white, who fatally wounded Roy Mann, Negro, after police refused to arrest Mann on flimsy charges brought by Stevenson about the stealing of garage tools.

We congratulate Major Torrey Jemison, commander [illegible] the guard who saved the lives of the three white men [illegible] ust that this is the beginning of a new era in race [illegible] ns in Alabama.

MINISTERS PROTEST LYNCHING

At the conference of the M. E. Church, South, held last week in Brunswick, it went on record protesting lynching. This was made clear through the report of its social service committee. The report proved no uncertain stand, and made it decisively clear that these ministers of God stand for law and order and that they are vehemently against the three-fold increase of lynching during the year. The committee blames the church for its failure to carry forward an educational program against such crimes. Special attention was made to the local churches, with an appeal to make a thorough investigation of each case occurring within their territory. The report of the committee even went further in calling upon the next session of the legislature to enact laws allowing the governor plenary power to act whenever officers fail to obtain conviction. The report should go even further in empowering the removal of officials, especially sheriffs, who permit a lynching within their jurisdiction, and solicitors who fail to have immediate investigations of such events. The action of this Methodist conference should be the means of arousing other white organizations to take similar steps in spreading a sentiment against lynching in the state. By such action they will be doing the participants much good and at the same time saving the fair name of the state.

White Ministers In Lynch Town Condemns Mob Actions of Any Form

St. Joseph, Mo—Following the sensational lynching of Lloyd Warner here last week at which time an officer of the law by the name of Otto Theison turned over to several thousands of lynchers his prisoner, the echo of the disgraceful uproar was censured by leading ministers of the city who warned their congregation against mob rule.

The Rev. George Mauze, pastor of the First Presbyterian church, preached on the text, "The Cry of the Mob," and devoted his whole sermon to the subject. He placed final responsibility on the people, and drew a comparison of the lynching with the crucifixion of Christ.

"Behind the chief actors in the dramas at Golgotha and Sixth and Jule streets, [illegible] thousands of obscure figures, the populace of the cities," he said. "Behind all such tragedies there is a public whose state of mind has much to do with the horror. The thousands of uncaring people at Jerusalem and at St. Joseph gave the mobsters their chance. The public was not interested, apathetic. Many did not want to be bothered. The people of Jerusalem who thought the fate of the stranger from Galilee none of their business, had to bear the doom with their yet unborn children. They were unaware of any accountability for the crime perpetrated, but history with its destruction of the city rendered its verdict against them."

Failure to remove the prisoner to a place of safety was censured by the Rev. J. C. Gilbreath, pastor of the First Methodist church.

Mr. Gilbreath and Mr. Mauze both censured public officials for alleged indifference toward crime. The former spoke of law violators who "have been freed on the payment of petty sums, even as little as a few cents."

He evidently referred to Fred Frankenhoff, police judge, who recently announced 10-cent fines for liquor law violators in his court.

Governor Rolph's recent statement was referred to as "stupid and unpatriotic approval of mob violence," which "adds fuel to the fire and bodes no good for the future," in Mr. Gilbreath's talk. He commended Governor Park for his attitude, and expressed the hope "that those responsible for this violence against an offender and this outrage against the thousands of decent and law-abiding citizens of this city, shall be quickly apprehended and adequately punished."

Mr. Mauze blamed a general breakdown of law for the lynching.

"The time has come when those in high places must realize they cannot violate and evade the law without their influence bringing the law into disrespect," he said. "For instance, recently the national head of the Eagles lodge and president of the

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Chamber of Commerce in our neighboring city, Kansas City, returned to his home a free man after he had been convicted in the courts of breaking a federal law. When such a man, thru influence, can escape paying the penalty, how can we expect the strata of our people who make mob members to have respect for law and order?"

WAS HE AN ATTACKER?

In bold, big letters the Houston Press of Friday, December 8, 1933, says: "Texans Burn Negro Attacker." That the ghoulish fiends who cut that man's heart out and burned his lifeless body were Texans is the only known truth in that headline; and that is a truth of which all decent Texans are ashamed. But, was the dead man an "attacker?"

Who is wise enough to say? No court or jury had ever found him so. No one of those "uncivilized brutes" ever saw David Gregory attack anybody. What then is it which justifies a great newspaper like the Houston Press in its bold statement of fact that he was an attacker? None except that it has the power to do it.

Consistency In Superiority

A white boy in his teens hacks off the ear of a human being, while the victim is still alive. Three thousand Nordics—men, women and children—howl with glee as the quivering carcass is tied to a truck and disemboweled as it careens over heavy objects in the streets, and under a great oak tree the Roman holiday is concluded while in cannibalish, bloodthirsty barbarity the superior race distributes souvenirs from the smoking torso.

You know, of course, that the victim was a Negro. You perhaps do not know, and few white folk care to know that the helpless immolated creature was a half wit, whom white folk in their selfish indefensible refusal to provide an institution for the feeble-minded, had allowed to run free up Princess Ann streets.

Here is a late dead line release of the ANP which proves conclusively that the Black Dispatch is right in its fight to have state funds allocated for the purpose of incarcerating such unfortunates.

BALTIMORE, Md., Oct. 26.—Interviewed by the Afro American Wednesday morning, the morning of the day George Armwood was lynched, Dr. T. H. Kiah, principal of Princess Anne Acadamy across the street from the spot where Armwood was murdered, said that he had visited the city jail and had been assured that no harm would come to the accused man, as a guard of thirty state troopers was on hand.

"Armwood is considered by both colored and white to be a menace," Dr. Kiah added in The Afro report, "and is said to have committed a similar crime on a colored woman last year. If he had been dealt with at that time and properly incarcerated, the present situation would have been avoided. Armwood is generally believed to be feeble-minded."

Armwood was reared by a white family.

Just why the parsimony of the white man will express itself in this manner is hard to tell. Both races have demented, subnormal half-wits born within their groups. The white man provides methods of control over white unfortunates, but in every direction one turns in black life we find this type and character of black man released to roam the streets, a menace to his own and all units of citizenship.

Just three weeks ago this publication was called into question by the judge of the juvenile court because who had offered a criticism in the handling of just this type of case. The conference ended in one of the attaches of that court admitted that he had been a party to releasing a Negro half-wit on the public highway near Norman.

When one dissects the actions and attitudes of white folk in this very definite and certain way the "holier than thou" grimaces of the mob slink into the stinking stables of disgrace. Attempt is always made to convey the idea that the mob destroyed a sane Negro bent on raping a white woman, and never in the white press is there a line about a demented Negro, who comitted an irresponsible act.

Contrast this attitude as compared to the application of white justice to white men guilty of the same offense. In Muskogee recently a white man, Glenn Swanson, was snatched up and adjudged insane immediately following his assault upon a young Negro girl. No lynching occurred in this case, and there was no thought or talk of mob violence. The jewel of consistency seems to be strangely missing when the white man starts down the road of life by the side of his black brother.

Lynchings-1933 I.
Discussions.

Negro Press, Northern.

3907

GOVERNOR RITCHIE'S BURNT OFFERING

Maryland to all intents and purposes withdrew from national respectability and decency when her governor, Albert C. Ritchie, conveniently placed a human being at the will of the citizens of Princess Anne whom he knew to be a mob. The governor's desire to cater to hate, igorance and racial prejudices for political purposes brands his state today as one that should no longer have the respect of mankind.

The citizens of America—those who believe in constitutional government, justice and fair play—can count themselves fortunate that the leaders of the Democratic party had the good judgment to select for president Franklin Delano Roosevelt instead of Governor Albert C. Ritchie, who was considered at the time to possess high claims for that exalted office.

If the rights and privileges of the black citizens, in Maryland, as indicated by his conduct in the George Armwood case, is any criterion of what would have happened to the rights and privileges of the black people of America under him as president, then his election to that office would have meant the destruction of the entire social and political structure of the American black man.

When this alleged rape case is properly reviewed in the spirit of fairness and not in the spirit of ropes, guns and fire, it will be found that the old lady in question not only has never been raped, but there had never been any attempt made by the man lynched to commit such a crime. The governor knows there was no rape, the judge knows there was no rape, the state's attorney of the county knows there was no rape, but they all knew that the time was propitious to satisfy the mob which had previously clamored for the life of another victim.

However, in the savage and brutal murder of George Armwood the governor has paid Princess Anne county whatever political debt he may have owed them. He may now feel free to appeal to them for their votes in his future aspirations. He can appeal to them from their pulpits, because the mob was comprised of church members; thus in their midst he will find common ground for a common cause. He can appeal to them through their schools and among them find a common link of friendship, because he can say to them: "Did I not give you a human being for a burnt offering, when the Lord only asked of Jacob a lamb?"

It is now said that the officials of the state and county will investigate. That is interesting, to say the least. We will have the same faith in their investigations that we will have in their findings because we are laboring under the impression that their sympathy with the criminals will preclude them from carrying on an honest and honorable investigation. We here and now stamp the investigation—as a farce and as an insult to the great injury that the state and nation have already sustained.

Although not quite a thousand people lived in Princess Anne, yet the sheriff of the county has already been quoted as saying that he could not recognize any members of the mob. Any man with common sense must regard that statement as being utterly void of truth. Judges Robert F. Duer, John R. Pattison and Joseph L. Bailey have promised a "searching investigation." Were not the blot such a severe criminal stain upon the good name of the so-called superior Nordic race, we would ask the public to join in a hearty laugh over this proposed "searching investigation."

The members of the grand jury who will do the investigating will no doubt be drawn from the same crowd that investigated the raping and who subsequently participated in the lynching. This of itself will substantiate our charge that the investigation will mean additional travesty upon the state.

WHY LYNCHING PERSISTS.

The reports of two lynchings, one in South Carolina and the other in Louisiana, appeared in the daily papers last week, both of which betrayed the usual feature of aid and connivance by the state or local authorities. As these mob murders were reported by the Associated Press and the United Press, their authenticity as to details is to be accepted by the casual reader. In the first murder, at Ninety Six, S. C., it was stated that a coroner's jury had ordered four men held on a charge of murdering Bennie Thompson, a youthful Negro who was taken from jail and beaten to death.

This action was taken after Burley Leppord had read a statement admitting that he and three white men had taken the youth from a cell and whipped him with "automobile top tubes." The whites had some trouble with the Negro at a cafe and claimed that he drew a pistol on them. He was arrested and put in jail. Later the four men went to the jail and demanded the prisoner. The jailer refused to surrender him, saying they would have to see the chief of police. The chief of police told them to wait until after dark, when they would find the jail unlocked, which they did. The lock on the cell door was also hanging unlocked. So they took the prisoner in a car and beat him, leaving him on the road. Chief Rush denied leaving the jail unlocked, but could not explain how his prisoner was released.

In the Louisiana case, the old formulas were observed. An eighteen year old plantation worker was said to have confessed to the killing of a fourteen year old girl in a sugar cane field near the town of Labadieville. A mob of one hundred men marched "in orderly manner" to the jail, demanded the keys, and an acquiescent deputy sheriff surrendered the prisoner. He was rushed to a bridge and hanged from the railing. In neither case was any effort made to protect the prisoner or to resist the orders of the mobbists.

Attorney General Homer S. Cummings, head of the Department of Justice, recently spoke before the National Anti-Crime Conference at Washington and detailed various methods proposed to aid in the warfare against the underworld. He spoke of the United States establishing a "Devil's Island" for intractable and vicious criminals, of creating a national institute of criminology, to train for law enforcement; the formation of state constabularies in every state, unhampered by county lines; the elimination of unscrupulous lawyers, who aid criminals in their undertakings. But nowhere did he refer to the suppression of lynching, which is often aided and encouraged by the acquiescence and indifference of local and state authorities.

The present Chief Justice of the United States once defined lynching as murder. And when murder is permitted to be done in any state without effort to punish the offenders, that state has abdicated its functions. It then should be the duty of the national government to enforce the guaranties of the Constitution.

The Question Of Rape

ONLY a fool, a moron or a jackass would even think of attacking an 80-year old woman with intent to rape. George Armwood who was accused of such an act has been lynched in the free and Christian State of Maryland. Of course the aged woman is white and the victim of Maryland's justice is colored. Take a good look at the photo at the head of this column. Use all of your powers of discernment and then decide whether or not a healthy male of any race could even desire to have illicit relationship with the dear old lady. Unless Armwood was a pervert or a cracked-brain idiot I would not believe all the signed confessions piled as high as the Empire State Building. There are some things which do not tie in with nature and common sense, and a normal man attacking an old woman of 80 years is one of them. Look at the picture above! Do you believe such a cock and bull story? No intelligent man will believe it. The old lady's clothing was torn and she described an individual similar to Armwood. She never saw him before and he was never identified by her. Upon those facts Maryland reverts to barbarism and places another blot upon the already blackened record of that State.

The old lady had an illusion or else some of her relatives were trying to get rid of her. If George did attack the woman he was crazy and should have been sent to a hospital for the insane. And if he was not crazy some one is lying. I am willing to bet my last shirt on that. And another thing, since I am on the subject, 99 per cent of all the rape accusations are fairy tales—lies. And that goes for both white and colored women. Is it not peculiar that so many Negroes attack white women in the same section of Maryland where the alleged culprit is almost sure to be lynched? Most papers assume that Armwood committed the "atrocious crime." But condemn the lynching. Look at the picture! Consider the evidence!

Here is an actual incident which occurred on an elevator in City Hall on last Thursday: A dear old lady was coming down on an elevator. She was shaky. Her hand struck the lever which operates the car. The operator advised her to be careful. Thomas Minnick, Esq., candidate for coroner in the Primary Election on the Democratic ticket, observed the condition of the woman and with the most kindly intention in the world took her arm gently, offering to help her. The old woman flared up and became very angry. She yelled: "Don't put your hands on me! Don't touch me! I don't trust no man today!" The old woman had illusions of some dark crime. Had that incident occurred in certain sections of America and the effort to assist had come from a Negro and the old lady was hysterical another lynching would have been in the making. That is serious business. I saw myself hanging from a telegraph pole several years back. I entered a house, thinking it was the home of a colored family in Edgefield, South Carolina. The owner was white. When the woman came down stairs and observed that I was a Negro, she became very agitated. She called me all sorts of vile names and drove me from the house. I was afraid that some passerby would think I intended to attack the woman. And if that had happened there is no explanation on earth I could have given and instead of writing this column my ashes would be strewn over the barren fields of the God-forsaken barbarous State which gave me birth. The cries of innocent victims of lynch law rise to heaven. Something must be done to stop America's great crime.

Lynching Edition

This issue of the AFRO-AMERICAN is dedicated to the lynchers of Maryland and of every other state in the Union.

May they be troubled in mind while asleep or awake. May they find blood on their hands, a weight upon their hearts and a millstone around their necks until the last judgment.

Afro-American 10-28-33 Baltimore.

THE GUILTY

As guilty as though they were members of the mob are:

Governor Albert C. Ritchie, who let the victim be taken from a Baltimore jail to the Eastern Shore. He blames others, but utters no word of condemnation himself.

Austin Baughman, state police head. He gave his men no orders to shoot.

Judge Robert F. Duer. He made a mistake. While the mob was forming, he "thought" there was no danger.

John E. Robins, state's attorney of Somerset County, Md. He assured the Governor there would be no lynching and refused permission to remove the prisoner to a stronger jail. When the mob organized, he was out of town.

Sheriff Luther Daugherty. He had to leave town.

Captain Edward McK. Johnson: "We have orders not to use firearms except as a last resort. It would have been suicide to shoot."

Deputy Sheriff Norman Drydan: "The jail was pretty dark. I couldn't see anybody clearly. When the mob got bad, I took off my gun and put it away."

E. C. Young, commander Princess Anne American Legion: "I am willing to protect townspeople and their property. I have no desire to engage in police duty for the protection of a Negro charged with an atrocious crime."

RE-ELECT NO LYNCHERS

All of these individuals, who are with the mob equally guilty of lynching, have chief responsibility to see that the mob is punished. Whatever legal technicalities are in the way of state action, Governor Ritchie can find a way to cut through them, if he wants to.

Here, too, the responsibility of all good citizens in Maryland begins. Either shall the responsible law-enforcing agencies, beginning with the Governor, do their duty, or the voters must see to it that they are left at home next election day.

It should not be possible for anybody connected with that lynching, directly or indirectly, ever again to hold a public office.

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LEAVE THE LYNCHING SHORE

The AFRO-AMERICAN advises the colored people to leave the Lynching Shore.

Life is not safe. Property is worthless when life cannot be protected.

Not a single white person of Princess Anne has publicly denounced the two recent lynchings. Even the pastors of the churches dare not do it.

Nobody can live in the Lynching Belt and be a man.

Therefore, sell out, move out, take all that you possess and leave. No sacrifice is too great when life is in danger. The people who lynched Matthew Williams last year and Armwood last week may lynch you tomorrow.

Move out of the Lynching Shore. Move. Don't be in a hurry. Take your time. Plan deliberately. It may take you one month or one year, but determine now, once and for all that you will not live in that uncivilized community.

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BLACK GUARDSMEN WOULD HAVE PROTECTED PRISONER

The lynching at Princess Anne ought to go down in police records of the state as the "Tissue Paper Bluff at Princess Anne Jail."

Thirty state police, without sticks or blackjacks, and instructed not to use their guns, sought to defend(?) a jail against a mob of five thousand.

They did not want to defend the prisoner or hurt the mob.

So, with a perfect fort available, within which they could have held off five thousand men indefinitely, they chose to stand *outside* and try to *persuade* the mob not to take the jail.

It never occurred to them or their commander that the majesty of the law and the honor of the state were at stake.

If they were incapable or unwilling to do their full duty, these tin can police officers might have declined the assignment and requested that ten men from the First Separate Company, Maryland National Guard, take up their job.

That's all Princess Anne needed—just ten black National Guardsmen and one machine gun. The prisoner would still be in Princess Anne jail.

* * * *

HIGH HATS AND CANNON FOR F. D.

President Roosevelt went over to Chestertown, Maryland, on the edge of the Eastern Shore lynching belt Saturday to get an honorary degree from Washington College.

All the big state officials were there in gold braid or high hats. Even a battery of cannon was dragged up from Fort Hoyle to fire a twenty-one-gun salute for the President.

Fancy all that display of the military at Chestertown for show, and at the Princess Anne lynching where it was needed, not even a blank cartridge was fired.

* * * *

ROOSEVELT MAKES WRONG SPEECH

President Roosevelt, visiting the Lynching Shore two days after its Dixie circus and barbecue, talked about the N.R.A. Not much good, we think, was the President's address.

There was but one topic upon which Mr. Roosevelt could have talked. He should have issued a Presidential blast against lawlessness. His N.R.A. should have meant "No Recurrence Again," or the Federal government will declare martial law in effect.

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THE BRIGHT SPOT

The brightest spot of last week's barbarity was the reaction of all Baltimore daily newspapers: the Baltimore Sun, the Post, and the News.

All of the protests to Governor Ritchie did not come from colored citizens. White citizens of Baltimore took the lead in carrying a delegation to the Governor's office Thursday of last week, and as citizens and representatives of social and civic groups, gave Maryland's chief executive the worst hour he has ever experienced.

Our only hope is that Governor Ritchie in this emergency can measure up to the stature of the high office which he fills.

If he does, he can retrieve some of the ground he has lost through bad judgment, red tape and splitting hairs.

If he does not, the rest of the country may well rejoice that it did not elect him as President and that Mr. Roosevelt did not appoint him as Attorney-General of the United States.

LYNCHING ON THE EASTERN SHORE

Age 10-29-33 New York.

The New York Herald Tribune, in referring to the recent lynching at Princess Anne, pronounced it a "Disgrace to Maryland". While the state of Maryland has become notorious for an outburst of the lynching spirit during the past two years, we would not limit the disgrace of such murderous demonstrations to that state alone. Maryland borders upon the District of Columbia the seat of the national government. The Government had the opportunity a few years ago to make the crime of lynching an offence against its law. The House of Representatives passed the Dyer anti-lynching bill, but the Senate allowed it to be suppressed in committee.

If there is any disgrace attached to a mob breaking open a jail, taking a helpless prisoner from the custody of the state, stripping his clothes from his body, dragging him behind a motor car while the members of a mob assault him, then burning his corpse in a bonfire, the disgrace attaches to the nation that permits such atrocities within a few miles of its national capital. Constitutionalists like Senator Borah may prate about state rights, but a state that cannot enforce its laws has no rights to maintain.

Lynchings-1933 II

Discussions.

Negro Press, Northern

3908

THE MASTER OF CEREMONIES

September 2-33 Chicago Def.

Attorney General Thomas E. Knight Jr. of Alabama, who has been designated official whitewasher of the lynchers, is said to be using the power of his office to prevent any attempt to disclose the identity of the men who took part in the six recent lynchings in that state. It is said on high authority that the gallant young attorney general will be rewarded for this, either with a seat in the senate or elevation to the governorship of his state.

In the performance of this service the attorney general has been ably assisted by Judge Henry B. Foster, whose first contribution to this particular crime was to deny the defendants the right to select their own counsel. The court made another contribution by appointing for them such counsel as he knew would be in absolute harmony with the criminal instincts of those who sought to lynch the prisoners.

Judge Foster saw to it that this death drama was completed by turning the prisoners over to Sheriff R. H. Shamblin, who in turn passed the defendants over to the mob. A grand jury has been impaneled by the court to investigate the lynching of the boys. The grand jury convened, organized and heard such testimony as the sheriff would permit and adjourned until September.

While all the members of the mob who shot the six boys to death after they were surrendered by the sheriff and his deputies were well known citizens of both the city and county and wore no masks at the time, yet the sheriff said, or at least testified before the grand jury, that he could not identify any of the men who took the prisoners from him and his deputies.

The lynching of these boys, four of whom wre in their 'teens, and without a scintilla of evidence that would be accepted by any judge of any court except Alabama, was the most brutal disregard for human life ever perpetrated in a civilized community, and for heinous crimes Alabama stands as a master of all past ceremonies.

A study of ancient history fails to produce a parallel in human atrocity that could equal the polluted and vicious conscience such as characterizes this state. Even Roman history in all of its fiendish tradition becomes a glittering star in comparison with the head hunters in Alabama. In Rome the cry, "I am a Roman citizen," even in the days of the Caesars, was rarely interposed in vain, but today in Alabama the cry, "I am an American citizen and my rights have been violated," will only accentuate the crime against the citizen.

The wickedness of Alabama is a tragedy reflecting on the conscience of the state and was born in the compelling and hateful embrace of slavery which appears to have been so deep-rooted that even the descendants of the slaveholding autocracy cannot survive its evil influences. This is certified to by the acquiescence of such characters as those who have sponsored these recent acts in Alabama.

"RAPE" IN THE SOUTH

Afro-American 10-7-33

By NANCY CUNARD

In the American Southern states—after emancipation changed the Negro's status from that of a white master's property to one of uttermost economic and social serfdom—the favorite charge brought against him is the lie of "raping white women." It operates somewhat in the way I have written it here, which leads to an actual or a "legal" lynching. The Scottsboro case is the most flaming example of an attempt at the latter.

Baltimore, Md.

A "small farmer's" wife speaking.

"Here's that hot rain again
Makin' the Georgia earth so red—
They say it's n——rs' blood made it so red first,
Huh—the damn n——rs groanin' an' bellyachin'..
When I go out they don' seem to see me no more
Like they used to—even Mandy's kinda queer;
They don't pray so much, that's it—
They's secret, quite a pack o' them's evil,
I guess it'll pass...when cotton an' cane's right again.
Mos' caint read—what they know 'bout "worl' crisis"
An' what the hell's that to us?

"Well, I 'member Uncle Tom
An' how the slaves got sold up,
An' that sorta peachy wife 'bout the middle o' the book,
(Feelin' kinda soft myself to-day too,
An' no one 'round)—
What they grumble about now they're free,
What more they want? ain't we had to swallow
The Yanks' meddlin'?
Granpa said—oh to hell with granpa,
We're sick of our men—ennyway that part's right
In the paper from the North,
Sick o' them, mostly.

"Well, the storm's here now...
An' what's a Communist?
An' what's a peon? wish I knew—
S'pose...I asked...that new n——r there with the pigs...
Sumpthin' like: come in an' tell me n——r,
Did you help make this earth so red?
Don't see no blood gone outa you, no—
Kinda han'some too—ugly black—looka them shoulders,
Wow—an' them ham-hands messin' up pigs food—
Wonder what it's like to...
Well—mebbe yeh—ain't the house empty?

"Come here n——r, say,
Wanta ask you sumpthin'...
Dam fool's deaf—here n——r,
What's your name, ain't seen you 'bout the place before,
Who's your master righta now?"
"Massah? Massa-boss."
"An' who's your mistress?"
"Why ma'am, yuh fo' sure."
"Aw come in n——r, don' matter 'bout your name,
You're mine, see? don't be scared,
That there's the rain, not white menfolks
Stompin' about the house.
I'm 'lone to-day, see? I'll treat you good
If you talk to me, git a little frien'ly,
I kinda likes you.. .

"Say, what's a Communist?—heard you bin havin' some roun' these parts,
What they do?"
"Dunnuh ma'am."
"An' what's a peon?
You're free ain't you, though you're mine too, see?
Becos' we protec' you all, we like your folk
But you don' seem grateful no more"...
"Dunnuh ma'am."
"Jes' won't answer, huh?
Mebbe you got sumpthin' to teach me
An' I'm a white woman, see?
Thinka that, alone with a big black n——r...
Well? You got sumpthin' to show me then?
Come on n——r, gotta give it me...
Keepin' it all for your black bitch, that it?
You damned n——r beast...you won't?
Well, I'll say you raped me ennyhow...
We all know n—rs jus' gotta rape white woman—
Looka that! jumped clean outa the back door...and his name's Roly,

Hick Roly, I knowed it all along.
Your number's up Roly,
Git what's coming to you."...

So they toook out the dogs, the bloodhounds, an hour later when the men were back,
And they cotched him in the swamps
And what the hounds left they hung on a tree
And plugged it plumb-full,
And the guns were hot with shooting at it,
And so they went home,
And the "lady of the house" was honored,
And they had the moonshine out,
"Weren't much of a n——r, already half drowned hisself tryin' to git away.

Not much fight left."
And the farmer said: "Well goddam,
'Nother n——r to find fer them pigs,
Not so hahd these days——go git one from camp,
Guess warden owes me sumpthin' fer that las' keg—
'Ain't goin' to be no fuss about this black stiff,
Jes' a mes so' black pieces in the swamp,
Foot-loose n——r, ennyway, till I took him,
Nobody's n——r."
And that was about the 79th lynching that year.
That is, in 1931 or '32.

To Haywood Patterson in jail, framed up on the vicious "rape" lie, twice condemned to death, despite conclusive and maximum proof of his innocence—and to the eight other innocent Scottsboro boys.

June, 1933. NANCY CUNARD.

Editor's Note—Nancy Cunard is a scion of the white English family which gave its name to the Cunard Steamship Line. She created consternation in England last year by deserting her home and giving up her income when her mother objected to her friendship for colored people.

THE FLAG AND LYNCHINGS

St. Louis Mo. Argus 10-6-33

Down at Washington, D. C., there is an organization known as the "Flag Association," the purpose of which is to cultivate the spirit of respect for the United State's flag. Because of the rising tide of crime in this country which breeds disrespect for law and order as well as disrespect for the flag, a meeting has been called under the style of an Anti-Crime Conference and in this call are listed such crimes

as the association thinks it ought to help combat at this time which include, "An alarming number of murders, kidnapings, burglaries, arson, dope, vice and racketeering in many forms;" but strange as it may appear the signers of the call overlooked lynching which, in its worse form, is the most heinous crime ever committed in the United States.

Since learning about the call for this meeting, we have endeavored to reason in our own mind why lynching was omitted in this call. Surely, everybody knows that there have been over five thousand persons murdered in the United States without a trial before judge or juror, except "Judge Lynch." The spirit of lynchers more than any other class of criminals, is "to hell with the flag;" and the leaders and members of this flag organization know this. Under the lynch code, there are more than one hundred thousand murderers at large in the United States, and this number has been swelled by the wave of recent lynchings in the South. Many times in these mobs, as will be remembered, there have been hundreds of women with babies in their arms and expectant mothers egging on and hurrahing the mobs. We mention this to show just the crop of mob murderers that is constantly maturing in the United States.

If the flag organization could do none other than concentrate all of its power and influence against lynching, it would have done a man size Job and a patriotic duty.

St. Louis Argus 10-6-33 St. Louis, Mo.

FOR A LYNCHLESS SOUTH.

A news dispatch from Jackson, Miss., printed in the Colorado Statesman, tells of a remarkable movement started to do away with lynching and mob violence. It takes the form of a pledge that has already been signed by twenty sheriffs in the state of Mississippi, and reads as follows: "I am opposed to the crime of lynching and will do anything in my power to eradicate lynching and eliminate mob violence."

There are some eighty counties in Mississippi and many additional signatures are expected from sheriffs in sympathy with the movement. These signatures were given in response to an appeal by the Mississippi Council of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. The letter which secured these pledges was addressed to the several sheriffs, with the statement that, "a host of citizens in eighty counties of our state are committed to the eradication of lynching and the elimination of mob violence." It congratulated the sheriffs upon the marked decline of lynching of recent years in Mississippi and expressed gratitude for the official vigilance which had brought about this improvement.

The council is a branch of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, which was founded in 1930 and now numbers more than ten thousand women in twelve southern states. The association is pledged to assist in reaching the goal of a lynchless South by giving its support to faithful officials and fostering a public opinion that will not tolerate mob violence. Its appeal to the sheriffs is one of the methods adopted to attain its aims.

The power of a faithful and courageous sheriff to prevent lynching has been demonstrated in more than one southern state, but the lamentable fact remains that such an official has seldom been supported by public opinion of the local community. He not only jeopardizes his life in defending a prisoner from the mob, but he loses his chance of retention in office or any future in local politics. If the proper sort of public sentiment could be created to support such officials as are faithful to their oath of office and preserve the peace of the community, lynching might soon be eradicated from American civilization.

The ten thousand southern women who have enrolled in the Association for the Prevention of Lynching deserve well of their countrymen.

Age 9-30-33 New York, N.Y.

THREE LYNCHINGS

Freddy Moore, plantation worker of Labadieville, La., the "first Negro come to hand," was lynched here the night of October 11 after having been jailed "for questioning" by the sheriff in the murder of a 15-year-old white girl, was hanged from a girder of a bridge after being taken quietly out of jail under circumstances directly implicating the sheriff and his aides.

A note was pinned to his clothing warning "all persons" against attacks on women. The murder in which he was arrested was of Louisiana Larose, white, whose body was found in a cane field. The coroner stated she had not been raped, but had been beaten to death. Moore was arrested as the first one handy on whom to pin blame for the crime. No evidence to connect any colored man with the crime existed.

Bennie Thompson was taken out of jail at Ninety-Six, S. C., October 8 by four white men, and lynched by being beaten to death with automobile tubes. He had been jailed on their complaint earlier in the evening, following an argument in a restaurant.

Burley Leppard, one of the four whites, in a statement to the coroners' jury, boasting of having led the lynch gang, and said: "We and the others had some trouble with the nigger at a cafe last night and he drew a pistol on us. The nigger was arrested and put in jail. Later the four of us went to the jail and asked the jailer to turn the nigger over to us. He refused, telling us we would have to see the chief. Chief of Police. Rush came in a few minutes later, and we made the same request to him. He told us to wait until dark and come back and we would find the jail unlocked. We went back to the jail a short time later and we found the door open and the lock hanging in the cell door pushed together as if it had been locked. We took the nigger out and drove him down the road in my car. All of us beat him with automobile top tubes and left him beside the road still alive."

Leppard said this was at 7:30 o'clock p. m. Just after 8 o'clock in the morning, the body, bearing many welts, was found in plain view of the highway by a colored lad.

Henry Jordan, 56 years old, farmer and church leader, of Clark's Mill, Ga. was lynched about Sept. 23, by Ed Streetman, bootlegger and self styled prohibition agent, and two assistants.

The gang came to Jordan's home at 3 o'clock in the morning and knocked. When he opened the door a flashlight was thrust in his face and at the same instant he was shot through the throat. The leader of the gang grabbed him while the assassin ran around and shot him a second time, in the back. While the murderers stood over him, and his mother, wife and children watched in helpless horror, Jordon with blood pouring out of his jugular vein, crawled out to the edge of the back porch, tumbled down the steps, and crawled to his well, hoping to stop the flow of blood with water. He died on the way.

Investigation proved that Ed Streetman's son had been reproved for disturbing a service a Sunday or two before at Jordan's church, the Pine Hill Baptist, where he was trying to sell liquor. Before any charges were placed against them, Streetman and his deputies had hired two lawyers, one of them the son of the Judge of the Superior Court, and had arranged that bond be made for them in a small amount by the lawyer's father. And this is civilization in the U. S. A., even under the New Deal of the N. R. A.!

And now comes the fourth.

The frequency of lynchings under this latest resurgence is shown by the circumstance that since we wrote this factual editorial comes another more barbarous lynching, in that little children were taken along to witness the brutal killing of a human being, made a part of the mob that stripped the hapless, untried man naked, in full view, and burned the body.

As the National Equal Rights League wired to President Roosevelt there is need that he marshall public opinin against this disgrace, and meet an emergency too grave to be ignored even for the industrial one.

Oct. 21-33

Governor Ritchie of Maryland, a one-time Democratic candidate for the Presidency, is held responsible for this last mob murder, because he allowed the prisoner to be taken back to Princess Anne from Baltimore, where he had been brought for safekeeping. The Governor in turns shifted his responsibility upon the local judge and state's attorney for Somerset county, who gave assurances that the prisoner would be protected. The twentyfive state police who were posted around the jail appear to have made some attempt to resist the mob, but were soon overpowered.

In accounting for repeated outbursts of the lynching spirit in this section of Maryland, it is pleaded that Snow Hill, Salisbury and Princess Anne are the county seats of three poor and sparsely populated counties at the extreme end of Maryland's Eastern Shore. Lynchings are apt to occur in just such backward areas of population, where the average mentality is low and a lynching is looked upon as a sort of Roman holiday, when all the population, men, women and children, turn out to witness and participate in the savageries. On this occasion all this happened, with the distribution of souvenirs, in the shape of pieces of the rope that tied the victim.

Maryland's shame is the shame of the whole country, which leaves Maryland to combat the lynching spirit, with a score of two completed lynchings out of five attempts in the past two years. Maryland may be an enlightened state in comparison with some of her sister states, but the people of the Eastern Shore do not seem to realize that lynching is murder, and that the curse of blood guiltiness hangs over the mob murderers and all those who condone their crime.

Age 10-28-33 New York

Lynchings-1933 Discussions.

Negro Press, Southern.

3920

MOB VIOLENCE AGAIN

Perhaps the greatest of national evils is group prejudice—the vile intensified kind that destroys all reason and feeds on the fat of hate.

Three Negroes spirited from the Tuscaloosa jail for safe keeping are intercepted by a mob and two are slain. The accused were awaiting trial and the circumstances point to the question of fear that the trial might have been at least orderly enough to bring out the facts. So far, the fact that I.L.D. counsel figured in the case is blamed as the inciting cause for violence.

As to what effect this would have on the guilt or innocence of the accused men, we are unable to discern except in terms of the blind prejudice which has been shown to be the basic cause of thousands of other crimes like this.

Birmingham Reporter

International Labor Defense counsel could not make them innocent if they were guilty nor would they have had a chance to escape their deserts with any circumstances pointing to their direct connection with the crime of which they were accused.

8-19-33

The facts published as related to the crime of which these men were accused comprise that they resided in the neighborhood where the body of their alleged victim was found. There may be other facts connecting them more directly with the crime but the matter of bringing them out belongs to the court. To prevent the court from performing its function in this style is the rankest type of prejudice as well as the most cowardly fear of knowing the truth. The effort at trial of one of the parties, Aug. 2 was graced with National Guardsmen, as reported, to protect the I.L.D. attorneys entering the case. The squabble over who should conduct the defense resulted in a continuance of the case. The most conclusive assumption of this is that prejudice against both the Negro and the International Labor Defense had reached such vile and uncurable state that justice under normal process was impossible.

Birmingham, Ala.

And now to infer that it would not have happened if the I.L.D. had not been injected into it is an excuse equally shameful and threadbare. The fact that it was found necessary to remove them to a place of safety gives the lie to that excuse and the further facts that the circumstances of the attempted removal, as explained in reports, were suspicious and without the authority of the court is an indictment against the good faith and veracity of those who would have the public believe that their intentions were not guided by prejudice.

We think that criminals should pay the penalty for their crimes. We think also that courts for establishing the guilt of offenders should not be impaired in their functions by prejudice of any kind. Experience and observation make us practically sure that there exists no chance of escape for a Negro whom the circumstances indict of a crime against white people. This makes the haste of summary punishment so much the more inexcusable and cowardly.

EDITORIAL FULL OF CLARITY

Tribune

Several times we have had occasion to mention the unlawful action of the lawless element in Alabama and excoriate them. It is gratifying to observe that despite the fact that this lawless class seems to control the state, there is an element of citizens just to the opposite, feeling the uncalled for deeds committed as keenly as we do. This is set forth in such a forceful manner by eleven prominent citizens of Birmingham in a statement published in the Birmingham News, August twenty-sixth, deploring the shooting of the three colored men taken from the custody of the Tuscaloosa deputies. These eleven white men represent an even larger element who think as they do and are equally as anxious for a complete observance of law and order in their state and elsewhere. The News was forced to make editorial mention of the statement and did so in a clarifying manner showing deep thought and touching the subject in a way never before presented by a southern newspaper. This proves a turning point of thought, and may be the means of inaugurating a line of action to touch those who think that it is so necessary to intimidate the colored man in order to maintain their supremacy of race. The editorial is here given:

8-?-33 Savannah, Ga.

The 11 prominent citizens of Birmingham who Thursday published a statement deploring "the injury done the cause of law and order" by the shooting of three Negroes taken from the custody of Tuscaloosa deputies are to be congratulated upon the clarity of their vision and their eagerness to place in full view the attitude of the right-minded citizens of Alabama.

This group of 11 men, representing as it does the ministry, industry, finance, the law, business and higher education, offers no revelation of a surprising state of mind. Citizens of the type composing this group for generations in the South have felt virtually the same way about racial problems. It is not that they have just this moment come to a sane attitude as the result of shocks produced by the recent outrages in our state.

At a polar extreme from the points of view held by the signers of Thursday's statement is the feeling, which also has been cherished for generations, held by quite another level of citizenship in Alabama, as well as throughout most of the South. It is this attitude toward the Negro which represents the kind of anarchy which now and then breaks forth around the lynching tree.

Before we can get very far in any constructive action toward bringing this outlaw element into harmony with the elements of civilization it is necessary that we face the nature of the philosophy which motivates them.

These people have been fed the wild medicine of "white supremacy" in such large doses and over such long period by loud political leaders that their original antagonism toward the Negro—which developed first during slavery days—has been fanned into a white heat at almost every popular election held in Alabama during the last twenty years. Should the final tabulations of guilt in the recent outrages ever be assembled, it probably will be found that the thoughtless politicians who have periodically stirred the deepest passions and most terrible hatred of some of our people ought to be credited with no little of the responsibility.

In Alabama, as elsewhere in the South, the will to lynch springs from the deep, black wells of philosophy that the Negro must be "controlled," and that the only way to achieve this end is through intimidation. Between the class of people represented by the signers of the Birmingham statement and the class of people who would glory in the deed so solemnly deplored, there exists a tremendous gulf, which has appeared to grow wider through the years as environment and inheritance on one side have become increasingly separated from environment and inheritance on the other.

Until this gulf is bridged through the extension of sympathetic intelligence, it will do little good for humanitarians in the South and in the North to cast the hot lightning of condemnation across the chasm. For the people who consider Alabama's recent lynchings as a victory for "white supremacy" have been accustomed to condemnations all these many years. They thrive upon condemnation; it strengthens the arm of their determination.

Like members of the communistic International Labor Defense, they have been suppressed by ill-fortune in an unfriendly world. When their smouldering coals of resentment are fanned by a favorable wind, they break into flame. They make a furious onslaught upon the vested interests of the world—demanding their "rights" with a vengeance.

Before we can ever be sure that these outbursts will not recur in Alabama, it will be necessary provide our people with a leadership of integrity, which will teach them that the Negro is not really their enemy, and that they may attain self respect in better ways than by a querulous insistence upon "white control." The indomitable passion and strength of will with which they have tried to maintain their present beliefs would be contributed by them to any cause pictured to them as worthy by a leader whom they respect.

It is, therefore, significant that those 11 strong men of Birmingham have asserted themselves. Let us hope that their action marks the beginning of a trustworthy leadership of racial attitudes in Alabama.

THE IMPOTENCE OF ALABAMA

(Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer)

Birmingham, Ala. 8-24-33

As the sun rose on Sunday morning in Alabama it fell brightly upon the riddled bodies of two dead Negroes, but the light that came with the morning sun disclosed not so much [illegible] [illegible]cation as the utter impotence of Alabama as a civilized state able to give justice to its citizens.

Men had said before that there was no justice in Alabama. Northern attorneys, who made the fight for the Negroes in the famous Scottsboro cases, said so in terms more violent than wise. Alabama denied the charge with passion, and there was the example of an Alabama jurist who set the Scottsboro verdict aside, as based upon unworthy and insufficient evidence, to show that there are men in the state who love and honor justice. Alabama said that Northern attorneys were not necessary in Alabama to secure justice for the least of its citizens. An Alabama mob stained that first promise by terrorizing attorneys who had come South to defend the Negroes who were lynched on Sunday morning there. Alabama was going to provide justice in an Alabama court with only Alabama attorneys on either side of

the bar. The state itself made the Maddox case a demonstration of its ability to provide absolute justice to Negro defendants. Yet in this very case a mob composed of only two autos of Alabama lynchers took the Negroes from deputies who were transferring them to another jail and lynched them.

So far as the reports go, the deputies fired not a shot at the white mob which took the Negroes from them. There is not the least evidence that their resistance was worthy of any men defending the dignity or the justice of a state. The deputies let the mob take the prisoners of the state of Alabama, and the sheriff, perhaps in an attempt to justify the compliance or cowardice of himself and his officers, lays the blame upon the Northern attorneys who undertook the defense of the Negroes in the courthouse.

Alabama showed its anger at the attacks upon its courts. It announced with the fury of an injured pride that Alabama could give justice to its own. Alabama was a proud state, a just state. It needed no aliens to help secure justice. Alabama would uphold Alabama justice.

And so when the sun came up in Alabama on Sunday morning Alabama was not only shamed by a lynching as other Southern states have been shamed, it was uncovered in its impotence, the empty loud impotence of a state which could clamor its justice but not defend it.

ALABAMA'S TEST

(From the Birmingham Post)

If the sheriff of Tuscaloosa county and the three deputies he named to escort Dan Pippin and A. T. Hardin to Birmingham had been courageous and alert in the discharge of their sworn duty, there would have been no lynching Aug. 13.

The three officers in charge of the Negroes deliberately drove up to the two cars filled with mob members and allowed their prisoners to be taken without firing a shot to defend them, as they were sworn to do.

Sheriff Shamblin remained quietly at home. In sending so small a guard, when he knew a "vigilance committee' had been in session, he issued an open invitation to mob violence. The limpid surrender of his men to a small mob must be exceedingly humiliating to other officers of the law in Alabama.

A mob is made up of cowards. Not many mobs will go through with a lynching unless circumstances are favorable for them to "get away with it."

Public opinion in the state is against lynching. Responsible citizens are trying to stamp out this barbarism. They are supported by many judges and law officers.

But, of course, the test here is whether the state of Alabama catches and convicts the lynchers and punishes the sherfif and his deputies for failure to defend the prisoners.

If the proper officers had been in charge, this stigma of mob violence would have been averted from the record of Tuscaloosa county and Alabama.

By punishing the guilty, Alabama can help in the solution of this nation-wide problem.

Despite the misinformation on the subject, lynching is not limited to the South, or to Negroes, or to alleged sex crimes. Last year two of the 10 lynchings were in the northern states of Kansas and Ohio, and two of the victims were white men. Of the alleged offenses—not proved but merely alleged offenses—of the mob victims, only one of the 10 was for attempted attack on a white woman.

The manner in which Attorney General Knight and Solicitor de Graffenreid handle the case can be gauged by the action of the grand jury, which reconvenes today.

Lynchings-1933 Discussions.

Negro Press, southern.

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NEGRO CITIZENS OF LYNCH TOWN A BIT SKEPTICAL

Probe Promised In Latest Texas Mob Orgy

KOUNTZE, Texas—Negro citizens of this prairie town took "with a grain of salt," over the week end assertions of county officials that the mob spirit had died out which flared anew last week and brought about mutilation of the body of David Gregory, 25, charged with assaulting and killing a white woman.

They had plenty of cause to be skeptical, for on Friday behind locked doors and windows, they had been treated to the spectacle of a frenzied and bloodthirsty mob estimated to number between 300 and 500 of the town's citizens, dragging the gunshot riddled body of Gregory behind an automobile for at least two hours.

As a last defiant gesture these same Negro citizens had seen the mobsters cut out their victim's heart and other organs, and throw the remains on a huge bonfire to complete the orgy. They knew that Gregory had been shot by a sheriff's posse while "resisting arrest" after he had barracided himself in a church belfry at Voth, a few miles from here.

Gregory, mortally wounded, was taken to a hospital at Beaumont but when officers received information that a mob was forming at Kountze and on its way to Beaumont, they took Gregory away in an automobile, it was said. Gregory is said to have died as the car sped on its way to Vidor, six miles out of Beaumont.

Body Dragged Behind Car

His body was seized from Sheriff Miles Jordan of Hardin County at Silsbee, tied to the rear of an automobile by the mad mobsters and dragged through the Negro section of Kountze for fully two hours as colored citizens watched terror-stricken from behind barricaded doors and windows.

When the lynchers had finished their gruesome task they threatened to raid the county jail and inflict similar treatment upon three men being held there on suspicion that they knew where Gregory was hiding and failed to inform the proper authorities. The mob is said to have abandoned the plan when the sheriff announced that he would shoot to kill if any attempt were made to seize the three men.

Jail Guarded

A heavy guard was placed around the jail and almost simultaneously Sheriff Jordan announced that he would free the suspects as soon as he thought it advisable. The suspects were advised to leave the vicinity, for a while, however. The "heavy guard" was said to consist of twenty sheriff's deputies, Texas rangers, and armed citizens.

Meanwhile an investigation will be launched, according to County Attorney B. A. Coe who asked that any person able to give information relative to the mob and its actions, get in touch with him.

Gregory was charged with attacking and killing Mrs. Mellie Williams Brockman, 30-year-old farmer's wife, who was found dead on a highway near here on December 2. The woman was found shot to death beside a truck which had been set on fire.

Why The Negro Condemns The Lynching Evil

The East Tennessee News

(By Dean Kelly Miller)

The Negro condemns lynching because he is the easiest and most usual victim of this atrocity. Cunning propagana has sought to fix upon him a propensity for the "Usual crime" swiftly followed by the usual penalty, all of which tends to impute to him an evil character and to blacken him in the eyes of the world. Whenever a Negro is lynched, the charge of rape is imputed although such heinous assault may had nothing to do with the cause. The person who feels the wound will be the loudest to utter the groan. In defending himself against the injustice of an evil reputation, the Negro is forced into the unfavorable light of seeming to defend murderers and rapists of his own race. The whole race rallies to the defense of the Scottsboro boys accused of rape and of Crawford accused of murder, not in defense of rapists or murderer, but of a deep seated belief that that race, and not crime may lie back of the punishment whether legally imposed or unlawfully inflicted. It is indeed unfortunate that the fate of the race must hinge on its defense of criminals, murderers and raptists. But unless those charged with such offense are guaranteed a fair trial, no Negro is certain of a fair trial in face of passion and prejudice.

The Public mind is now agitated over the recent outbreak of mob violence in Maryland, California and Missouri. The same press dispatches from these scenes of horror and outrage tell us of threatened mob violence against the senior Senator from Louisiana, widely known as the king fish. It will dismiss for the time being the Maryland and Missouri cases as involving the issue of race with all of its resultant passion and prejudice. Let us focus attention on the lynching and burning in California and Governor Rolph's condonation of mob action. The kidnaping and murder of an innocent youth in cold blood, and then after the atrocious act, demanding money ransom of the grief stricken parents sounds the depths of human depravity. When a sex craxed wretch, in hot blood, commits assault on woman, the heinous deed is at least understandable. But the cold blooded, calculated atrocity of the California kidnappers surpasses all human understanding. The dastardly crime met with swift and dire penalty. The mutillation, lynching and burning of a human body represents the climax of mob vengeance. Here, then, we have a clear-cut case. The imagination can go no further in either direction. The race issues does not figure in the equation.

Every right-minded Negro in America will condemn the California outrage with as great severity of denunciation as if the victim had belonged to his own race and blood. Should persons within the personal or relative circle of the victim lay violent hand on the throat of the culprit, I can not find it in my heart to condemn them. Vengeance is a species of mild justice, says Loyd Bacon. It is the natural reaction of injured human nature. But Civilization consists in restraint of natural passion and impulse. The law was instituted to hold all such outbreaks in restraint. The Governor of a state is its chief law enforcing officer. If the Governor yields to local and provincial passion and strikes hand with the lawless mob, anarchy is the inevitable end. Governor Richie of Maryland was confronted by issues as distressing as those which faced the California executive with the race element of boot, but he courageously vindicated the majesty of the law while Governor Rolph capitulated with the mob. Which of the twain will appeal to the sober, reflective judgment of the American people? Answer to this query will determine whether the nation shall be governed by law or ruled by anarchy.

The East Tennessee News

The Negro represents a helpless minority of the American people Minorities have no salvation or protection except that safeguarded by the law. Though all men should forsake the law, yet should not he, for it is his sole and only means of salvation.

One single significant act stands out in the life of President Calvin Coolidge. He stood firmly by the majesty of the law in face of the furry of the mob. This one act made him President. Unless I misunderstand the temper of the American people this timid surrender by Governor Rolph to the mob will be the cause of his political undoing.

Doubly dangerous and unfortunate is the stand of Governor Rolph at such a time as this. The murderer, the rapist, the kidnappers, the ganster are threatening the disruption of all social order. This nation must speedily destroy lawlessness or lawlessness will destroy the nation. You cannot cure crime with crime. The requirement of violence with violence is a remedy for nothing. Murder does not stop murder, lynching does not prevent rape, nor will lynching and burning prevent kidnapping. All good Americans ought to be all right minded Negroes must be—on the side of the law

REPORT ON ALA. LYNCHINGS SEEN AS WHITEWASH

Journal and Guide

I. L. D. Scores Southern Commission's Findings

12-23-33 Norfolk Va.

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn.—A complete whitewash of the local officials who committed the terrible and beastly lynching of three Negroes in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in September, is contained in the report on the Tuscaloosa lynchings by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, made at the request of Dr. W. W. Alexander, executive secretary of the Commission on Interracial Relations," the International Labor Defense charged this week.

"The peace officers of Tuscaloosa County have not performed their duty in safeguarding these prisoners," in the way in which the report deals with Deputies Murray Pate and Harvey Holeman, and with Sheriff R. L. Shamblin. The International Labor Defense claims to have "irrefutable evidence that the deputies, together with a private detective, shot down the Negro prisoners with their own hands, in accordance with a well-arranged plot approved and abet-

...ed by Sheriff Shamblin."

The commission in attempting to escape placing the real responsibility for the lynchings, "deliberately distorts the role of the I. L. D. whose representatives entered the case at the request of the defendants, and went into the lynch-infested county at the risk of their lives," the I. L. D. statement asserts further.

Scathing Criticism

The crowning piece of treachery of the commission on the study of Lynching, the I. L. D. says, is import, which says: "Immediate report, which says: "Immediately responsibility for this situation, and probably for the lynchings themselves, rests upon a local secret organizatiaion with an elaborate system of espionage and intimidation."

The commission "knows of such an organization; it has evidently accumulated some details on its membership and its methods; but it keeps the name and all detailed information about the organization secret! A group interested in wiping out lynching, and not in whitewashing the lynchers, would at once make such information public and demand the prosecution of the ring-leaders," is the reply of the I. L. D.

The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners will not stop its independent investigation of the Tuscaloosa lynch-murders, it was announced, nor will the National Committee keep secret the names of men and organizations that it finds guilty of lynching and lynch-incitement.

Inviting His Own Lynching

From The Independent

Mob law in America was given unbridled license when Governor James Rolph, Jr., of California, not only refused to call out the militia when a San Jose, Calif. mob battered in the jail doors in San Jose and took the kidnapers of Brooke Hart from their cells and lynched them in a public park to the cheers and jeers of the rabble, but who later congratulated the mob upon its barbaric work and promised the leaders immunity if arrested. It only remains now for the mob element in America, thus encouraged, to go into an executive mansion under provocation and take out a governor himself and lynch him. I fear we shall live to see this very thing happen in America.

The kidnapers and murderers of young Brooke Hart deserved the severest punishment society could inflict. There is no pity for them. But their punishment would have been much greater had they been sentenced to die by due process of law and legally executed. The weeks and weeks of publicity and suspense for the brutes would have been greater punishment for them and would have had a far more deterrent effect upon their criminally minded class.

Governor Rolph has done a brutal, a witless and a dangerous thing in condoning and applauding the San Jose lynching. In the tenseness of the present state of society in America he verily invites a halter for his own neck.

As a Federal Offense

As a result of the recent mob-law outrages in widely separated sections of the country it is probable that a law making lynching a Federal offense will be urged at the approaching session of Congress.

The enactment of such a law would be in line with the action of Congress in enacting a measure making kidnapping a Federal offense when that crime became so general in scope that it assumed the proportion of a national menace. The Federal activities made possible by this law have resulted in greatly reducing the kidnaping evil, the apprehension and conviction of most of the criminals responsible for the kidnapings of the past six or eight months, and the prospect that the evil will soon be exterminated.

Now that mob law is no longer a sectional evil, the most conspicuous examples of it recently being in States other than the South, it is not surprising that Congress should deal with the evil in the same manner in which it proceeded against the kidnaping menace.

There is no room in the United States for mob law under any conditions. If our civilization is to be protected, the punishment for crime must be left to the courts. There is no midway ground.

A law making lynching a national offense would undoubtedly have a strongly deterrent effect upon those inclined to place the authority of the mob above that of the courts.—Atlanta Constitution.

America's World Trade Suffers Because Of Lynch Evil and Mass Murders

By J. A. ROGERS

Recently there happened an international incident which, though given little space, had far-reaching implications.

When the Eastern Maryland and the San Jose lynchings occurred the European newspapers gave them front page publicity. In England one enterprising movie firm re-enacted the lynchings, and the driving of the Negroes from Eastern Maryland for their weekly news events.

All of this coming on top of the Scottsboro case, was bad advertisement for America, hence diplomatic wires were at once pulled and the picture was withdrawn.

The United States, of course, desires to be known abroad as the shepherd of democracy and the champion of human rights. At the League of Nations America has been assigned to the task of protecting the Jews made homeless by the big bad wolf, Hitler. James G. McDonald of New York, who has been appointed high commissioner on the Jewish refugee problem, and Dr. J. P. Chamberlain, the American delegate at the news of Negro refugees in America, were therefore, to say the least, placed in an embarrassing position. Indeed, the situation is strongly reminiscent of the fable of the shepherds and the wolf from Esop.

A wolf, says Esop, peering thru the wndow of a hut, saw to his great surrise, some shepherds devouring a roasted sheep, on which the wolf observed: Gentlemen, suppose you had ever caught me doing that?

J. A. ROGERS

The American mind, as regards the Negro reminds one of those shepherds. Under President Taft, for instance, while lynching in America was at its worst, the United States broke off trade and diplomatic relations with the bad wolf Russia because the Jews were being lynched in that land. The same attitude has been true since.

Happily for the Negro, however, color atrocities are viewed abroad as atrocities abroad are viewed here. Outside of the United States lynching is regarded as what President Roosevelt has just said it is: mass murder. Now among all peoples the murderer is abhorred because he gives us all a feeling of unsafety. The plain inference abroad is, that the country in which these mass murders are permitted lack law and order for while we at home think of the Maryland or San Francisco as the guilty locality, those in other lands think of it as America. The result is that American business and prestige suffers.

At present there is great commercial rivalry among the nations, and since, as was said, the murderer is universally abhorred, America's business rivals abroad play up these lynchings, just as the North although she had little or no love for the Negro, played up the injustices of slavery in the South to stir public opinion against the latter during the Civil War. The agitation waged by the North against the South finally won over even England, who was dependent on Southern cotton. Frederick Douglass and others so stirred the English masses that the Englist capitalists were forced to yield and the sentiment which had been with the South swung to the cause of the North, aiding her considerably. Human nature is the same today, and when it is properly advertised that such an such a nation is an oppressor, people will no more want to deal with her than you, yourself will with people of bad reputation.

Further, Communists and others in increasing numbers are smashing the windows of consulates and making the lives of consular officials unsafe because of these atrocities against the workers. More than one American consulate abroad has to be guarded since the Scottsboro case.

Again, the Americans, like the brave knights of old, love to fare forth over the world correcting the wrongs of the oppressed and even of the animals. Atrocities at home cramp the stple of these chivalrous folk abroad. For instance, when the Americans in Spain tried to stop bull-fighting in that land they were promptly told by the Spaniards to stop lynching in their own country first.

This washing of one's dirty linen abroad is as old as humanity. And it is very effective, too. Just as few of us will correct our ways until reproved by outsiders so nations need outside reproof and scorn to wake them up to injustice at home.

In 1927 after visiting the League of Nations I called attention to the fact that almost every minority group in the world, save the Aframericans, had a lobby there to bring their wrongs before the bar of public opinion. And the Aframerican needs a delegation there more than any other because white Americans abroad to counteract the horror against the lynching and the burning alive of other Americans, explain that the Negro is a rapist of white women. Nothing is ever said about the hundreds of Negro women that have been lynched.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

Negro Press, Southern.

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Watchman, What Of the Night?

The evening papers Tuesday furnished a sad picture. In San Jose, California, and Salisbury, Maryland, mobs, according to the dispatches, are pounding down white civilization. The picture we gazed upon at the supper table was particularly distressing. It was a portrayal of the human fiends, filled with whiskey, and gathered from the scum of San Jose night-life, plunging through the darkness against the beseiged jail doors. Debris and confusion lay all about them. In the ruin observed in the picture we could not help but think of the Bastile and St. Bartholomew's Night.

Black Dispatch

By the open confession of the leader of that San Jose mob the degenerates who defied orderly processes and took the law in their own hands, were mostly recruited from the ranks of drink crazed humanity, and yet we have it from the lips of a political buffoon, Governor Rolph, that this expedition into the realm of violence furnishes a fine lesson for the American people.

12-2-33

In Salisbury, Maryland, we see another picture. Thousands of citizens turn out to defy constituted authority when officers arrive on the scene to arrest the alleged murderers of a half-wit Negro, and in another picture Wednesday morning we find 7,000 Missourians turning out to lynch a black man who may or may not have been guilty of commiting crime.

Oklahoma City, Okla.

The wild thought which rushes through asks the question: "Is this nation dashing towards revolution?" This sudden hysteria portends an impending crisis. American people are inclined to assume that nothing can tear out the strong fiber of our present institutions, and so thought the men and women of every bygone age who on occasions set aside order, and attempted to make decisions in an atmosphere of chaos.

Civilization at best is but a thin veneer which separates men from savagery, and when men like Governor Rolph openly say to citizens that they can with perfect impunity set aside law and order, such men are playing with the dynamite which has destroyed every previous civilization.

Every thinking white and black man in America ought to be alert to fight against this seemingly widespread belief that we should abandon constitutional government. We believe that President Roosevelt sensed the unusual condition of the public mind, when in haste, he rushed to the fore in the past week with his public works program. Many unthinking people who do not read between lines, and who never look through current happenings, do not realize that in the background of the fervid haste exercised by the federal government to put idle millions to work, lurks the knowledge that open revolt is eminent. Hunger and destitution which has walked the highways of America for the past three years, is about to concentrate on something. What is that something and where will be your coveted street address and where will our sheltered homes, schools and churches land in this crashing of the social structure?

Get this clearly in your mind. There is more than color of race in this open mass defiance against constituted authority. The nation is on its nerves. In the farm area there is unrest. In the industrial centers agitators preach the doctrine of destruction from every corner, and into the forum of confusion boldly marches Governor Rolph to glorify atrocious murderers and proclaim amnesty within his commonwealth for those who may be sounding the death knell to all we hold dear.

OUR PRESIDENT!

The East Tennessee News
12-7-33
Knoxville, Tenn.

As news of the attitude of President Franklin Roosevelt toward the savage practice of lynching gained circulation, following his emphatic denunciation of the evil, in a speech delivered before the Federal Council of Churches on Wednesday, citizens of the United States who have the interest of the country at heart are further inclined to refer to the great and noble leader as OUR PRESIDENT.

President Roosevelt minced no words as he properly branded the cowardly and nefarious practice of lynching as murder and his fearless expression toward this growing menace that is gnawing at the very vitals of our government and civilization should go far toward hastening the adoption of Federal legislation imbedded with sufficient teeth that will serve to put a stop to mobocracy.

The name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt will go down in history as one of the greatest leaders ever elevated to the high and important office of president. His name will be registered along side of those of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt. The fearless advocacy of right and justice as characterized the many acts of the late President "Teddy" Roosevelt, is exhibited in every cause espoused by our present popular chief executive.

The determined stand for right as exhibited by President Roosevelt on Wednesday, as he branded lynchers as murderers and denounced the condonation of lawlessness as was engaged in by Governor Rolph, of California, as well as the wise administration of the affairs of our national government that serves to bring us out of the economic chaos in a most rapid manner, will go far toward obliterating party lines in our country. It is very noticeable to thoughtful observers that President Roosevelt is the first of our presidents since the administration of Abraham Lincoln, to come out in such unqualified condemnation of an evil so threatening to our civilization as the lynch practice. No other Democrat, Republican or Whig has been so outspoken and the only presidential act comparable to that of President Roosevelt, at Washington on Wednesday was the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation by President Abraham Lincoln. It does appear now that the great debt which the Republican party has contended over these many years the Negro racial group owed them because of the freeing of slaves by the presidential proclamation, has been paid, in view of the Negro race's support and loyalty to the party for more than a half century. As such a noble and good leader as President Franklin Roosevelt comes on the scene of action with an announcement that he is opposed to the unChristian-like and savage practice of lynching, the major sufferers of which have been Negroes, members of that race can well afford to consider they owe to our present chief executive, at least a debt of gratitude that should be paid by loyal support from now on. Anyway, it is very noticeable that former presidents barely mentioned the evil of lynching, even in their messages to Congress, say nothing of an open and frank denunciation of the evil as was employed by our president on Wednesday. Such is true notwithstanding the fact Negroes and their friends prevailed with and petitioned almost every president since the savagery of the mob became so evident, to recommend to our national law making bodies the adoption of legislation that would wipe out the evil.

Certainly President Roosevelt's action goes far in offering solace to the Negroes of the United States who had about reached the stage of believing that their lives and property could not be protected from the mob and that lawlessness and injustices toward their race could continue even with the silent condonation of the highest of our officials.

The East Tennessee News
12-7-33
Knoxville, Tenn.

Law and Order Abdicate

Led by Governor Rolph of California, the mob has caused law and order to abdicate in America. Note the following victories for the mob in the space of one short week:

The California Governor praises lynchers in his State for defying the law he is sworn to uphold and defend.

Three hundred National Guardsmen retreat from Princess Anne., Md., to Baltimore before the onslaught of a Maryland mob, while civil authorities make haste to release the four lynchers in the custody of the soldiers, in order to appease the ire of the mob which threatened to lynch the Governor who dispatched the troops to make the arrest.

A Missouri mob storms a jail, defies soldiers, puts a military tank out of commission and lynches a 19-year-old Negro.

Heywood Patterson condemned to death for the third time by a jim crow court at Decatur, Ala., upon the testimony of white hoboes, confessed purjurers, jail birds and a scarlet woman.

What a sorry spectacle this country presents to the world she is wont to lecture to so often on law and order. Mind you, this is the same America which refused to recognize the Soviet Union for 17 years upon the pretext that the government could not guarantee law and order. And the more, she is still withholding recognition from the government in Cuba for the same reason.

THE BLOODTHIRSTY MOB

In many instances it is not merely the desire for punishment of a criminal which prompts the activities of the mob. It is too often the thirst for blood of some Negro, just any Negro.

Down in Louisiana a week or so ago a crime was committed or supposed to have been committed. It was alleged that a Negro by the name of "Norman" had done the deed. So the first Negro that the mob found with the name of "Norman" they strung up to a tree and were about to riddle him with bullets when a white friend appeared and told the mob that they had the wrong "Norman." Promptly the mob went and got another "Norman" and lynched him.

The "Norman" who escaped went to New Orleans for treatment of his wounds, and told newspaper men that he knew the members of the mob and that the sheriff and officials of the parish were the folks who came and got him. Just as promptly the grand jury said that another mistake had been made, the wrong "Norman" had been lynched, and so they indicted the "Lucky Norman" and ordered him held by the New Orleans authorities.

Not only is the mob bloodthirsty; it also is determined that it shall have its blood without interference and without being exposed.

THE GREAT OPPORTUNITY

The opportunity of the Southern pulpit is the greatest of all on the face of the western continent. It is the opportunity to save America from the incurable cancer of its own sins. As medicine men and scientists have searched for the cure of cancer without avail, so have moralists searched for the cure for lynching with negligible results. The application of various types of palliatives and nostrums reflect only the knowledge of the existing evil and express the existence of fear of the ultimate results. Cancer is incurable so far as science yet has proven in a practical way. It is caused by an organism not yet satisfactorily isolated and identified and this assumption is the major guess that has resulted from a thousand years of research. What we say of cancer we may also say of leprosy and it may be found to be easily and wholly true of lynching in the moral and social respects comparable to the physical effects of these diseases. But there is one notable difference in favor of cancer as compared with lynching and this difference is based on the doubt of its aptitude for contagion.

All permanent cures embrace a destruction of the causes out of which diseases grow and moral leprosy is so much worse than physical because its contact sare so much broader, more subtle and much more difficult to control.

Dr. H. M. Edmonds of the Independent Presbyterian Church brought the most lucid analysis of the lynch evil to his congregation Sunday, October 8th, in a sermon on the "Cost of Lynching." The facts illustrating the discourse were taken from the "Tragedy of Lynching" which is the report of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching and makes an unanswerable argument in favor of the application of effective remedies.

The sermon of Dr. Edmonds, printed in Monday's Age-Herald, may be regarded as a challenge to the Christian church of the South. The last sentence of the discourse is doubly significant in that it is conclusive and points to the best possible remedy; and one that could not fail.

It says: "If the dominant people of Alabama should say **this morning** and **mean it,** 'The Negro being a person shall not be misused,' mob rule would stop in an hour." We say amen to this and add there lies the opportunity of the Southern white pulpit to free America from the contagion of its lepers or the inroads of its cancer.

Dr. Edmonds has struck boldly into a field of national usefulness where a following may require a type of unusual courage in men. There is no other peaceful and bloodless way in which this thing appears to be possible.

Lynching exists because Southern Christian leadership condones it, and it will stop when the Southern white pulpit tells the Southern white man the truth of it, the awfulness of it, the unfairness of it, the cowardice of it, the cost of it, the shame of it and the ultimate inevitable results of it. It cannot continue always any more than the persecution of the Christians, the Spanish inquisition, the burning of witches and the cruelties of slavery. Mass injustice is always reactionary on the nation that commits it; it forms the blood spots of history. Under the searchlight of modern philosophy these spots are revealed as pus blown sores, the scabs of which will mark each pus pitted locality with own niggardly shameful blemishes.

The opportunity of the Southern white pulpit is clearly indicated by this brave good man, Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, a Southerner born, educated and fitted by virtues and proven courage to lead the way.

There is the opportunity of the Southern white pulpit, the opportunity to wield the one effective weapon, the weapon of truth; to apply the one effective remedy, a meaningful stand for moral and social, human justice, an opportunity the responsibility of which can not be evaded even under the threat of ostracism. If the white Southern pulpit desists from preaching the truth for fear of ostracism it neglects the meaning of the insignia under which it fights and takes liberties with orders of the Master whose service was noted as much by the calumny of the opposition as by the glory of its good.

No other agency than the Southern white pulpit can wield this weapon as effectively and no other agency should have the credit for doing this thing.

If it is ever done without its initiative, the disgrace for spurning its largest opportunity will constitute a stain different from that of sanctioning of the burning of witches only in the advantage that 500 years of Anglo Saxon culture gives to the crimes of its time.. We wonder if it does not also cost the South its self-respect.

Lynchings-1933

Negro Press, Southern.

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Discussions.

A BISHOP CALLS A SPADE A SPADE!

The Palmetto Leader

The State of Tuesday, July 18, carried a communication from Bishop Noah W. Williams of the A. M. E. Church in South Carolina. The letter, we think, should serve as a splendid editorial. It follows:

Columbia, South Carolina

"To the Presiding Elder of the Piedmont Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Brethren:

7-22-33

This comes to inform you that because of the horrible lynching of Norris Dendy, as published by the daily papers of July 5, after he had been taken from the jail in Clinton, S. C., by four men; I am decided not to hold the session of the Piedmont Annual Conference in the city of Clinton November 29.

"Even though lynchings have occured in many many other cities I feel that this way our church should express its deep disgust at a situation like this, where the officers of the law are either too weak or too much in sympathy with the mob spirit to prevent four men from taking a prisoner from them and lynching him.

"The action of his honor, Governor Blackwood in ordering an investigation into this horrible affair is very encouraging and commendable. And too you will find the very best white people in South Carolina frowning on such a vicious spirit.

"The Piedmont Conference is hereby moved from Clinton to the city of Greenwood, to be entertained by the Rev. M. G. Williams and his faithful members, November 29."

The action of Bishop Williams in this matter stamps him as fit timber for leadership in the Church founded by the courageous and intrepid Richard Allen. While others have tried to white wash South Carolina by calling Dendy's killing murder, Bishop Williams calls it what it actually is a lynching. We are glad that the State printed the bishop's letter. This writer sent, a letter to the Columbia Record protesting its editorial attempt at saving the state from the stigma that attaches a lynching by calling the homicide plain murder. The letter was not published, and the Columbia Record has not, at the time of this writing, carried its forum column since it was sent, and that has been quite two weeks ago. It does not seem that a deal of progress is being made in the investigation. A spade in spade and a lynching is a murder but a lynching nevertheless. That four men stuff is laughable. It does not seem that responsible news agencies should print such obvious tommy rot.

"CORPSE" LYNCHED BY N. C. MOB TURNS OUT QUITE ALIVE MAN; LYNCH TOLL MOUNTS IN SOUTH

Journal and Guide

9-2-33

Norfolk, Va.

(Editorial, Page 6)

A revival of the lynching menace during the past few days has sent the year's total of deaths and near-deaths at the hands of mobbists to alarming heights.

The most revolting exhibition by a rope-and-faggot gang was in North Carolina, where a mob of whites lynched a "corpse" (according to early reports) who was in reality only wounded but not killed by a sheriff's posse which captured him before the mob of several hundred went into action. The coroner was present at the wounding of the victim and when the lynchers took him, but he nor the coroner's jury which he called could identify a single lyncher. er.

In Decatur, Ala., where they said there was no danger to the Scottsboro boys who were brought there for their second trial last spring, mobs sought several times to lynch one prisoner accused of attacking a white woman. Also in Decatur an 18-year-old colored boy was shot down as he stood on the sidewalk with companions by "a person or persons unknown" who rode by in an automobile.

Reign of Terror

That the Alabama reign of terror, which recently claimed two lynching victims, has definitely flared up in the second Scottsboro trial town of Decatur, is further evidenced by the fact that six shots were fired into the Magnolia Drug Store owned there by Dr. A. A. Sheffy, well-known Decatur citizen.

Meanwhile, no definite date has been set for the third Scottsboro trial of Haywood Patterson, one of nine Scottsboro case youths, already sentenced to death twice, or the second trials of the other eight. Attorney General Thomas E. Knight, Jr., wants the trial in September; Judge James E. Horton has indicated it will be in October.

Journal and Guide

Twenty Mississippi sheriffs have signed and placed on record statements pledging themselves to oppose lynchings, in response to an appeal from the Mississippi Council of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. There are eighty county sheriffs in the state.

9-2-33

Demand Federal Action

A mounting wave of sentiment demanding action by the Federal government against lynchers, in the same fashion it is seeking to curb kidnapers, is sweeping the country.

A typical statement in one daily paper is that "The Federal government will override 'states rights' in dealing with kidnapers and gangsters, but states will still have the right to allow their colored citizens to be lynched, without interference from the Federal government, which is sworn to protect the constitutional rights of all Americans."

Asks Federal Action Against Mobs

Dr. Raymond Moley, member of Persident Roosevelt's "brain trust" who is studying ways and means for the Federal government to check crime, especially kidnaping, has been asked by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to study also Federal action against lynching, mob violence, and peonage.

"There is another manifestation of lawlessness," the letter said, "which is more savage than kidnaping and which has been prevalent in this country on a much wider scale. We refer to lynching. If the federal government can take cognizance of the crime of kidnaping and place a federal curb upon it, it certainly should be able to devise federal laws to curb lynching."

More Lynchings Reported

The International Labor Defense reports from New York that Henry Jackson chain gang victim, was shot down by a sheriff's posse in Pine Bluff Ark., on the excuse that he "tried to run" as the posse closed in on him. Jackson was suspected of an attack on a prison farm guard at Cummins, who had insulted and struck him. He was traced by bloodhounds, and was caught as he had tied the fourth one up after making friends with the dogs.

Joe Solde, tenant farmer, was lynched at Selma, Ala., on August 10, the I. L. D. also reports it has just learned, in spite of efforts to cover up the crime by authorities. Solde was accused of stealing a cow by his white landlord who sought to drive him off a piece of leased land.

The I. L. D. lists Solde's death as the 24th lynching of the year.

WAVE OF LYNCHINGS IN SOUTH

Lynchings in Tuscaloosa, Decatur, Selma, Ala., and Pine Bluff Ark., within the past two weeks are connected by International Labor Defense representatives with the entire "program of terror against Negro and white small farmers, tenants, croppers, and industrial workers, under the Roosevelt cotton plow-under program and the drive against living standards under the National Recovery Act."

While lynchings and attempted lynchings were reported from Tuscaloosa and Decatur, and grand juries are being called and recessed in fake "investigations" and in, Decatur, to railroad "rape" indictment against a Negro who narrowly escaped lynching, other lynchings are reported this week from Selma, a city of combined agrarian and industrial interests, with a population three-quarters Negro, from Pine Bluff, Ark., and from Burgaw, N. C.

These lynchings are also closely connected with the preparations being made for lynching the Scottsboro boys, the I. L. D. says.

"Can't Interfere," Cummings

The statement that the Federal government "cannot very well" interfere with lynch law in Alabama and other Southern states was the answer given by U. S. Attorney General H. S. Cummings, and his Assistant Atty. General Stanley to a delegation of Negro and white lawyers who called on them late Thursday, August 24, to demand federal arrest and prosecution of the lynchers in Tuscaloosa, Ala.

The interview was granted after considerable stalling on the part of the Attorney General's office. Stanley is a Southerner. Cummings is a Northerner. The delegates quoted from the Federal criminal code a section which makes the Federal government responsible for interfering in just such situations as that now existing chiefly in Alabama, and presented a memorandum of law showing that the government was, under this law, obligated to step in immediately.

Tuscaloosa Grand Jury

News comes from Tuscaloosa that after announcing a recess until September 4, the grand jury supposed to be investigating the lynching on August 13 of Dan Pippen, Jr. and A. T. Harden, prisoners, reconvened on Monday, August 21, and immediately recessed again until September 5.

The I. L. D. says the meeting Monday of last week was called by Judge Henry B. Foster, whom it charges with direct responsibility through his statements, actions, and negligence for the lynchings of the two youths, as a counter-action to offset the effect of the jury's cynical gesture of even pretense of investigation for seventeen days.

It was a Negro doctor, B. B. Mitchell, who turned Elmore Clarke, accidental survivor of the Tuscaloosa lynching bee, over to Sheriff Shamblin a second time, it was learned through the I. L. D. The governor has ordered Clarke to Kilby Prison Hospital until he recovers from his wounds.

North Carolina Lynching

The North Carolina lynching victim was Doc Johnson, 45, a farmer, who shot a white woman and a deputy sheriff on August 27 and was then wounded ("slain" first reports said) after a three-hour gun battle with officers. His name has also been given as Ode Johnson and Doc Rogers.

He was dragged about the lawn of the Pender County courthouse at Burgaw. Finally the bullet-riddled body was given over to an undertaking establishment by a crowd of men and boys.

After Johnson had been shot by the officers, several hundred armed white citizens met officers bringing the prisoner to Burgaw. They took the man, placed him in the road, and fired scores of bullets into him. then his mutilated body was exhibited in a horrible display of fiendish cruelty.

Reason For Trouble

Johnson was "killed," ten miles north of Burgaw by the posse, officers said, as a result of his drunken insistence that he eat breakfast with a white family. Mrs. Tom Piner, 60, wife of a farmer, and R. T. Murray, Jr., deputy sheriff of Pender County, were the two white persons felled allegedly by Johnson's gun. Mrs. Piner was wounded seriously. It was at her home where Johnson got in trouble.

Johnson then made his stand against officers for three hours, first in his barricaded home and then in a cornfield when his house was burned. White papers at first said death ended his desperate battle, a score of officers' bullets in his body, but later developments prove he was still alive when the mog took him.

North Carolinians were hoping to get away with the "dead man" tale as this would have made listing a lynching against the state difficult. They thought lynching a corpse was the worst could be said against them.

Neither of the leading Raleigh and Greensboro daily papers carried stories Monday on the lynching, although out of town dailies did carry the Associated Press release. The News and Observer of Raleigh and the Greensboro Daily News have since written editorials deploring the mob action.

Troops Guard Prisoners

Once more Decatur, the Alabama town which got international attention when it became the scene of the Scottsboro trial, ic "host" to national guardsmen.

With the Decatur courthouse surrounded by soldiers, Tom Brown, on whose life mobs made three attemps, pleaded not guilty to attacking a white women when arraigned late Monday. His trial was set for September 4.

He was brought here from Huntsville within two hours after the true bill charging with the attacking Mrs. George Dugger, mother of seven small children, had been returned by the grand jury. His counsel was appointed by the court.

After arraignment and a conference with his attorney, Brown was returned to Huntsville by Sheriff Ben Giles of Madison County and an es-

port of soldiers. When he was brought here with with a guard of fifty soldiers, 80 more troopers joined the unit at Athens, near Decatur.

100 Soldiers on Guard

Meanwhile, a detachment of twenty guardsmen had been mobilized in Hartselle and moved to Decatur, making a total of 100 on duty during the arraingment of Brown.

After indicting Brown the grand jury resumed its investigation of the slaying of James Royal, 18, who was shot down on the street by persons in a passing automobile during disorders following Brown's arrest.

Judge Horton, who presided at Haywood Patterson's Scottsboro trial in Decatur, later reversing the verdict of the pury which found him guilty, charged the grand jury to make a "full and impartial investigation of both crimes."

So far, however, no indictment had been returned against the killers of the Negro victim—Royal—at last reports. Three Negro companions were held as material witnesses. They were Frank Brawley, Otis Webb and James Eddie.

The mobs which sought to lynch Brown went to Huntsville when they learned he had been taken from Decatur for safety. Twice in Huntsville they were unsuccessful in their attempt. In Decatur, they were permitted to search the rickety jail in which the Scottsboro boys had been kept.

ANTI-LYNCH CONFERENCE PLANNED FOR NORFOLK

Planet

Norfolk, Va.—Preparations are under way here for a local anti-lynch conference in the Tidewater section to be held October 29, under the name of the United Front Tidewater Conference.

10-14-33

Calls have been sent out to Negro and white organizations who are invited to send one or two delegates. A similar conference held in Birmingham in August was widely attended by representatives of many organizations, and adopted a program calling for the holding of many conferences throughout the country to prepare for an All-Southern Anti-lynch conference.

Richmond Va.

Among those sponsoring the call to the conference are W. L. Davis, attorney; A. Wright of the International Labor Defense; Joe Benson of the Unemployed Council; Dr. S. R. Coppage, Rt. G. L. Page, attorney; Miss Fannie L. Spratley, L. A. Howard, attorney; Rev. R. D. K. Garrett, Rev. Jarvis, Rev. John A. Hunter and Dr. C. H. Askiss

Defending The Mob

Arthur Brisbane, the $250,000 gold nugget of William Randolph Hearst, in his column, "Today," aroused one of the Black Dispatch readers at Boley, on the 23rd, in his discussion of the Princess Anne lynching party. The choice morsel of provocation in the article seems to have been the assertion of Brisbane, that

Black Dispatch

> "The latest lynching . . . arouses sympathy, not so much with the victim . . . as with the mob."

Deleted of reservations, this is in effect what Mr. Brisbane has to say and while our Boley correspondent flies into convulsions over that frank statement, we are inclined to agree with Mr. Brisbane.

10-28-33

In assuming this view, just as does the author of "Today," we forget the physical and deal only with the moral and spiritual. To the white man who reasons and thinks of the future, it ought to be an awful revelation to know that the frightful psychology and race complex as exposed in the Princess Anne orgy, points towards the development of a white race of demons. There is nothing lovely in the picture for the white man who thinks, when he reflects on the degeneracy of nature, and the drift towards the moral deterioration. He knows that such a trend sweeps towards racial suicide. Measured by such a standard we wonder whether there should not be more sympathy extended to the mob than to its victim.

Oklahoma City

While we agree with Mr. Brisbane in this viewpoint, we fail to concur in his second thought when he says:

Okla.

> "There is consolation in the knowledge that a mob's actions do not accurately represent the character of individuals that make up the mob. Members of a mob are as different from their ordinary selves as dogs hunting in a pack from an individual dog by the fireside. You realize it when you read, also from the Associated Press dispatch: 'The mob members seemed crazed, continually leaping on the Negro, even after he fell to the ground and was unable to rise.'
>
> "The late Professor Shaler of Harvard, in his book, 'The Mob,' declares that under sufficient provocation even a group of clergymen might be transformed into a lynching mob.
>
> "Those that tortured, hanged and burned that Negro are to be considered as a mob only, not as representing any race or section. The world saw such mobs, on a bigger scale, during the World war."

If Mr. Brisbane can find a line of cleavage separating the mob from his race and moral behaviorism, such as indicated above, our vision fails us. The mob at Princess Anne was composed of Nordic citizens, reared in white homes, by white mothers who, if the dispatches correctly report, attended the Roman holiday with their sons. Christ did not need to die on Calvary for the remission of sins, if we understand Mr. Brisbane correctly; all that humanity needs to do is to lie, steal, murder, and break all of the ten commandments. Redemption will come through Mr. Brisbane later designating such people as a mob, which casterates them of racial identity and moral responsibility.

The American Nazi

It was not merely resentment at an unspeakable crime which was responsible for the fiendish lynching in Princess Anne, Md. The more, it was an outburst of racial hatred barely excelled in this country, not excepting those hinterlands of barbarism known as Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and Georgia.

Planet

The "Free State" began her preparation for Christmas of 1931, when early in December she gave an exhibition of her interpretation of the song of the angels with a cannibal dance around the murdered body of Matthew Williams. This year she has raised her own bid in spades and clots of blood, bits of bruised human flesh and fragments of the lynchers' rope decorate her stone card.

10-21-33

Richmond Va.

Let Negroes in America become disillusioned. Anti-lynching conferences, resolutions, interracial commissions, new deals and all the like are simply soothing syrups to cushion the effect of the white man's hate which is already rampant in this country and becoming more intense and widespread.

The American Nazi is in the ascendancy and on the march. This is night for 12,000,000 persecuted, oppressed, hated and reviled black Americans.

Weekly Review

By ROBT. DURR

Lynching—There is only one way to stop lynching—start educating the white youth in the white schools with something besides hatred and prejudice. And further this education through white churches. For regardless to what you say the majority of white folk still believe the only way to handle Negroes is to lynch one every time some woman yells rape. And what is most the women to do when caught to save her face, but yell rape—what is the white man to do to save the face of his race but gather together a bunch of cowards and lynch some unarmed Negro to hush up the matter. You would be surprised to know the number of Negroes who have been led on to their death by some low woman who sold her body willingly and who yelled rape when about to be caught by some white person.

8-29-33

Birmingham Ala.

White educators and ministers are more responsible for the race hatred that exist here in the south than anything else, except the Tom Heflin, Jim Vardaman and Tom Watson type of politician—who were mis-educated and who were as poison as a rattlesnake. Any time you hear a white man use the word "boy" or "Darky" in referring to Negroes, you have before you a white man who is ripe for any crime against a Negro.

The Birmingham Age-Herald and News have done some somersault editorializing of late, for and against the things that make for lynching—and how it hopes to aid some time professed opposition to lynchng—and how it hopes to aid the cause against lynching by insulting its thousands of Negro readers by referring to them as darkies is beyond comprehension. Such organs certainly play their part in mis-educating the public, and all of it will come back to all the people of the state in the form of more and more lynchings, inability to borrow money to pay its debts to pay its school teachers and preachers.

I do not condone lynching. I do not condone crime or rape. Rape should be punished to the fullest extent of the law barring capital punishment. But I shall not have the proper amount of respect for the white man's law until he is just as zealous in mobbing white men who rape Negro women as he is against Negroes who are charged with attacking white women.

95 per cent of the women who yell rape are liars. There are all colors and kinds of Negro women—they walk all sorts of streets at night and day and I have no memory of a Negro having raped a Negro woman which goes to show that there is a "pecker wood" in the wood pile some where.

I suggest that every time a crime of this sort comes up, a national detective agency be employed to ferret out the facts and report at the trial. Of course this would be too bad for it would reveal that fifty per cent or more of these rape farces would prove mutual love affair's and 75 per cent of the lynching done by the very folk sworn to prevent them.

This stuff about a full and rigid investigation after a lynching happens is pure bunk. How in the name of thunder would a grand jury of lynchers return a bill upon which a conviction could be secured?

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

Negro Press (Southern)

3924

Other Editors Say

Richmond Planet 7-15-33
Richmond, Va.

The Lynching in South Carolina

I observed in the papers of a few days ago that four white men at Clinton, S. C., broke into a jail and murdered a Negro, held in that jail on a charge of assault and battery. The murder was committed with atrocious brutality, and should shame even a State as callous to such occurrences as South Carolina.

The United States exceeds in the number of its murders all other countries, whether they be what is known as civilized or not. The most murderous part of this most murderous nation is the Southern States. I imagine that South Carolina is about the center of the murder belt.

A certain low-caste Southern white man is the most murderous-minded of all the tribes of men. The better element of Southern society cannot entirely avoid blame for this stigma which rests on the South. Any offense, however trivial, affords an excuse for the uncivilized Southern white to murder a Negro.

The community is not sufficiently outraged by such affairs. There should be a relentless pursuit of all such scoundrels and their prompt trial, conviction and execution.

South Carolina has a proud aristocracy and a fine tradition. The South Carolina gentleman has no hand in these atrocities. But that is not enough. He should assert his moral leadership. The introduction of universal suffrage in the South has divested the better element of the population of the political importance which it once enjoyed. Common blaterskites by dint of superior numbers have seized the reins of government, and pride, dignity and high ideals have very largely departed—Thomas Lomax Hunter in the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

WHAT OF THE CLINTON LYNCHING GOVERNOR

More than three months have passed since Norris Dendy was foully and brutally lynched by a gang of as cowardly men as can masquerade as humans. In this particular murder, not even those who pass up such with the excuse that the victim was guilty of a crime that causes men's blood to boil can justify it.

Decent citizens as well as newspapers have deplored this excuseless mob murder. To investigate the killing of this man, the Governor assigned two of his most astute detectives—men who usually get results when they get on a case. So far however not one thing has been done. It certainly cannot be because these able detectives have not found out anything for some of the actors are known, have been known ever since the lynching. Is the Lowman fiasco to be repeated?

The Columbia Record in a recent editorial commenting on a lynching in another state said:

"At Opelousas, La., John White, a young Negro charged with an attempt attack on a white woman, was taken from a deputy sheriff and lynched. It will supply the Northern advocates of a federal anti lynching law with another argument."

But will not this more excuseless Clinton lynching with nothing done furnish even another and stronger argument?

The lynching states seem unable or unwilling to prevent lynching or punish lynchers; if that be the case, just why should not the Government take a hand? Kidnapers are now feeling the might of the Federal Government and as a result there will be less kidnaping. Some of the newspapers are advocating the Government taking a hand in running down night riders who are destroying the cotton crops of those farmers who did not sign up to plow under some of their cotton. In doing this the Charleston Evening Post recently said it will show "that the United States Government is no more in favor of cotton lynching than it is of any other form of law breaking." But what a detour; why not say "Negro lynching instead of "law breaking?"

When complaint of night riding was complained of, the Governor rushed about a score of officers to the communities where this form of lawlessness was taking place. Soon arrests were made. But no arrest have been made in the Clinton lynching. Is not a Negro's life in South Carolina as important as cotton?

TUSCALOOSA MOB GETS REVENGE

Weekly 8-15-33
Birmingham, Ala.

Two Negro Youths Are Murdered by Mob of Whites

IT WAS SUNDAY

The state of Alabama, well known nationally and internationally as a state of lynchings and injustices for the Negro, took a commanding lead over Southern states in lynching total Sunday morning when a mob took three Negroes from deputies on the Tuscaloosa highway and riddled their bodies with bullets.

The Negroes were being brought to the Jefferson county jail for "safe-keeping" by deputies when the mob overpowered the men and took the Negroes. Two of the Negroes were under 21. Dan Pippen, Jr., 18, and A. T. Harden, 16. The other man, Elmore Clark, was 28.

According to information gained from deputies, threats had been made Saturday that a mob was going to take the Negroes from the jail, and about 9:30 Saturday night, they put the men in the car with 3 deputies and started to Birmingham. A second car of deputies followed them until they had passed into Jefferson county. Believed them safe the second car turned around. Immediately after this car turned around, men in two cars covered the deputies with guns and ordered that the Negroes be turned over to them. Fearing that they would be shot the deputies complied and the three Negroes handcuffed together were turned over to the lynchers. The men were wearing masks with only their eyes showing. The deputies were then ordered to proceed to Birmingham without coming back. The deputies stated that they then went up to the highway toward Birmingham and called officers in Jefferson, Bibb and Tuscaloosa counties and a search was begun for the men. There were about 12 men in the party of lynchers.

The bodies of the Negroes were found riddled with bullets near noon Sunday. Each body bore approximately 30 wounds.

Their bodies were found near Blocton, 25 miles west of Birmingham.

The Negroes were charged with the slaying of a 21 year old white girl whose mangled body was found in a ravine near her home on July 10. The girl was slain by unknown parties on a lonely road near Tuscaloosa while on her way to visit neighbors. The Negroes lived in the neighborhood and were arrested and charged with the crime. At the session of the grand jury they were indicted and ordered held for trial.

On August 2, when the trial of Dan Pippen was called, the boys were without proper legal defense International Labor Defense attorneys offered their services and were ordered out of the trials by Judge Foster. The state militia was called out for the trial and in spite of the fact that the attorneys were white and the defendants were Negroes, the judge claimed the Negroes were in no danger but that it was necessary to protect the white lawyers. The lawyers were put on trains and escorted out of town by deputies who accompanied them to Birmingham.

The Judge stated Sunday that an investigation would be made immediately. He was not aware of the fact that the Negroes were being brought to Birmingham, and that they were removed without his orders.

When it was learned that the International Labor Defense would furnish legal defense for the defendants prominent Negro ministers and citizens signed affidavits asking that the I. L. D. not enter the case. The families of the defendant were assured by the Judge that the men would get a fair and impartial trial, and they also asked that the I. L. D. attorneys stay out of the trial. The state then appointed lawyers to represent the boys.

The mob spirit has been existing in the community during the entire period that the boys have been held in the Tuscaloosa county jail. The first demonstration was made on August 2 when Pippen's trial was called. Only the presence of the national guard prevented a disastrous scene at the courthouse on that day. The surging mob that gathered in front of the building was held at bay during the trial. It was after this gathering of the mob that Judge Foster stated that the Negroes were in no danger and that there was no feeling against them at all in the community. That the militia were only needed to save the I. L. D. lawyers.

Blame for the action of the lynchers is blamed by the sheriff and Judge on the attempted entrance of the International Labor Defense into the case. The I. L. D. attorneys were in New York early Sunday morning when the lynching took place.

No members of the lynching party could be recognized according to deputies, Murray Pate, N. W. Holeman and W. I. Huff. The masks hid their faces completely.

Alabama Lynchings

World 8-15-33

Three more victims were added to Alabama's total for 1933 when the lynching party early Sunday morning riddled with bullets the bodies of three Negroes charged with a crime in which their guilt had not been established. They were arrested on suspicion because they lived in the neighborhood where the white girl was found slain. A grand jury indicted them and ordered that they face trial for the murder because someone injected the suspicion that a Negro might have committed the crime.

The trial Judge would have us believe that the International Labor Defense is responsible for these lynchings. He would also have us believe that the mob that gathered in front of the courthouse on August 2 at the trial of Dan Pippen, was after the white I. L. D. attorneys who attempted to enter the case and not after the three Negroes charged with the crime. And there are some who believe this. That howling mob of whites consisting of every known type of humanity from degenerates to bankers, was not at all concerned in who defended the Negroes. If they had been, why were the Negroes lynched? Ninety five percent of that mob and one hundred percent of that lynching party could not give a definition of communism nor its theory of economics nor did they know the functions of the International Labor Defense........and they were not concerned....... over half of them were too ignorant to pronounce that long name. They were after the defendants and the Judge and the Negroes were in danger from the first moment that they were sheriff and everybody else with common sense knows that those placed in the jail, and the gathering of that mob plainly indicated it.

Judge Fosters Sunday stated, "I greatly deplore violence in the state." If this is true we cannot see why he did not call out the state militia Saturday when he heard that a mob was threatening to enter the jail Saturday night. He stated that, "officers conferred with me earlier in the day about the rumors of violence but I did not know that the Negroes were being taken to Birmingham until 30 minutes after they had left here." It would have only required a few hours to get the National Guard in the city. If he was interested in avoiding violence why did he not interest himself in finding a way to avoid it. He did not know that the sheriff had interested himself enough to attempt to get the Negroes safely to Birmingham.

The deputies in whose hands the Negroes were when taken by the mob were overpowered and turned the prisonrs over to the lynchers without a struggle—they also failed to take the regular highway but sought to reach Birmingham by a roundabout route. They lost enough time on the side roads to have been in Birmingham over two hours from the time that the lynchers took the prisoners. They left Tuscaloosa at 9:30 P. M., and it was after midnight when they were accosted by the mob. Tuscaloosa is only an hour's drive for a "hick" driver. Why did the sheriff not place the prisoners in a high powered machine and instruct the driver to "step on it" until he reached Birmingham. There would have been much less chance for them being overtaken.

There was no evidence on the Negroes that would have made a jury believe them guilty. Their only guilt was that they lived in the neighborhood, which is ridiculous without further proof--a tourist from Alaska might have committed the crime.

Whether they were guilty or not would not matter in the case of the lynchers.

That lynching could have been avoided had the state taken proper steps to prevent such an occurence. Those Negroes should not have remained in Tuscaloosa nor should the trial have been conducted there in view of the fact that it is a small town. The authorities knew the dangers of the mob. They knew that the mob element had intimidated certain Negroes in Tuscaloosa and that the Negro paper there had been discontinued because the mob had ordered its editor to leave town.

The authorities might have known this and neglected to take proper steps because they were afraid of a case similar to Scottsboro cases. The lives of three Negroes were involved which is cheap in the eyes of an Alabama gentleman and to get rid of an approaching bad situation they allowed the mob to end it. And investigation will be made which will end: "came to their death at the hands of unknown parties." A millionaire doesn't mind spending a few hundred dollars to get rid of something unpleasant because he has plenty of money and the state of Alabama do[illegible] care about the lives of three Negroes, she has plenty mor[illegible]his might be a lesson to others or it might serve as a warn[illegible] to the I. L. D. is what might have entered the minds of the authorities. In any event we are positive that every precaution was not used to get the Negroes from the mob to safety.

We await the Grand Judy's investigation and their report of the lynching. We know that there were lynchings similar to this one years before the formation of an organization known as the International Labor Defense and that there is more behind the lynching other than that three Negroes were lynched by a mob. A man on a bicycle could have reached Birmingham in four hours.

DURR MAKES FORCEFUL OPENING

World 9-19-33 Birmingham

Says Most of Rape Cases are Plain Falsehoods

MIXED AUDIENCE

By ROBERT DURR

More than two thousand white and black enemies of lynching met in a monster mass meeting at St John A. M. E. Church Sunday afternoon in the greatest anti-lynch conference ever held in the south. Delegates numbering over two hundred came from all sections of the state to map plans for a militant campaign aginst lynching in the south and all over the United States. These delegates represented churches, lodges, labor organizations, civic associations, the ILD and many other organizations.

Robert Durr, militant young minister, opened the meeting in his characteristic, forceful and keen analytical manner, stating the purpose of the meeting and the vital necessity of having an organization set up and financed with the sole purpose of carrying on a militant and intelligent fight against lynching and terrorism.

"I do not uphold any man in any way for violating the person of any woman white or black. And I do not uphold any man or men who lynch men for any crime as long as we have law and courts. Seventy-five percent of the cries of rape that are made are nothing more than unvarnished lies," he said. "The majority of lynchers are just like those who commit rape. And the lynch method of curbing rape creates more problems than it solves. One act of brutality converts others by the hundreds to brutality by various methods. The nation must be educated against lynching. This education must start with white ministers and teachers. It must leave out that type of Negro who condones lynching by his inactivity against lynching and the things out of which they flow—jim crowism, segregation, barring Negres from juries, terrorism and exploitism of the Negro and poor whites plus the cleverly arranged system of making the poor whites hate the poor Negroes," argued the speaker.

Miss Mary Cooper was then elected chairman of the meeting and read resolution and letter of congratulations from various organizations all over the country.

Miss Jane Speed, a member of the ILD, a white girl who was born in the south made a rousing attack on lynching. It will be recalled that Miss Speed was arrested and served two months in jail here during the summer for attempting to address an audience of white and Negro laborers. She served the sentence rather than be freed and leave her Ngro defenders in jail.

Dr. T. D. Driver responded in a most touching and pointed manner befitting the militant A. M. E. church. He urged the Negro to get the ballot. He struck the opening wage against the stool pigeons in our city. This mass of average people numbering upwards of three thousand went wild over this master minister's address and almost burst the walls of historic St. John when he told the conference he was with them one hundred percent.

Miss Jane Speed, Messrs. Robert Durr, A. Q. Johnson, Gaines T Bradford, Rev. Baptiste and several others were elected members of the State-wide Anti-Lynch Committee. This committee will meet Wednesday afternoon and elect officers, make arrangements for an office for the campaign against lynching.

Mr. Brinkly proposed that an All-Southern Conference be called to meet in Atlanta and extend this crusade against lynching.

If the plans of this conference go over lynching is doomed in the south for this group means ACTION.

The conference sent protests to Governor Miller, and Franklin D Roosevelt demanding the death penalty for those responsible for the Tuscaloosa lynchings, the shooting of an innocent Negro in Decatur. [illegible] a committee to call on Police Chief McDuff of Birmingham to ask him to remove Officers Mo[illegible] and [illegible] for the brutal beating of a young Negro in Tittusville last week.

The committee will [illegible] to Montgomery in the near future. The Anti-Lynch Committee will seek to have a bill of rights passed at the next meeting of the state and national legislature to make it possible for the Negro to have a greater share in his government and the stamping out of discrimination on account of color.

Negro Press, (Southern.)

3925

Lynchings—1933

Discussions.

THE LOUISIANA LYNCHING

The wish for a lynchless year has been shattered and in this, the second, month of the year. It was left to a mob in Louisiana to disregard law and order and nominate themselves even greater law violators than the poor devil they forced from the sheriff and lynched last week and whose body, fiend-like, they decided to burn, but nature prevented this uncivilized act—the rain. The deed of this mob seems to be an answer and in defiance to the recent organization of white women who, in no uncertain terms, condemn the action of such a mob and lynchers. These ladies formed themselves into an organization known as the Louisiana Council of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. They now have an excellent opportunity to make effective their organization by helping to bring to justice the cowards who were members of the mob. This can be done if a real honest effort is made to do so. Attention should be especially directed against the sheriff who permitted the accused to be locked into a garage instead of being carried to a safer place. The sheriff deserves just punishment. The white ladies of this state are to be commended for their organization, the platform of which contains the following:

> We declare lynching is an indefensible crime destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved * * * * public opinion has accepted too easily the claims of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in defense of womanhood. In the light of these facts, we repudiate this disgraceful claim for all time.
>
> In evidence of our purpose we solemnly pledge ourselves to create a new public opinion in the South which will not condone for any reason whatever acts of mobs or lynchers. We shall teach our children at home, at school, and at church a new interpretation of law and religion; we will assist all officials to uphold their oath of office, and finally we will join with every minister, editor, school teacher and patriotic citizen in a program of education to eradicate lynching and mobs forever from our land.

CAUSE OF MANY LYNCHING

The Louisiana Weekly cites the case in its city of the white woman fearing rebuke from her husband, concocted the tale that she was attacked and robbed by a Negro. It is a wonder that her report did not cause a tragedy. This was averted by officers who detected the falsehood. The article follows:

> The white woman who some weeks ago faked the story that she had been attacked and robbed of several pieces of jewelry by a Negro, admitted later that she was 'fooling' because she thought her husband would quarrel with her about the spending of a certain sum of money.
>
> The police are deserving of credit in this particular instance. They noticed the self-confessed victim bore no marks of violence and undertook no further steps. But what if they had not been observant? The same thing that happened in the Pebeck case would have been resorted to here.
>
> Now the lady in question, might have taken what she thought to have been the shortest paths to satisfy, but she little realized that she was subjecting to assault and abuse every lawabiding Negro in the city. This thing of white men blackening their faces to commit crime, and white people feigning attacks by Negroes, has reached a disgusting episode. When the police department refuse to act on the cries of "The Wolf' The Wolf," it is high time that all thinking white citizens do likewise.

Counting The Lynched

Black Dispatch

1-12-33

Oklahoma City

Okla

Just what constitutes a lynching is perhaps a subject for serious debate between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Tuskegee Institute, and the International Labor Defense. Recent releases eminating from the above named sources give widely divergent figures regarding mob murder in the United States during 1932.

Tuskegee Institute discovered only eight, while the National Association raises the figure to eleven. The International Labor Defense, in its latest survey, declares there were 37.

When one digs for the reason for such a wide margin between the figures reached by these three supposed-to-be authorities on lynching, he finds that the paradox rests solely in the question of what should be regarded as a lynching.

Among the 37 mob victims recorded by the International Labor Defense are listed the Negro firemen who were shot down on southern railroads last year. These Negro firemen were shot from ambush at different times, and in isolated points on the system where they were employed. Our information is that they were shot by individuals.

Webster defines "lynch-law" as "the act or practice by private persons of inflicting punishment for crimes or offenses, without due process of law." The same authority defines a mob as "a promiscuous collection of people, a multitude, a disorderly crowd."

We believe that the common accepted notion of most people about lynching, is that it is the act of a mob. No one would assume that when one person kills another, even though the individual killed is black and his slayer white, that the victim had been mobbed. It appears that in splitting hairs on the question of what constitutes a lynching the International Labor Defense has found its ground upon which to stand and rave against the Tuskegee and N. A. A. C. P. records.

If, as the International Labor Defense wishes the people to assume, the Negro firemen who were shot from their engine cabs last year down south, were lynched, then the I. L. D. becomes the victim of its own logic. When it sets up the rule and defines lynching as the act of one man in slaying another, it brings down upon its head in one full swath every homicide in America. Following the process of reasoning of the International Labor Defense, Charles Williams, a Negro porter, who was shot down in an Oklahoma City hotel last year by a white man, was lynched. We fear that the International Labor Defense makes itself ridiculous by any such discourse to unreason.

There would be no need of taking this much time in a discussion of this subject were it not for the fact that the Crusader News Service, organ of the International Labor Defense, has this week sent out a release to the newspapers over the country, in which it seeks to allege that the N. A. A. C. P. has betrayed the Negroes of the United States, and attempts to prove their assertion by pointing out that the N. A. A. C. P. did not record as many homicides as the International Labor Defense.

The Black Dispatch wants to applaud some of the things which the I. L. D. is doing in the interest of black folk. It was a fine piece of work down at Atlanta last week when through the attack made on the jury system the I. L. D. forced Negroes into the jury box in Fulton county for the first time in perhaps a half a century. Such splendid work helps to mitigate the bunglesome tactics of a unit of the I. L. D. out here in Oklahoma, in connection with the Jess Hollins case.

But we do not applaud the I. L. D. in its puerile attack on the N. A. A. C. P. regarding lynching. If every time one man kills another we are to consider that a man has been lynched, then the report of the I. L. D. that only 37 persons were lynched in the United States during 1932 is as far from the truth as is heaven above hell.

JUDGE LYNCH DENIED

The entire State, not to mention the frustrated mob itself, owes a vote of thanks to Dr. W. Reid of Lowell for his courageous behavior in forestalling what likely would have been another lynching in North Carolina. Dr. Reid hid the Negro until opportunity came to turn him over to the officers who brought him to Charlotte immediately.

Thus it is that justice will be allowed to take the course which all men, upon the slightest reflection, are bound to admit is the only course. We brag of our fondness for liberty, yet if it is to continue to display itself in mobs we'd best find something else upon which to lavish admiration.—The Charlotte Evening News.

Records Show 40 States Were Clear Of Lynching During The Year Of 1932.

New York.—Forty States of the Union passed through 1932 without a recorded lynching, as shown by the honor roll of States free from the evil, announced today by the department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches.

In publishing the list, Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary, said: "In 1932 there were 40 States that held places on the honor roll of the Federal Council of Churches thru having a record of freedom from lynching during the year. This is an increase of one State over 1930 and over 1931; it is three fewer than 1929. The total number of lynchings during 1932 was eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept. Five States, Arkansas, Kansas, Kentucky, Ohio and Virginia, formerly on the honor roll, lost their places in 1932. Six other States—Alabama, Maryland, Missouri, North Dakota, Tennessee and West Virginia—which had lost their places on the honor roll in preceding years, regained them in 1932. The State of Mississippi is on the honor roll this year for the first time. Florida is now the only State that has not at some time been on the roll. There were three States recorded as having lynchings in both 1931 and 1932.

"A growing tendency toward prevention of the evil is indicated in two significant developments," continued Dr. Haynes. "One is the fact that, according to records given by the department of records and research of Tuskegee Institute, there were 31 instances in 1932 in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, four of them in Northern and twenty-seven in Southern States. In 1931 there were fifty-seven such preventions. Another trend that grew stronger last year was the vigilance of the press, of the churches and of the people of the several States who try to protect their own territory from the acts of lynchers. Notable along this line was the activity of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, which has state councils in all of the thirteen Southern States."

The honor roll of States for 1932, as issued by the Federal Council of Churches, gives the following States free of the lynching evil last year, according to available records:

Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Nevada, North Dakota, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

The standing of these States over longer periods is shown by available records as follows:

Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont have always been free from lynching; in addition Maine and New Jersey have been free for 46 years. Delaware, Iowa, Nevada, Michigan, Wisconsin have had no lynching for 25 years. This makes a total of twelve States that have had no lynching for a quarter of a century. Idaho, Pennsylvania and South Dakota have been free from the evil for 20 years; Arizona, New York, Oregon and Montana for 15 years; California, Colorado, Minnesota, Nebraska, Washington and Wyoming for ten years. This gives a total of twenty-five States that have had no lynching within a decade. Illinois and Utah have been free from lynching for 5 years; Georgia, Indiana, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and South Carolina for 2 years. Alamaba, Maryland, Missouri, Mississippi, North Dakota, Tennessee and West Virginia were free during 1932. This brings the total up to 40 States with no lynching in 1932.

VIRGINIA LYNCHING STILL MATTER OF DISPUTE

RICHMOND, Va.—White newspapers here and elsewhere in the state continue to "white-wash" the lynching in 1932 of Shadrack Thompson in Fauquier County, near Warrenton by saying it was a suicide.

One local daily last week announced that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had decided that the death was not a lynching. "The issue has been settled so far as the N. A. A. C. P. is concerned," declares the News-Leader. "It finds that the man's death was not a lynching. The decision of the association was based upon reports of the (white) press."

This newspaper says it investigated and found the lynching report followed the burning of the body by a mob after it had been found dangling from a tree near Warrenton on September 16, 1932. The man died at his own hands, however, the News-Leader insists, adding that authorities "examined the body before the mob took it and that there was no evidence of mutilation or violence."

What The N. A. A. C. P. Said

The N. A. A. C. P.'s annual report for 1932 issued late last month reviews the controversial nature of the Thompson case and says, "In its end-of-the-year statement on lynchings the N. A. A. C. P. included this (Thompson case)......protests were made that the case was one of suicide. The decision of the N. A. A. C. P. was based upon press reports of the case and particularly upon an editorial appearing in the Clifton Forge, Va., Review of September 24, in which it was stated:

"'The Richmond News-Leader is of the opinion that it was a clear case of lynching, in that few colored people commit suicide, and with our contemporary we are inclined to agree.'"

"Former Governor Harry F. Byrd was strong in his protest that this was not a lynching. Independent investigations, some by experienced newspaper men, support to a degree the suicide theory. Since this seemed to be a 'hair-line' case, it is not included in the association's lynching record for 1932."

The association, therefore, merely says that the case is a hair-line one. Its attitude is indicated in the further statement that although "reported lynchings for 1932 were 10, four less than in 1931, ... satisfaction at this slight progress must be tempered by the knowledge that quasi-legal lynchings—shootings by members of posses, hasty court trials, with results virtually dictated by mobs—are little, if any better than open and unashamed mob murder. In future, the N. A. A. C. P. will keep a record of these posse killings."

Thompson had been sought by a mob for an alleged crime against a white girl. He was reported missing for many days, then his body was "found" hanging to a tree. A mob burned the body although officials clamied they examined it first. Why they did not take it away to avoid its being burned on a mob's pyre was never explained.

Last year the lynching records of the Associated Negro Press, the N. A. A. C. P., the International Labor Defense, and of Tuskegee varied greatly, with the total going above thirty in some reports.

VIRGINIA EDITOR LAUDS DECLINE IN LYNCH TOLL

WILSON, N. C., July 6.—(CNS)—Attributing the marked reduction in mob violence in the South to "stricter law enforcement, an awakened social conscience, a liberal press and the spread of education," P. B. Young, editor of the Journal and Guide, of Norfolk, Va., in addressing the summer session of the Atlantic Christian College, also pointed out that "lynching thrived in areas where illiteracy was highest."

Mr. Young commended the daily press of North Carolina for its liberal attitude on the race question, referring by name to the Raleigh News and Observer and the Greensboro Daily News, both of which, he said, were outstanding exponents of justice and fair play.

"Negroes in North Carolina," he said, "as in other Southern States have made their greatest progress in agriculture. In the state there are 74,636 Negro farm operators who till 3,296,445 acres. There are 18,978 Negroes in the state who own their farms, which total 934,506 acres valued at $36,881,352, with farm implements and machinery valued at $1,697,834.

"A vast majority of the 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States are still and will likely always remain in the rural South, where they receive protection of the law, fair educational advantages and cordial cooperation at the hands of southern whites they are holding their own. Where conditions are otherwise, Negroes are abandoning their farm holdings. According to the 1910 census, Negro farmers operated 42,682,378 acres, or 7,316 square miles. It is significant that three states where mob violence is most prevalent, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, contributed nearly 79 per cent of the decrease. North Carolina stood high among the three southern states which reported an increase for the period in Negro farm operators."

Speaking of the trend of liberalism in North Carolina, Editor Young quoted former Governors Aycock, Bickett, Morrison, McLean and Gardner, Editor Josephus Daniels and Senator Robert R. Reynolds.

"There is no doubt," he said, "that in spite of frequent shocks to our moral conscience, occasioned by a miscarriage of justice here and there, in the courts, in the distribution of school funds, in the denial of elemental legal and human rights, there exists here a real sense of justice which lacks only the assurance of knowledge and the force of public sentiment to give it more virile and effective expression."

Lynchings-1933

Negro Press, (Southern)

3926

Discussions

"Lynchless South for 1933" Keenly Analyzed by Martin

Christian Index

By Dr. J. A. Martin

1-19-33

Editor S. S. School Periodicals, C. M. E. Church

Jackson, Tenn.

We have read with great interest the signed pledges of the 7,000 courageous women of the thirteen Southern states, for a "lynchless 1933 South." The attitude of these women is relatively wonderful. We can very fully realize the "ancient sentiment" that they face. For indeed these women do not represent by any means the entire womanhood of the South, North East or West. Thousands of their kind, to say nothing of the sullen men still feel that Negroes should be "lynched" for the mere breath of scandal. Today, these women have an opposite organization that stands for another sentiment—encourages their men to act as they have always since the war. When Negroes read what these great women have done, it gives courage and hope in very many directions as to what the future may bring forth if American womanhood and manhood may be expected to make indeterminate progress, and finally wipe away from our thinking terms of race when justice and fair play are at stake. While this stand is relatively great, we ask in all candor: "Are these women deceived?" Again, we ask: "Are Negroes deceived and will they be swept away by such relatively strong stand?" Or perhaps better, we are asking, "Is this the Savior of our race ills or shall we look for another?" At best, we feel that this attitude can be only John the Baptist crying in the wilderness: "Make ye the path straight." These great women must ... the forerunner of the one thing that is mightier than a slogan: "The Lynchless South."

Lynchless South a Voting and Segregationless South

When 7,000 women sign pledges for a "Lynchless South for 1933," immediately arises this question: "What is their motive for so doing?" In this connection, we do not question their sincerity, but the color of their thought and the length of it. Some years ago, we had organized a society: "The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals." This means: "You must not kill dogs, cats, birds, etc., at will with certain types of satanic pleasure." There were people and still are those who seriously object to killing of animals of any kind. They have a horror for the shedding of blood. This type has sympathy for the helpless, an aversion for the taking of any kind of life. These may be classed as the "sympathetic type." For the same reason, we sympathize with our pet animals; stop our husbands or wives from "beating the cat"—the cat has feelings. But this very sympathy is far from "respect for humanity upon par with other parts of humanity whose skins happen to be different in color." We have sympathy for the cat or dog, but immediately this cat or dog shows his teeth and demands similar treatment, as that we should give the child, both mother and father turn upon the cat or dog with stern rebuke: "This animal is getting above itself," and think seriously of getting rid of it in any way possible.

Unlike the birds, cats and dogs, human beings cannot put very much trust in any program that is based upon sympathy, rather than respect for personality. Lynching grows out of a "Disrespect for Negroes" upon the part of the other Americans. The very people who would have: "A Lynchless South for 1933" have not, and we fear would not vote against the "White Primary" that exists in these states mentioned, in first one way or the other. We have large numbers of men who would object to lynching, but would fight to the very death to prevent my voting in the "White Primary." They would think that a "Negro wants to be white," or a Negro is getting above himself, etc. The ballot of any citizen in the election of the sheriffs of these counties will go further than all of the signatures growing out of "sympathetic hearts" of our good Southern white women. The gun that protects must be shot by the one that needs protection, if the gun is always to be the remedy. Our "Ballot" for years, has been the great gun for personal defense in both monarchial and republican forms of government. No class of people can be respected who fail to vote. No class of people can be ultimately fair who do not advocate the ballot for all. Who doubts that sheriffs would protect jails if one third, or one tenth of the voters represented the intended victim? He would die at his post without flinchng. On the other hand, what would he care for all of the signed resolutions of the very best women, if he felt that the sullen men of his community would recall him if he attempted to protect one of the "untouchables"—the Negro? Then why pull our hair out by the roots praying for what force would give and give for all time? We would think strange of human beings who continue to petition the devil when these same people have the power to stop the devil and to better stop him without prayer, or certainly with a different type of prayer. Signed statements are nothing more than the registered sentiment of good women who petition the lynchers: "Please top Killing Negroes." If these good women, and the great Interracial Commission will join other organizations, and fight to break down the White Primary in the South, and have every man and woman vote, and encourage them to vote, we would be striking at fundamentals, and not temporizing with an age old evil that is destined to destroy our civilization right before our eyes and in our day and generation. Again, how many of these sympathetic people are willing to advocate and help break down the segregation laws that stand right before us and stamp America in the class of India—"Filled with Untouchables?" In the very city where these resolutions were passed, we have labeled: "For Colored" upon nearly every elevator in the public buildings in Atlanta; even unto our court house has "For Colored and White" upon the windows where we may pay our common taxes.

These Things Curse

These signs curse both races; fill each with hate, and why not? If a white or black child is told for twenty-one years and beyond that we must have "untouchables," and we must have a class to vote and make the laws and apply them as they may best suit one class over against another; if Negroes or whites are prevented from riding a common elevator, or shut up in a Jim Crow car, and forced to get off the back of a street car right in the city of the size of Atlanta, and this endorsed by the very men and women who fight lynching, or at least winked at, how may we expect petitions to the less cultured whites to mean anything at all when this type takes it in its mind to kill Negroes? Men like Mr. Clark Howell, and Governor Russell kill from the top; kill

your conscience; the less fortunate whites kill your body. There is not much difference after all, if Gandhi's attitude and determination mean anything when deciding to perish and kill his body if his soul is not freed in his native land. There is a living death for the American Negro that is more cruel and as certain as that of lynching of the souls of men. It is not body life that the Negro wants at this point, as cruel as may be the burning of human beings. It is soul freedom in order to carry and support a physical body. Thus, "A Lynchless South" is untimely; "A Voting and Segregationless South" if we would be saved.

SOCIAL EQUALITY SCARE

ALL

In all of the above, we are damned with the scare of the "Social Equality" phrase from those who would carry on in the name of Superiority and Inferiority, as though men had time to think of Socializing in and courting upon trains, and giving and taking in marriages as per color. It would appear that every time a Negro or white went to pay taxes, or gas bill, or went to town to shop, or went upon the elevator to pay his insurance, or to get off the front end of the street car, he or she was hunting some white or Negro man for matrimonial relations. Whites themselves and by themselves do not think of marriage in other relations when going upon trains, and at all times. No people upon earth are so cursed with the forcing upon their conscience at every step the question of "White and Black." It is the most suggestively immoral question in America today. Why should our white men or colored men, our white women or colored women, or our white children or colored children have the "sex question" put upon their innocent minds at the polls in the theatres upon railroad trains in post offices, in the very church of God, and indeed every time we meet we must think of the lower things of life rather than the higher? The Negro is asking how long shall this horrible night mare ride this American conscience and prevent all from living a life of peace? Color is nothing to him who rises above the stomach and the sordid; color is nothing to those who live in the higher realms, and think of things that are pure.

Finally, let all of us work together and remove the cause of lynching; let all good people white and black keep and urge to be kept all of the Amendments of the Federal Constitution. This alone we shall be free.

[LEA]GUE OF STRUGGLE FOR [N]EGRO RIGHTS OBJECTS TO [B]LACK DISPATCH EDITOR-[IA]L ON "COUNTING THE [LY]NCHED"

Black Dispatch

2-2-33

Oklahoma City Okla.

50 East 13th Street,
New York City,
Jan. 24, 1933.

Mr. Roscoe Dunjee,
Editor, The Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Dear Mr. Dunjee:

Your editorial, "Counting the Lynched," printed in your issue of January [..] has just come to our attention. Because the editorial contains some statements with which we are not in agreement, and because, we believe it misrepresents certain views expressed by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights through the releases of the Crusader News Agency, we are writing you this letter. We hope that you will give it space in your columns.

First of all, a statement of fact. The Crusader News Agency is not, as you state, the organ of the International Labor Defense. The C. N. A. is an independent news agency. The I. L. D. has its own news bureau. The lynching figures for 1932 sent out through the C. N. A. were compiled by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, which has its national headquarters in this city. When the N. A. A. C. P. and Tuskegee Institute gave out lynching figures which differed greatly from the lynching figures compiled by the L. S. N. R., this organization and the International Labor Defense sent out a joint statement on this question. That statement was also released thru the C. N. A.

At the bottom of the differece in statistics between these organizations, there is a deep-seated political difference. The League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the International Labor Defense are of the opinion that hiding the real number of lynchings serves to disarm the Negro masses. [..] not fight lynchings by pretending that they do not happen. We can not fight lynchings by presenting matters as better than they really are, by lulling the masses into a false sense of security. Because the L. S. N. R. believed that the N. A. A. C. P. and Tuskegee Institute are actually doing this, it made a sharp attack on these organizations.

Let us see what the facts are. You say that the records of the L. S. N. R. (sent out by the C. N. A.) are inaccurate. Your first statement in this regard is that the total included the murder of Negro firemen. "These Negro firemen," you say, "were shot from ambush at different times, and in isolated points on the system where they were employed. Our information is that they were shot by individuals."

But the press releases sent out thru the Associated Negro Press, the Capitol News Service and the information found in Negro papers throughout the South, is to the effect that the murder of the Negro firemen was the work of an organized ring, which paid its lynchers 25 to $125 for each lynching depending on the accuray of the man at the trigger. The fact that they were shot down at different times does not make them any the less lynchings, nor does the fact that they were shot in different places. The fact that they were shot by individutls also does not make them any the less lynchings. One might as well say that any recognized lynching is not a lynching because only one hand applied the match to the stake.

These gunmen who shot down the Negro firemen were not acting on their own initiative. They were the paid representatives of an organized lynch gang. Incidentally, the question of who is back of this lynch-gang, who organized it and who supplied the money to pay the lynchers, was neatly sidestepped in the official "investigation" and is not known to this day. This is only the usual process of whitewashing lynchings, especially in the South.

You the say that we have thus included in our lynching list "mere homicides of Negroes by whites." As a matter of fact, the L. S. N. R. was extremely careful to define lynchings as "hanging, shooting, burning or drowning at the hands of more or less organized groups," and to include no act that did not come up to this definition. Therefore, you will find no case of individual murders of Negroes, either by police, sheriffs or "private citizens" n our list. The reason for this distinction we gave in our first release, as follows:

"If the murder of Negroes by police, jail guards, and white 'citizens' be included in the list of lynchings for 1932—and these murders are, in truth, lynchings—then the number reaches well into the hundreds. The year 1932 has seen a terrific number of such cases. There is, however, no adequate record of this phase of lynching, since, in the first place, the shooting of a Negro by a white policeman is so common as to be hardly 'news' and, second, there is a definite attempt to cover up these killings."

We do not say that there is a great distinction between these types of murders of Negroes. Both the "recognized" form of lynching and such police murders and murders by private citizens, are the outgrowth of one and the same thing—the system of national oppression of the Negroes in the United States and the whole ideollgy growing out of and supporting that oppression. But because it was impossible—for the reasons given above—to make any adequate study of police murders of Negroes, and the shooting down of Negroes by individuals, acting on their own behalf and not as a part of or agents of an organized lynch group—the L. S. N. R. included in its list of 37 only those "hanged, shot, burned or drowned at the hands of more or less organized groups."

It is true that the lynch-crowds have become, in most cases, much smaller than previously. In many cases the actual lynch-job has been delegated to a very small group of persons—three or four or half a dozen. This is no accident. Because of the work of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, the International Labor Defense, the Communist Party and other militant organizations of Negro, and white workers, the white toilers are coming to see through the class basis of the white ruling class poison concerning Negroes. They have come to see that the cause of the oppressed Negro masses and of the exploited white toilers is one and the same cause against a common enemy. Thus, the landlords and the bosses felt that they did not have the support of the white toilers in the community to the same extent as previously. They therefore could not, and did not, gather large crowds as formerly, but carried out the job in small groups themselves. Instance after instance of lynching in 1932 proves this fact. There has been, very definitely, a change in the character of the lynch-crowds. They are much smaller, and show signs of having been carfully organized by white business men and public official. No longer is there the old "spontaneous" lynch-mania, which was, of course, itself the result of carefully prepared poison put into the minds of the white workers by the press, the radio, and other such agencies. The difference is that today the white workers, under the influence of militant working-class organizations, are beginning to see through these lies and are aligning themselves with the Negro masses.

Taking Webster as your authority, you say that "lynch-law is an act of inflicting punishment for crimes or offenses without due process of law."

The L. S. N. R. recognize the living facts rather than the definition given in a dusty book written many years ago. By insisting on the Webster definition, you, and the N. A. A. C. P. and Tuskegee Institute make a distinction between lynch crowds in which some individual wears a sheriff's badge, and the lynch-crowds that are not graced by the presence of some such individual. But the blood of countless Negroes murdered by such lynch-posses cries out against any such pedantry. These Negro workers were not lynched, we are told, because Webster's dictionary says they were not. But we say that these Negroes were lynched, and we point to the following facts of real life to prove our case:

The act of lynching is being placed, more and more, in the hands of sheriffs, police and other officials of the law, who organize and lead the lynch-crowds. This is shown in countless instances of lynching in 1932. The reason for this is the same as the reason for the smaller numbers in the lynch-crowds during the past year—that is, the growing refusal of the white toilers to be used for the oppression of the Negro masses and the division of the working-class. The League of Struggle for Negro Rights denies categorically that a lynch-crowd which trails down a Negro, sets fire to his house, and shoots him down as he runs out, is any the less a lynch-crowd because one of its members can sport a sheriff's badge. And we continue to say this, Webster and the N. A. A. C. P. notwithstanding.

What, then, does the N. A. A. C. P. gain by refusing to recognize these lynchings as lynchings, by thus artificially bringing down the lynch-total? Just this: the N. A. A. C. P. thus deceives the Negro masses about the nature and extent of the lynch-terror. It soft-pedals the crimes of the white ruling class against the Negro masses. Such a deception would, if not combatted, result in throwing the Negro mass—and the militant white workers—off their guard against the lynchers. More: when the N. A. A. C. P. omits lynchings led by officials, or in which officials had a part, it prevents the Negro masses from recognizing that these state and local officials are the best assistants of the lynchers, and thus tries to keep these masses from entering into truggle against the whole lynch system.

The L. S. N. R. repeats that only bona-fide lynchings were included in its list of 37—not murders of Negroes by individuals. We say, on the contrary, that the list is far too low, that only 37 lynchings came to light. There were unquestionably lynchings that were suppressed, that were never reported in the pres. This is always the case, and it was without question more true this year than in any previous year.

The L. S. N. R. does ot believe that the fight against lynching is served by suppressing the true facts about the extent and nature of the lynch terror.

Yours truly,
THE LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

Southern Commission on the Study of Lynchings.

Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

3927

INNOCENT PEOPLE ARE PUT TO DEATH

Telegraph

Startling Revelation Made in Two Years' Survey of Southern Lynchings

4-9-33

ATLANTA, April 8 (AP)—The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, headed by George Fort Milton, editor of the Chattanooga News, today announced publication of its final report in the form of a 500-page book entitled, The Tragedy of Lynching.

The volume represents two years of investigation and study of lynching, and surveys the general lynching situation over a period of 40 years. Exhaustive case studies are given, and among conclusions the report asserts that of the 21 mob victims in 1930, two were innocent and 11 others possibly so.

The report also holds that no community is immune from the danger of mob violence and that good citizens everywhere should be on guard against such demonstrations.

The study was sponsored and financed by the Commission on Interracial Co-operation and was directed by a group of 11 well-known citizens of the South. Most of the field work was done by Dr. Arthur Raper, director of research for the Interracial Commission, and Prof. Walter Chivers of Morehouse college.

Those composing the commission which directed the study were George Fort Milton, editor Chattanooga News; Julian Harris of the Atlanta Constitution; Dr. W. J. McGlothlin, president of Furman university; Dr. W. P. King, editor Nashville Christian Advocate; Dr. John Hope, president Atlanta university; Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk university; Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee institute; Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina; Alex Spence, attorney of Dallas, Texas; Dr. F. B. Hurst, president Georgia State College for Negroes; Dr. W. C. Jackson of the University of North Carolina; and Dr. Will W. Alexander, director of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation.

Raleigh, N. C. News and Observer
April 13, 1933

THE TRAGEDY OF LYNCHING

One of the most horrible books and at the same time one of the most useful ones that have appeared in a long time is "The Tragedy of Lynching," by Dr. Arthur F. Raper, which has just been published by The University of North Carolina Press.

Mr. Raper has written case histories of all the lynchings which occurred in 1930, the year in which North Carolina slipped back after a number of years in which no lynchings occurred in the State. In each case Mr. Raper has preserved in detail the story of the horrid work of the mob and given a careful consideration to the crime itself and official efforts to prevent the lynching.

No sane man could read this book without being revolted by the record of cruelty and brutality of which those people who made themselves the instruments of a lawless justice were guilty. Few collections of the horrible crimes in history equal in their horror this scientific study of the acts committed by mobs moved by "righteous indignation."

The book, written in a day of supposed enlightenment, is a record of still existing barbarism. If any argument were needed against the savagery of lynching, this book provides it.

PHILADELPHIA PA. INQUIRER
APRIL 9, 1933

Only 8 of 21 Lynch Victims Declared Definitely Guilty

ATLANTA, April 8 (A. P.).

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Lynching Report Being Prepared

Telegraph

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Oct. 14 (AP)—George Fort Milton, editor of The Chattanooga News and chairman of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, today said his commission was preparing a report on recent lynchings in the vicinity of Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Agents of the commission have been in the section and their findings will deal with the guilt or innocence of the victims, the part played by officers and courts and the state of mind of the public.

Tennessean

NASHVILLE

TENNESSEE

NOV 4 1933

Commission Hopes For Renewal of Sift In Negro Lynchings

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Nov. 3 (AP)—The Southern commission on the study of lynching made public here today a summary of the report upon the situation in and about Tuscaloosa, Ala., where within the last three months three negroes have been lynched.

This report, which came from the commission's investigation staff, of which Dr. Arthur Raper is the head, was made at the request of Dr. W. W. Alexander, executive director and George F. Milton of Chattanooga, chairman of the commission to study lynching, of the commission on interracial cooperation, a Southwide group which for years has sought to reduce race tensions and to better racial conditions.

The summary follows:

"Since August 12, mobs in the vicinity of Tuscaloosa, Ala., have taken the lives of three negroes and left a fourth for dead. Careful investigation of the situation reveals these facts:

"1. One of the four mob victims was undoubtedly, two others probably, the fourth possibly innocent.

Police Officers Hit

"2. Unquestionably the police officers of Tuscaloosa county have not performed their duty in safeguarding these prisoners or protecting them from violence.

"3. In spite of the vigorous charges which the circuit judge made to two grand juries, Tuscaloosa county's law-enforcing agencies have taken no effective step to punish the lynchers.

"4. While only a few white individuals in the Tuscaloosa neighborhood resent the tragedy of errors, the community's white citizenship has variously accepted the sorry train of events as inevitable, excusable or commendable.

White Group Phobia

"5. The extreme community hysteria was the result of the superaddition to the ever-present latent white group phobia against the black man—a phobia in large part traceable to the group insistence upon the right of economic exploitation—of the newer but equally consuming fear of Communism injected by the attempts of the International Labor Defense to force its way into the case. Much of the hysteria observed in the Tuscaloosa vicinity is directly traceable to a pervasive, unreasoning fear, even on the part of some of the most intelligent people, that Communist agents had actually organized conspiracies of violence, outrage and insurrection among the large negro population of the area.

No Insurgent Spirit

"The most careful search has failed to reveal any insurgent spirit whatever among the negro population, or even any sustained effort on the part of the Communists to gain negro support. Certainly the Tuscaloosa community could hardly have placed itself in a worse light than it did by insisting that the negroes' defense be left in local hands, and then permitting them to be murdered and these crimes against society to go unavenged.

"6. The commission sincerely hopes that the judicial and prosecuting authorities of Tuscaloosa county will on their own initiative effectively renew their investigations. If the local authorities fail the commission feels that the best hope for justice rests upon the supreme court of Alabama, which is empowered by the state constitution to impeach officers who signally fail of their duty, and in the governor of the state, who has authority to remove officers so impeached."

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.
EXPRESS

NOV 6 1933

PUBLISHING MOB-MURDER FACTS TO THE WORLD

Invoking a method which was effectively applied to the entire 1930 mob-murder record, the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching has published a case-study of the Tuscaloosa (Alabama) outbreaks in which three negroes were lynched. A fourth victim was left for dead, but survived.

Following a diligent search for the facts in the case, the Commission's survey staff asserts that one victim undoubtedly, two probably and the fourth possibly, were innocent of the charges which inflamed the mob's wrath. If that be the truth in the case—and there appears no reason for questioning the conclusions by so able and unbiased an investigator as Dr. Arthur F. Raper of the University of North Carolina—then it constitutes a fair sample of "justice" in "Judge Lynch's" court.

Perhaps the most significant part of the report is Section 5, which sets forth the underlying cause of the disturbance: Community hysteria — an unreasoning fear which swept over the people in the wake of the Scottsboro trials—stirred up "the ever-present latent white group phobia against the black man." Equally unfounded fears of the "Red peril" had affected "some of the most intelligent people in the community".

On the other hand, Dr. Raper could not find the least trace of "insurgent spirit" among the negroes, nor any evidence that Communists were trying to enlist negro support. The three lives were sacrificed because of mere notions which, to the inflamed mob mind, seemed proof strong as Holy Writ.

Examples of hysteria affecting entire communities—even whole nations—are numerous. Cure of the condition requires drastic measures; facing the mob and applying the remedy call for more courage than, unfortunately, officials in such a situation ordinarily possess.

The Southern Commission's recommendations that the local authorities investigate the crimes and try and punish the perpetrators—or if they fail, that the State intervene—are sensible and just. However, none who is acquainted with the history of lynching in Alabama—or in almost any other Southern State, for that matter—expects either local or State officials to take effectual action. Nevertheless, those investigators have served law and order in Alabama and all over the "lynching belt".

The Commission embraces eminent journalists, lawyers, churchmen, educators and other leaders, under the chairmanship of George Fort Milton, a Chattanooga publisher. Were every lynching case handled in such manner, that would contribute greatly toward eradicating the evil. Impartial, able, trusted inquisitors—preferably including citizens of the affected community—should get all the facts, all the details of the mob's act, and pubisih them to the world. The effect would be salutary.

COMMUNISM MADE THE SCAPEGOAT

Communism has been made the excuse or pretext for many cases of injustice, or miscarriage of justice, in the United States, but now we find it given by impartial investigators as the scapegoat for mob murders in a Southern community. This is the outstanding feature of a report just issued by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, entitled "The Plight of Tuscaloosa." Tuscaloosa is a town of about twelve thousand inhabitants, situated in the mid-western part of Alabama. Last summer the mobs in its environs took three Negroes from the custody of the law and killed them, leaving a fourth apparently dead.

Careful investigation by the commission's investigators convinced them that some of the county officers connived at the seizure of three of the men arrested and placed in jail upon the charge of murdering a white girl. Two grand juries failed to act in taking steps to punish the lynchers, despite vigorous charges by the circuit judge. Both mobs were made up largely of Tuscaloosa people whose identity was known, so the commission believed that a really vigorous official prosecution would have brought indictments. But, only a few individuals were found to resent the tragedy, and the white citizenship has variously accepted the train of events as "inevitable, excusable or commendable".

The basic fact leading to this view is the position which the Negro normally occupies in Tuscaloosa, where "he is looked upon as an inferior being ordained to a postion of subservience and servitude". Holding this view, the white community deems it unnecessary to extend him protection of life and liberty, which leads to the following conition in the words of the report: "To be accused by a white man is tantamount to conviction; to be accused of assault by a white woman, whatever her reputation, is substantially a sentence of death. At the bottom of much of this lies the determination of many white people to continue the economic exploitation of the Negro."

So much for the real causes underlying mob violence in many Southern communities. Contributing to these in Tuscaloosa was the effort of the International Labor Defense to enter the case as counsel for the accused, which was repelled by mob violence. Responsibility for this and probably for the lynchings themselves was laid to a secret local organization patterned after the Ku Klux Klan, but called the Citizen's Protective League. The membership ran into the hundreds with an elaborate system of espionage and intimidation. Much of the hysteria in the vicinity was traced to an unreasoning fear that Communist agents had actually organized conspiracies of insurrection among the large Negro population of the county. These rumors which may have been promoted by the Citizen's League, were found to be wholly without foundation and the fears of the community so unjustified as to question whether they had not been set up as defenses and excuses. The Tuscaloosa community has created a scapegoat out of Communism to bear its sins of unpunished mob murder and violence.

The commission in its report reached the definite conclusion that the judicial and prosecuting authorities of the county have manifested unwillingness to prosecute the participants in the several mob murders. The best hope of any effective effort to secure justice was found to rest in the Alabama Supreme Court which has the power of impeachment, and the Governor who can remove officers so impeached. The Commission calls upon these state authorities to act in the case of the sheriff and certain of his deputies. It concluded: "The citizens of Alabama stand indicted at the bar of the world and will have no defense until they demand that the Supreme Court and the Governor take vigorous steps in this case."

Three things stand out in this report of "Mob Murders, Community Hysteria and Official Incompetence", to call it nothing worse. They are the effort to make Communism the scapegoat for the community; lynching as a means of continuing the economic exploitation of the Negro; official connivance with the mob. The Commission which includes in its membership men of high character representing both races, has done well to bring out these underlying facts.

Lynchings-1933
Discussion.

Southern Commission on the Study of Lynchings.

3928

Moultrie, Ga., Observer
December 18, 1933

Vaudine Maddox

The Observer has received and read with some interest and amazement a pamphlet issued by The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, entitled "The Plight of Tuscaloosa" dealing with murder, rape, hysteria, the militia, halting and hesitating courts, interference by the International Labor Defence organization, the formation of mobs, lynchings, newspaper headlines, editorials, proclamations, the formation of a Council Against Crime and The Citizens Protective League.

After reading the pamphlet our major reflection is "what a serious offense it has come to be in the South to deal harshly with those charged with rape and murder, and what a small matter it is, and how inconsequential, for a poor white girl in the backwoods to be lured from the road, raped and murdered.

The story about the "Plight of Tuscaloosa" starts off in this way:

"On Wednesday, June, 14, 1933, the murdered body of twenty-one year old Vaudine Maddox, missing since Monday, June 12, was found within a quarter of a mile of her home in Big Sandy community, south Tuscaloosa County, Alabama, about twelve miles south of the town of Tuscaloosa. The body was discovered by her two younger sisters. Vultures were in evidence as were, also, small animals and insects which congregate about a corpse of three days. Nauseating descriptions of the condition of the body aggravated the emotional excitement generated by the realization that she had been murdered.

She was the oldest daughter of W. T. Maddox. Since the mother's death, nine years ago, she had acted as housekeeper for her father, two sisters, two brothers, and—for the last two months—a male cousin of about twenty-five years. In addition, she usually worked a few hours each day for an aged white couple who lived a half-mile across the woods. She was, presumably, en route to their home on the morning she was killed.

"The Maddox family, without property and for months before the murder almost wholly dependent upon charity, had been living in Tuscaloosa county but one month. They were said to have come across the line from Hale county to secure a greater amount of public relief. The family moved into a negro community and occupied a dilapidated, two-room shack vacated by negroes a short time before. They secured this house, on the back side of the plantation, through the consent of a negro tenant, and without the knowledge of the landlord. Of the unattached, roving type and victims of malaria, the Maddoxes had moved six times in the five years prior to the murder, and have moved once since. They now live scarcely a mile from the place where the murder occurred."

From this point on the narrative has to do with those who were charged with this rape and murder. Those who turned state's evidence against each other and made confessions of their guilt, and the hard road they had to travel.

To be fair we do not think there is any place in the story where the writer comes nearer than in the above reprinted paragraphs to charging that Vaudine Maddox deserved her fate, or that her death was inconsequential and unworthy of mention. There is the studied effort to show that she gave some encouragement to those who wronged her.

For the three boys in this shocking and pathetic case of rape and murder there was no lack of consideration.

They were carried at state expense to Birmingham in order that they might have better protection.

They had three of the leading lawyers of the county named by the court, which means the state, to defend them.

There was a committee in New York with ample funds that wired to notify them that they would have counsel from New York City free of cost. Counsel was also employed for them in Birmingham. The state militia was ordered out when court convened to give protection. Special terms of the court were held to try them and special meetings of the grand jury arranged to indict members of the mob that finally slew them. And then we have this contribution by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching that issues a pamphlet that is apparently designed to present the rapists and murderers in as attractive form as possible and to show no pity and no tears for the little housekeeper, charged with having malaria, who was seized in a lonely spot while on her way to her work and raped and murdered and then left for the buzzards.

Poor Vaudine Maddox! She didn't rate very high according to present day social standards. A motherless child at twelve—just the age when a girl needs a mother so badly. The house keeper for an improvident father; a mother to two little sisters, washerwoman, counselor, comforter and even the principal bread winner of the family. After doing her house work at home she sets out for the home of a neighbor where she will toil through the day and bring food to the father and younger sisters and brothers. Along the way she meets the most tragic and most cruel fate that has ever befallen woman kind. Her cries for mercy and help faded out on the desert air and brought no response. Her blood still cries out for the remedying of a social evil that would at least fail to invite if it did not prevent crimes like this. But these cries, too, are wasted on desert air. They seem to awaken no interest in the hearts and minds of our leaders. There is much concern for the majesty of the law but little worry from the same source about the thousands of helpless women and girls who are daily exposed to the dangers of the most diabolical crimes known to the human family.

One of the interesting things in this pamphlet is a communication sent to the Governor of Alabama by fifteen "outstanding Alabama women." This is the way they reacted to it:

"We, the undersigned women citizens of the State of Alabama, have been shocked, and horrified over the recent outrage against decency, law and order, committed by a masked mob of unknown persons on the border of Jefferson county in taking from the hands of deputy sheriffs of Tuscaloosa county three negro prisoners, shooting and killing two, and seriously wounding the third.

"At the very time that our President and the nation as a whole are waging war against crime ram-

Greenville, S. C., News
December 30, 1931

OUR "LYNCHING" RECORD

A press statement issued by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation asserts that "in none of the four lynchings credited to South Carolina during the past year was the mob's victim guilty of any serious offense."

These South Carolina "lynchings" were for the most part, murders committed by very small groups of men for comparatively trivial offenses. One wonders why they should be recorded against this state as "lynchings." By similar logic the state of Illinois should be credited—or debited—with an unusually high number of lynchings. If a group of men slays another in Chicago it is set down as just another gangster killing, but a gang murder in South Carolina seems to be something quite different!

Whatever its strict definition, the term "lynching" is a reproach to a broad segment of the citizenship in that it connotes mass action resulting from an uncontrolled play of the baser passions. A murder, of course, is just as serious a crime as a lynching, and there is no intention here to minimize the homicides that have taken place in this state. But the inference of mob violence which is inherent in the term lynching indicts a substantial proportion of the citizenship of a community, and that, we maintain, is an unfair indictment of the citizenship of the communities in which these alleged "lynchings" occurred in this state during the year.

pant, for the majesty of the law to be so shamefully outraged within our beloved commonwealth is not only shocking, but a matter of profound humiliation to every law abiding citizen of intelligence. We have had a proper pride in Alabama's awakened conscience on suppression of mob violence, and had hoped the end of mob hoodlumism was in sight. The only way in which the shame of this recent outrage against law can be blotted out is an early and prompt apprehension of the lawless mob that committed the crime."

You read it for yourself. The statement from these smug, well protected, "outstanding" Alabama women. You see what it is that shocks and horrifies them. You see what they consider an outrage against decency. You see what it is in their "beloved commonwealth" that brings them "humiliation." They ask for an awakened conscience, but they hasten to explain they want it awakened on suppression of mob violence.

Mob violence is one of the several standing menaces in this country. It is a remote menace to each and all of us. We should resist lynching just as we resist all forms of violence and lawlessness. In the South it is a work more suited to men. Because Southern women have been so often the victims of crimes that led to lynching, it ill becomes "outstanding" women from their places of security to start a movement to protect those who ravish the little penniless and friendless home-makers out in the remote rural sections. The Observer has often said that lynching prevention must include prevention of crimes that stir communities into frenzy and hysteria as well as stiffening the arm of the law to give protection to prisoners.

If we thought there was but one Vaudine Maddox in the South, we could dismiss this horrible picture with less apprehension. We know only too well that there are thousands and tens of thousands of them. Little mothers, little housekeepers, little nurses. Living in squalor, poorly fed, poorly housed, poorly dressed, never having a chance, and so often exposed as Vaudine was exposed to the howling wolves that surround the cabin. And nobody extending a hand. We accept the situation as normal and natural. We start no organizations to rescue the Vaudine Maddoxes. We do not even hear their cries or respond to their distress signals. They are not missed when they die or disappear. No crowd gathers to search for them. Only the buzzards care for them.

Southern publishers, business men, financiers and outstanding women who raise their voices against lynching are assured of making the front page headlines of the metropolitan press. The more silent and less potential influences working for the rescue of little girls that are constantly growing up among the "white trash" in the Big Sandy communities are rewarded by little encouragement and receive no applause.

White Press, Northern.

3929

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

Mass Indignation High Against Lynching of Armwood

Patterson Hurls Charge of Murder in Face of Governor

Daily Worker

BALTIMORE, Md., Oct. 29.—Baltimore is still agog and its white ruling class shaking with mingled rage and fear over the blunt accusation of murder, in connection with the lynching of George Armwood, hurled directly into the face of Gov. Albert Ritchie by William Patterson and other revolutionary workers on the United Front delegation from Baltimore, which visited the Maryland executive last Friday to demand instant action against the known members of the lynch mob, and State and Somerset County officials who aided them in carrying out the fiendish crime.

10-30-33

The widespread mass support for the delegation among Negro and white workers in Baltimore and other Maryland cities so impressed the local bourgeois press that it has forced to temporarily abandon its policy of soft-pedalling the news of lynching and other violent attacks upon the Negro people. As a result of this mass pressure, the local boss press published a full account of the delegation's interview with the governor, quoting in detail the militant speech of William Patterson, national secretary of the International Labor Defense and Communist candidate for alderman in the 19th Assembly district, Harlem, New York City.

New York

"The Governor," declares the report in the Baltimore Sun, "had nothing at all to say when William L. Patterson, Negro national secretary of the International Labor Defense, bent toward the governor and intoned:

"'We condemn you as also being an accomplice in this murder.

"'Your party,' he told the governor, 'acquiesced in the sending of battleships to Cuba, ostensibly to protect American lives, but you failed to make a move in behalf of a citizen of your State.'

"'Residents of the Eastern Shore, he said, 'are bragging that nothing took place after that (Matthew Williams) lynching (two years ago) and nothing will take place after this one.'

"Patterson demanded that not only Judge Duer and State Attorney Robins but also Sheriff Daugherty be removed from office and, in addition, demanded that all three 'be tried as accomplices.' It was then he said: We condemn you (the governor) as also being an accomplice to this murder.'

"In support of that charge, Patterson argued that Maryland's 'Jim Crow' laws and traditions made lynching inevitable and that Governor Ritchie 'never in your life raised your voice' against racial segregation. He told the governor the State police had failed to protect Armwood 'because of your failure to take action.'

Impeachment Call "Mild"

"The Socialist Party's call for the governor's impeachment was 'mild,' Patterson said. Governor Ritchie, reddening, interrupted to ask:

'What do you want them to do? Lynch me?'

"Patterson retorted: 'I'm not a lyncher. Your party is the lynch party. Mine is not.'

"Patterson is a Communist."

* * *

In sharp contrast to Paterson's militant speech was the belly-crawling speech of Rev. C. Y. Trigg, local leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who told the lynch executive that he had the fullest confidence in him, because Ritchie was born at Richmond, Va., where Dr. Trigg's father had served as a servant under Gov. Floyd.

"So," he added, referring to the army of police and troops with which the governor had surrounded himself, "you can see you didn't need any police and detectives to protect you. We'd defend you against a mob."

* * *

Continuing in the same servile vein, Rev. Trigg praised Ritchie as 'to the manor born, a blue blood, a gentleman, a born gentleman."

Ralph Matthews, of the Baltimore Afro-American, then took the floor. He told the governor he had just returned from Princess Anne where he had "driven nails in the box in which we buried Armwood today."

He informed the governor he had the name of one of the leaders of the mob.

Matthews—As a reporter, I ask are you going to investigate my charge?

Governor Ritchie—I do not know that it is true.

Matthews—But that is my charge and, as a reporter, I ask you again Are you going to investigate it? Will you investigate it?

Gov. Ritchie—I will do whatever ought to be done.

Bernard Ades, Baltimore attorney for the International Labor Defense took the floor next. He took issue at once with Dr. Trigg, telling the governor he could not "agree that anyone opposed to lynching can win anything by coming into your office and saying his parents had served people of your kind."

Ades, like Patterson, argued that lynching was a natural and inevitable consequence of "Jim Crowism." That form of racial prejudice, he contended, is so strong on the Eastern Shore that sending Armwood back to Princess Anne was "like inviting them to lynch him."

Next, he charged the State administration with responsibility for the fact that no prosecution followed the Salisbury lynching two years ago. Ades said Attorney General Lane who investigated the lynching, had the names of the mob leaders—Ades here mentioned some of the names—but Mr. Lane, he said, spent his time investigating the activities of the International Labor Defense, instead of concentrating on the lynch leaders.

Ades demanded to be told why Judge Duer has not "spoken out" and given the names of men he recognized in the mob around the Princess Anne jail.

Henry Williams, Negro worker and an organizer of the Communist Party, spoke next, challenging Ritchie's refusal to pardon Euel Lee despite the overwhelming proof of his innocence and the flagrant violation of his constitutional rights by the lynch courts before which he was tried.

Governor Ritchie said he believed Lee guilty. He was adding that two juries had found him guilty, when Patterson interrupted him, saying:

"May I remind you, governor, that the Scottsboro boys also were found guilty by two juries?"

Some of the leaders of the delegations elected in many cities by white and Negro workers and intellectuals to demand arrest, prosecution and punishment of officials and civilians named by Daily Worker as leaders of the Eastern Shore, Md., mob, which lynched George Armwood, Negro worker. The delegation also protested against the legal lynching of Euel Lee last Thursday night by the State of Maryland. Reading left to right, they are: Phil Woods of the Philadelphia League of Struggle for Negro Rights; Ingram, Boston attorney of the International Labor Defense; William L. Patterson, national secretary of the I. L. D.; Zorath, National Students League of the John Hopkins University; Griffin of the Harlem Section of the I. L. D.; Miss Hurling

STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.
ADVANCE

OCT 16 1933

Negroes Organize To Support Lynch

A Negro political organization supporting Borough President Lynch for re-election has been formed with headquarters at 210 Broadway, West Brighton.

Officers of the group, which goes under the name: "Independent Colored Voters League," are: Charles W. Williams, chairman; Henry T. Jones, vice-chairman; Clarence Crowley, secretary; Daniel Smart, treasurer; and Ernest Thomas, sergeant-at-arms.

The following have been designated as "ward leaders:" 1st ward, Fred W. Perry; 2nd ward, Frank Spicer; 3rd ward, John Bishop; 5th ward, James Richardson. A fourth ward leader has not yet been selected.

"The colored people are tired of hearing one or two Negroes claim they have us in their vest pockets," Williams said, announcing the formation of the group.

"The colored people of Staten Island have always found Borough President Lynch a true friend. His door has always been open to us. He is against bossism and we are against bossism. White or Negro."

DES MOINES, IA.
REGISTER

NOV 4 1933

STATE OFFICIALS COULD STOP LYNCHINGS.

The nation's most recent lynching occurred in Maryland, where a mob dragged a Negro around the county behind an automobile until he was dead and then burned his corpse before a thoroughly entertained crowd of men, women and children.

The next morning, the whole state of Maryland, including its officials, was indignant and began a furious investigation which has fizzled out like a wet firecracker. Twice previously in recent years the state of Maryland has proceeded to fizzle investigations into lynchings, so that by now the morons who perpetrate such crimes ought to be thoroughly convinced that no penalty of any kind is attached.

In a properly ashamed way—ashamed, not merely for its morons, which it can't help, but for its state officials and police—the Baltimore Sun summarizes some of the provisions of the West Virginia anti-lynching law, as follows:

"Any collection of individuals, five or more in number, assembled to offer violence, is defined as a 'mob.'

"The putting to death of any person by a mob is defined as murder, and every person participating is declared to be guilty of murder.

"Any person who participates in a mob for the purpose of inflicting damage or injury shall be subject to fine and imprisonment; if the mob does any damage he shall be guilty of a felony.

"'The county in which . . . (the lynchee) has been taken from a state, county or municipal officer, and lynched and put to death, shall be subject to a forfeiture of $5,000,' which goes to the dependent family or estate of the person lynched."

Of course even these statutes will not prevent mob murder unless those responsible for order and justice take it upon themselves to enforce civilized decency. But there is a sufficient majority for law abidance and against human butchery in any state to uphold the passage and enforcement of such provisions if the officials will simply demonstrate an ounce or two of courage and intelligence.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN

NOV 5 1933

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* The shouting has died on the Eastern Shore, leaving the echo of two terrible crimes. One the pitiful surrender of a benighted creature to the mad passion of a moment. The other the abject yielding of a mob to the crime of lawless vengeance. All but ended is the shouting of the enraged critics of the Eastern Shore. These have left in part the marks of righteous anger and worthy effort, and in part the evil influence of newly aroused prejudice—racial and sectional.

It is important to combat this influence now. It should help us to reflect that no real progress can be built on a foundation of distorted facts and false generalization. This is doubly—and dangerously—true when feeling is not balanced by reason and prejudice supplants sound judgment. That is what has happened to many—on both sides—as a result of the two recent interracial crimes. It has always happened at such times, thus helping to intensify and prolong race hatred and partisan passion.

With the hope that they may be of some small help, I wish to offer personal testimony, which I think is not exceptional, and a plea which I believe is devoid of prejudice.

—o—

First—I was born in the lower South in a town with a large Negro population. I grew up there and lived in three Southern States. I found that the most dissolute, degraded and dangerous elements did not consist of colored people. Nearly all of the many Negroes I knew had certain qualities of mind, of heart, which I liked and admired, and sometimes envied—as their ingenuity and wit.

Second—Within the social limits of an expediency born of a background of slavery, reconstruction horrors and the white man's universal assumption of superiority, race relations were marked by mutual understanding, kindness and personal devotion.

Third—Under the handicaps of heritage, tradition and the problems of political and economic rehabilitation and racial readjustments, the South allowed Negroes to suffer hardship and injustice longer than it should. Granting this, no good purpose is served by ignoring other facts. What are some of these?

Fourth—I think of Edgar Gardner Murphy, of Alabama; W. D. Weatherford, of Tennessee; James Dillard, of Virginia, and Will Alexander, of Georgia. These are but four of a host of Southern writers and fighters against race prejudice and injustice in their own land. The South is dotted with joint interracial committees working for many years for just and peaceful relations between the two races. Their task is peculiarly difficult. It is not aided, nor are the millions of Southern Negroes helped, by those who, neither sharing the task nor understanding the problem at close range, damn the South as a whole. Trading in sectional prejudice is at best profitless and, at worst, dishonest.

Fifth—The problems of the Negro are not confined to the section where he lives in largest numbers. Why not face this fact and deal with the fundamental elements involved? The Chicago race riot occurred in Chicago. Negroes are exploited in coal mines and segregated in unfit dwellings in Pennsylvania as well as in Alabama.

—o—

Here are a few things that happened several years ago in the capital city of Harrisburg: The willful and fatal shooting of an innocent Negro girl by a white youth went unpunished, chiefly through the paid-for influence of the local political boss, who posed as "the best friend of the Negro." A well-educated Negro dentist moved into a white neighborhood. His house was stoned. The building of a colored Y. W. C. A. was opposed by many on the ground that "it would spoil the servant class."

Prevented from placing respectable tenants in houses, often after the contract was signed, a Negro real estate dealer bought land several miles out and not adjoining a white settlement. Garbage was collected and dumped on the land and he was finally defeated in the effort to supply decent homes for his people. When occasion arises, Pennsylvania can also produce lynchers. Witness the horrible burning alive of a Negro victim in Coatesville. Transplant the millions of Southern Negroes to small communities in other sections and you don't banish interracial friction and crime.

—o—

My argument is that difficult race relations are not settled by sectional self-righteousness; that you can't indict a whole people, white or black, or an entire section, North or South, and that the sooner we tackle the fundamentals of prejudice and discrimination, the better it will be for both races. Nor is this enough; we must recognize that the Eastern Shore crimes left more victims than an assaulted woman, a dead Negro or a mob. Many "good citizens" were victims of the practice of substituting sudden outbursts of noble feeling for consistent devotion to the social good.

Like engines pulling no load that keep their fires banked for the satisfaction of occasionally "blowing off steam," they do nothing to prevent community conditions that breed the ignorance, oppression and crime over whose open consequences they raise hands of holy horror. More or less, in one way or another, we are all either victims of the effects or *particeps criminis* in the causes of the crimes which we deplore. Every community must suffer in some way through its neglected or mistreated members. Haven't we learned this yet?

To be humane and fair is the least we white can do. Our sense of self-respect should also compel us to set worthier examples in our personal standards of conduct and in service to the public good.

R. W. Hogue.

Washington, D. C., Oct. 31, 1933.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

NOV 3 1933

Doesn't Blame The Lynchers

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—*Sir:* The Maryland lynching has become a national issue. The saintly city of Philadelphia and the God-fearing people of New York are shocked beyond imagination. Maryland has shamed the United States by a lynching!

The first of last week I saw an extremely small article, containing no more than one hundred words, that a Negro was lynched in Georgia for an attack upon a 10-year-old colored girl, lynched by a band of white men. Did *The Evening Sun* and other saintly papers "pass out" with horror and indignation? They did not.

Why condemn the Eastern Shore. The atrocities that have been committed in the past two or three years by low-class Negroes on the Eastern Shore have been outrageous. Euel Lee murdered an entire family, including two small children. Another Negro murdered his employer and was lynched and the courts were unable to dilly-dally for two or more years, aided, of course, by the Communists, Ades and the International Labor Defense.

George Armwood a year ago attacked a colored woman. Again the law, which is very, very weak in Maryland, failed. Armwood wasn't even tried, and why not? Armwood, thinking he could continue his savage actions, selected a white woman and, God, how my heart goes out to that poor woman. The people of the Eastern Shore could vision Ades defending Armwood, shouting his innocence for two or more years, possibly Armwood going free. No, I cannot condemn the people of the Eastern Shore. I condemn the courts of Maryland, the laws of Maryland and the savage instinct of some of our people.

We pay taxes for police protection from hideous crimes to no avail, police and courts both have failed Maryland.

Kick the Communists and Harlem, N. Y., off the map and maybe there'll be no more lynching parties. Both are a menace to society.

Albert L. Frye.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

NOV 3 1933

One Sheriff Shows A Way To Foil Lynchers

From the Greensboro (N. C.) News

WHILE column upon column has been written on the prevention of lynchings, the psychological and material factors which enter into the mob spirit and its operation, no more effective commentary has come under our eye than a bit of action, which speaks infinitely louder than words, currently reported from Thibodaux, La., with Sheriff Thomas Stark and two deputies in the principal rôles and a motley crowd of seventy-five marshaled at the jail gates for the mob scene.

When a crowd began to gather about the jail, the Sheriff took his rifle and went to meet them. He opened the jail yard gate and dared the crowd to enter. "You will have to kill me to get in here," he told them. Two deputies stood behind the Sheriff. The mob hesitated and soon dispersed.

That, it seems to this fireside journal, calls for no comment. How to prevent lynchings? The recipe so successfully used by Sheriff Stark is broadcast with the hope that it will be clipped and pasted beneath the hat band of every other Sheriff and law enforcement officer, particularly in the South, to whom prisoners are intrusted for safekeeping and protection.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
INQUIRER

NOV 1 1933

LYNCH BAN SIFTED

Changes may be made in judicial system of Maryland to prevent lynching, Governor Ritchie wired the Pennsylvania State Negro Council at Cheyney yesterday.

The Maryland Governor's telegram was in reply to one from the council several days ago, asking a statement in connection with the recent Armwood lynching.

After expressing deep concern "about this deplorable affair," Governor Ritchie's messages says:

"Every authority and resource at the command of the Governor and the Attorney-General is being used to get at the bottom of this occurrence and apprehend those responsible for it.

"A thorough study of our system of judicial procedure is under way, in order to see whether any changes can be made which might tend to prevent the repetition of anything of the same kind in the future."

White Press, Northern.

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BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN

OCT 21 1933

Reaction To A Mob Murder

The Theory Of Non-Resistance

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* The editorial in *The Sun* today was, I think, written without due regard to facts or to the consequences that would have been the outcome of gun fire which this editorial censures the State police for not inciting. It takes far more courage to be knocked senseless by a brick or to be battered unconscious by a ram than to fire a revolver into a half-crazed mob. But let's reduce your editorial suggestion to mathematical facts.

If thirty State policemen drew their revolvers and each fired six times into this mob, a total of 180 shots would have been fired by the State police. If we assume that each shot found a fatal target and that the mob did nothing in the meantime, 180 men, women and children would have been killed. With their revolvers empty the thirty State policemen would have been powerless before the remaining approximately 1,000 rioters. Then thirty State policemen would have died. Mob psychology is like quicksilver.

Governor Ritchie wanted Armwood removed to Baltimore. He so informed me and I passed his instructions on to Captain Johnson. Unfortunately, the local authorities refused to release their prisoner. There is no law that gave us the authority to bring Armwood into Baltimore without this permission.

I think Captain Johnson and his men used cool judgment in the face of a grave emergency. Too much blood was shed in Princess Anne Wednesday night. To have shed more in vain, and to have had a long death list resulting from this unfortunate affair, would, I am sure, have been justly condemned by the people of Maryland.

I know your spirit of fair play will cause you to give this letter a place of prominence in your newspaper.

E. Austin Baughman,
Commissioner of Motor Vehicles.
Baltimore, Oct. 20, 1933.

The Same Judge Who Let Armwood Stay At Princess Anne Was One Of Those Whose Initial Error Caused Delay In The Lee Case

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* In Heaven's name, what is it that motivates you to continually bamboozle the public? Why do you imperiously scream "shame," "disgrace," etc., at the aroused vengeance of a group of people who want to protect their homes and the ones they love?

You witnessed in Somerset county the complete repudiation of the preposterous manner in which the State prosecuted and toyed with Euel Lee. Editorially, you cast your lot with the law and cried for the heads of the responsible ones who perpetrated the lynching. Deliberately and solemnly you pointed to the dignity of the law and expressed the feeling that the incident places a blot on the good name of the State and its honorable citizens.

When I read that this morning I saw red. I'm not so sure that the honorable, law-abiding citizens of Maryland quite agree with you. The incident is a scorching testimonial to the extent that people can stand only so much. And if general taxes don't come down you're going to see more mob warfare than you ever imagined existed.

The owners of *The Sun* should carry on in the interests of the manifold purposes for which it was originally created. In the past several years you have descended to a picayune, small-town gossip sheet, printed solely for the prime purpose of bungling in Democratic politics. The only fearless, outstanding thing you ever attempted was your unstinted support of the anti-prohibition mob.

I'm making my home here now, but I hail from New Orleans, the land o' sunshine, God's gift to the Sunny South, where men are men, women love them and Negroes always know their place in the social life.

Espy Williams.
Baltimore, Oct. 19, 1933.

Defiled With Blood

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* How long, O Lord, how long are these black people to be kept in the house of bondage? Sinned against for so many years, is it any wonder that many of them remain in a state of ignorance and bestiality?

Has the superior white race, with all its advantages of education and Christianity, given it much cause for gratitude for benefits received, for happy and healthful conditions of living, for equal chances to make a future worth their effort? Or has that white race grudgingly conceded them rung by rung of the ladder they must climb?

"The white man's burden"—yea, verily, a burden of usurpation, of transportation into slavery, of oppression and cruelty, whether the red or the black. Anyone familiar with the beginnings of our country knows the shocking tales. But the red retaliated with a fearsome trail of red. The black—"we wait for light, but behold obscurity; for brightness, but we walk in darkness. We grope for the wall like the blind, and we grope as if we had no eyes. We stumble at noonday as in the night; we are in desolate places as dead men." On Sunday, in Somerset county, will the churches welcome these "palefaces" and give them absolution? Will the one who "cut off his ear" thank his God that he is a "restorer of paths to dwell in"?

"And judgment is turned away backwards, and justice standeth afar off; for your hands are defiled with blood and your fingers with iniquity."

Eliza P. Colston Randall.
Baltimore, Oct. 19, 1933.

"Can't Something Be Done?"

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* Can't you do something about this latest lynching outrage? Apparently the people haven't sense enough to, but maybe with the press behind them they will learn to oppose these unjustifiable murders, for unjustifiable murders they are.

No man has a right to take another man's life for any reason whatsoever. It is murder because the law will condemn a man for killing another man out of vengeance, and these people were killing only for vengeance.

Why won't men let the law take its course and elect men who will see that justice is carried out as it should be? If men are going to break the laws and go unpunished, why bother to make the laws.

It is our fault as much as theirs for these outrages. Do we elect the proper authorities in elections? No, we sit home and say, "Well, I'm only interested in the Republicans or the Democrats, and prohibition or repeal, but as for the laws that strike close to home, who cares!" Well, you know the results.

Herbert Weaver, Jr.
Baltimore, Oct. 19, 1933.

In Agreement

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* As a citizen of Maryland, I wish to express my appreciation of the editorial in this morning's paper commenting upon the lynching of George Armwood. It was all that an editorial should be: restrained, vigorous and fearless.

We need not hide our heads in utter shame while we have a spokesman who can so adequately express the opinions and the demands of every right-thinking citizen of this State.

Elsa B. Dodd.
Baltimore, Oct. 19, 1933.

But The Southern States Have Been Dry Many Years And Still Have Lynchings

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* In your first-page column-long editorial on the Eastern Shore lynching you inveigh against Judge Duer, State's Attorney Robins, even Governor Ritchie, charging them one and all with grave dereliction of duty. But you have not one word to say against the law's intolerable delay in the case of Euel Lee, which as everybody familiar with conditions on the lower Eastern Shore knows is directly responsible for this latest lynching.

You call on the law-abiding and honorable citizens of the State to exercise their right to demand that Governor Ritchie use the power of the State to protect the laws of the State. Have you forgotten that many such citizens called on Governor Ritchie to use the power of the State to protect the laws of the nation in the matter of enforcing an amendment to the Federal Constitution, and their appeal was contemptuously ignored? In the matter of lawlessness we as a people have sown the wind, and we are reaping the whirlwind, and shall continue to do so for a long time to come, despite the impending repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. We have invited the genii of lawlessness to emerge from the bottle—and he will not return.

The people who have no reverence for the laws they themselves have made—through their duly accredited representatives—who reserve the right to ignore laws obnoxious to their superior selves, must not be surprised when less intelligent people take the law into their own hands and administer justice in their own rude and barbarous way.

Thomas L. Parks.
Lutherville, Md., Oct. 19, 1933.

"No Dodging Of Responsibility"

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* Your editorial appearing in Thursday morning's issue is the spoken sentiment of the thinking people of this State, and I wish to unstintingly praise the manly and fearless attitude that you have taken toward this habitual reaction to crime that the bushmen and head hunters in this State delight in.

The Eastern Shore has repeatedly smeared the history of the Free State of Maryland under the present administration. Will the offenders in this atrocity become heroes? Will they be allowed to move in and among the quiet, law-abiding and law-respecting people?

The people of the State join with you in that, in this instance, we will brook no dodging of responsibility. Let those who desire to place the blame upon this scapegoat or that do so, but we, the voters, the citizenry, look now to the Governor of the Free State of Maryland for unprecedented action.

The local authorities have shown their inefficiency to cope with the situation. It is, therefore, folly to appeal to them now to enforce what they were unable to enforce then. It now becomes the duty of the honorable, the enterprising, to defend the integrity of this their State and home. Let none be deceived that barbarism will be condoned. Manhood cries out against such inhuman acts. They must be crushed till every vestige is forever purged from the State and finally from the nation.

Arthur Pennbrook.
Garrison Postoffice, Md., Oct. 19, 1933.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN

OCT 22 1933

Further Comment On A Lynching

Firearms And Mob Psychology—A Suggestion To Governor Ritchie And Colonel Baughman.

To the Editor of the Sun—*Sir:* It is already quite clear that any investigation in Somerset county of the recent lynching at Princess Anne will result in another farce. The memory of all, from Judge Duer down to the youngest children who were present, will become vague and uncertain; those who collected and displayed souvenirs of the occasion will hide or possibly destroy them; and the grand jury will be persuaded that the prisoner came to his death at the hands of unknown persons.

It is hardly worth while to consider which official is most to blame, but the important matter now is to consider suggestions as to what, if anything, can be done to prevent the recurrence of such fiendish atrocities. No help will be found in the mathematical calculation of Colonel Baughman (the head of the State police) in a letter in *The Sun* in which he tries to persuade himself and possibly a few others that had the State police used their firearms they would probably have killed 180 of the mob, and that the mob of approximately 1,000, with the ammunition of the State officers exhausted, would have killed the thirty officers.

Surely this is a strange statement coming from a man in authority. He does not consider for a moment the undoubted fact that in such cases the death of a few of the ringleaders of a mob curbs their bloodthirsty desire to murder; they still value their own lives. This mob was convinced that the police would not use their revolvers; they were convinced, therefore, that there would be no serious danger to themselves and so they proceeded with their cowardly plans which have brought such disgrace upon the whole State of Maryland.

Captain Johnson, of the State police, in the account which has been published, states "no shots were fired; our men have standing orders not to use their firearms except as a last resort." The writer submits that as a standing order definite instructions should be given by Governor Ritchie and Colonel Baughman to the State police that whenever a mob comes forward to break into a jail with the intent of lynching a prisoner the State police fire immediately on those who are the lawbreakers and intending murderers, after due warning has been given to them to stop their attack.

Such an order should now be given great publicity. It can well be posted in every county seat of the State.

Leigh Bonsal.

Baltimore, Oct. 21, 1933.

An Investigator Of The Salisbury Lynching On The Atrocity At Princess Anne

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* The law-abiding citizens of this State who abhor the atrocities of the mob at Princess Anne look to Governor Ritchie to have the lynchers discovered and vigorously prosecuted and punished. His statement when the man Armwood was taken from the safety of the Baltimore Jail back to a local community unworthy of confidence showed weakness and, as the event has proved, ignorance. He can in a slight measure mitigate this fatal error by courageous and unrelenting action to bring the lynchers to justice. He has boasted for years about State's rights.

Will he now accept State responsibility? I am told that his legal authority in the matter is very limited. But his moral duty is clear and his moral force as Chief Executive, if he will exert it, can be controlling. The efforts of State and local authorities after the Salisbury lynching came to absolutely nothing. Will we be put off again with empty professions and meaningless gestures?

After the Salisbury lynching two years ago, most people on the Eastern Shore and many leaders in Baltimore, including Mr. Marbury and ex-Senator Bruce, violently resented criticism flung at the Eastern Shore generally, declaring that the region contained many who detested what had occurred. I did not hear of these upright citizens in more than a few cases demanding the prosecution of the lynchers. What will the responsible citizens of the Eastern Shore do in this dreadful repetition of the event? No mitigating circumstances may be offered this time. There was no interference of the Western Shore, of newspapers, of Communists. There were no court delays.

On the other hand, Princess Anne took the man back from Baltimore and the County Attorney and judge promised swift prosecution. Robins was eager for local action in the trial of the accused. Will he be similarly eager for discovery and trial of those who have so grossly violated his confidence? Duer, the judge, according to report, shortly before the lynching declared to the mob that he knew nearly everybody in it. Will he remember names and faces when the grand jury convenes? In fact, will the grand jury which was to be called back so promptly to indict Armwood be called back as suddenly to indict lynchers of Armwood?

Broadus Mitchell.

Baltimore, Oct. 19, 1933.

The Pastor Of The Christian Temple Calls For An Anti-Lynching Law And For A Moral Awakening Among The Churches

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* In less than two years Maryland has again taken a place among the most barbarous tribes of the earth by a Negro lynching.

If Governor Ritchie and Attorney-General Lane had done anything toward decency in removing from Maryland the stain of the Salisbury lynching of 1931, this lynching would hardly have occurred; but either the inefficiency or indifference of both of these officials made another lynching easily possible.

With a judge, a State's Attorney and a Sheriff as they have in Princess Anne, we are facing a still more complicated situation in getting anything like proper results from a grand jury there. No doubt these officials are efficient in cases of chicken thefts and craps games, but when the whole State becomes involved in a great crime we must look elsewhere for guidance out of such disgrace and humiliation. This is not an Eastern Shore problem. It is a problem in which the whole State of Maryland is involved.

If the Maryland Legislature could be brought to pass a bill inflicting a fine of $5,000 on the community for every person lynched, as is done in West Virginia, that might help; but we would still be involved with timid and disinterested officials. All the circumstances of the Princess Anne lynching, as reported in the daily press, show that Maryland is inefficient in coping with lynching.

Therefore, it should become a matter of Federal concern, having a Federal statute, and the fact of a lynching should call for Federal action both for the arrest of the lynchers and a fine on the community. We must move now to forestall such acts of lawlessness in our commonwealth. The churches need to let up on their doctrinal peculiarities which keep them apart, and amount to very little anyway, and get together to face real issues that include the well-being and life of the community if our civilization is to take a higher standard of decency.

Laws have their place, but laws are ineffective unless there is moral character back of them. It is the function of the church—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—to set about building higher moral standards than we now have.

Peter Ainslie.

Bluefield, W. Va., Oct. 20, 1933.

This Correspondent Forgets That The Euel Lee Case Did Not Come To Baltimore County Until It Had Gone To The Court Of Appeals As A Result Of An Error By The Same Judge Who Let Armwood Stay At Princess Anne

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* In an editorial in this morning's *Sun* entitled "The Lynching," I observe the following statement: "Everybody wants the penalties to be swift and sure—as swift and sure in the counties as they are today in Baltimore city."

Of course, you must refer to the Duker "hanging"; or perhaps you allude to the prompt "execution" of the Norris murderers, or maybe to the swift "extinction" of Whittemore and all his gang, not to mention the swiftness with which Euel Lee was dispatched. But I'm forgotting the latter was in the Baltimore County Court. Please pardon my presumption, but wouldn't it be nice if you stated to which crime you refer?

Belair, Md., Oct. 20, 1933. A. S.

Is Lawlessness The Way To Improve The Administration Of Law?

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* You tell us in your editorial this morning we must be honorable and law-abiding citizens and crush out the mob violence that occurs now and then on the Eastern Shore and other parts of Maryland. You also tell us what a black name it gives us in other States of our great country, yet you say nothing, you print no editorials about such cases as the two-year old Euel Lee case and the amount of money this self-confessed murderer has cost the State, together with the fact that such a man as Bernard Ades could and would defend him to the last ditch with legal tangles as he did Euel Lee and which was the direct cause of this lynching. Does your paper encourage this practice? Does it encourage such law as in the State of Illinois or New York, where the notorious gangsters rule, or ruled until the Federal Government had to step in and stop it, where corrupt politicians and such organizations as the Tammany machine protect the criminal?

The people of Maryland and not only of the Eastern Shore have been very sore about the disgrace of the Euel Lee case for a long time, and this has been the first opportunity to give vent to their feelings for a long time, and I don't only mean the Eastern Shoremen but all of us. Here's hoping they have the courage to do it as often and wherever the people of a certain locality deem it necessary.

There are five Democratic votes in my immediate family; there are at least fifty in our family by marriage, etc., and I'll guarantee that not one vote will be cast for Governor Ritchie or any other power that be in this State who dares lay a finger on the men who for justice's sake took the law into their own hands.

Robert F. Stewart.

Baltimore, Oct. 19, 1933.

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"I Was Shot At and Tortured— Then the Real Murderer Confessed"

Louisiana Negro Contiues Story of His Escape After Being Hanged; To Tell Experiences at Meeting in Harlem Tonight

How two white workers saved him from lynching by a Louisiana mob, and how another Negro was lynched, was told in the first installment of the following article, published in yesterday's "Daily." Today he tells, in the concluding article, of what followed the first attempt to murder him. He speaks tonight at a meeting called by the International Labor Defense and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, in Temple Baptist Church, 260 Lenox Ave., at eight o'clock.

Daily Worker

12-28-33 New York

BY NORMAN THIBODEAUX
As Told to Louis Colman

As soon as I fell, the sheriff and two other men picked me up quick and threw me into a car and got in after me, and they drove away.

"We're going to kill you anyway, nigger," Deputy Richards said. "You'll never get away alive."

One of the men in the car was Harry Codeaux. He had a big old pump-gun. The other two, the sheriff and the other, had revolvers.

"Nigger," the sheriff said, "say you killed that white girl and we'll let you loose."

I knew better. I didn't say anything except that I was innocent.

"Nigger," he said, "we're going to show you yet what happens to niggers who want white meat."

They took me out to a gravel road about five miles, then they turned down a dark old road called Vallance Road, and said:

"Get out, nigger."

I got out and started to walk. The blood was caked all over me. I was all blood, blood. The moon was shining bright and I made for the sugar-cane. I walked about twenty feet and somebody yelled:

"Run, nigger!"

I started to run and they shot at me three times. I could hear the bullets singing beside my head before I heard the sound of the shots.

They were revolver shots. Coudeaux never fired his pump-gun.

I fell flat into the sugar-cane and they thought I was shot. I heard one of them say:

"We got the nigger."

They backed out and went away.

I lay in the cane a while, resting. They could never have found me in a week once I got into the cane.

After a while I made my way to a lady's house I knew. I knew her son. They let me in, but they wouldn't do anything for me. She went back to bed. They wouldn't wash off my wounds or anything. They were scared. About four o'clock it was time for them to get out to work in the canefields, and they said to me that I had to go.

"We don't want the sheriff to come here and hang us all," the lady said.

I went back through the cane to my uncle's house. On the way I passed close by to some white people's house, and I heard somebody say:

"We had cheap fun last night down at the bridge."

I got to my uncle's house, and he gave me a sweater and an old hat, and something to eat, and told me to hide in the corn-crib. I stayed there all day.

Then I went to another lady's house, and asked her to send her daughter over to get my grandmother.

When my grandmother saw me, she was surprised to see me alive. She had been crying all day.

The sheriff told her:

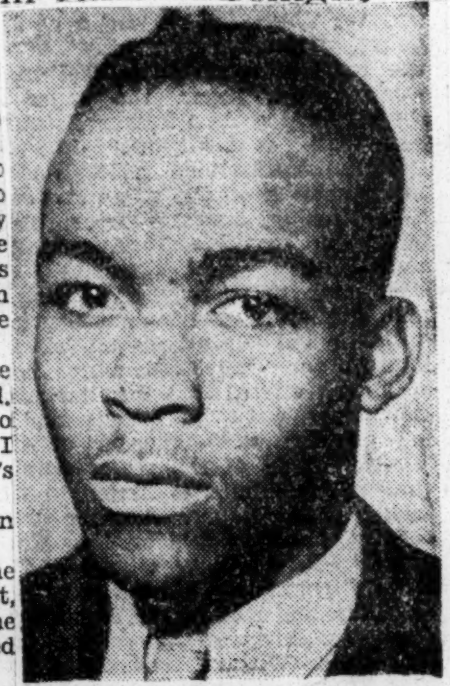
"We'll find Norman's body in the cane in a day or two."

She gave me a coat, and a shirt, and a pair of tennis-shoes, and two dollars, and she told me to try to get out of the place.

I laid in the cane until dusk dark that night, and then I walked 22 miles and got on a freight and came to New Orleans on Friday night.

My grandmother in New Orleans took care of me. On Saturday morning I went to Flint-Goodrich hospital, which is a Negro hospital of Dillard University. Doctor Rhodes there dressed my head. He is a Negro doctor.

My mother had told him something about what happened to me, and he asked me some more questions. I told him, and told him not to say a word to a soul, because the lynchers



NORMAN THIBODEAUX

were still after me. The paper in New Orleans published that when they heard I was alive they said they would lynch me again as soon as they got hold of me.

So Dr. Rhodes called up the detective office and asked them if they wanted me.

The detectives rushed to my house and took me down to the police station. They phoned the high sheriff in Napoleonville. I don't know what he told them, but he sent a telegram saying:

"Hold this Negro for murdering a white woman. District Attorney coming to interview him."

They kept me in the prison at Tulane and Saratoga Streets for five days.

On Wednesday evening the High Sheriff Hemiel, and the district attorney came and asked me what I knew about the crime. The district attorney was the same one who was there that night at the lynching.

I told them I didn't know anything about the crime, but they said they would hold me, because the people out in the country wanted to get me bad.

They put me in the parish prison at Tulane and Broad Streets, holding me on a charge of murder and being a fugitive from justice for the murder of a white girl found dead in a canefield.

Saturday the captain of the prison told me to roll out, and they let me loose.

The girl's step-father had confessed he killed her himself.

I have been lynched, and it was two white workers who saved my life. I want to fight against lynching, and I know that as long as the Negro and white workers don't join hands to fight lynching there will always be murder and terror against Negro and white workers.

I know that only by getting together and fighting together we can smash lynching.

KANSAS CITY, MO.
TIMES
DEC 2 1933

A National Protest.

Grave misgivings following the recent lynchings may be allayed in considerable degree by protests denoting national abhorrence of mob violence. The nature and brutality of the crimes avenged may have caused momentary satisfaction in many normal minds when these crimes were expiated. But even these minds cannot soberly and avowedly support mob law. There need be no considerations for the victims of unlawful violence in order to condemn the manner of their death.

The protests that have come from civic, religious, political and racial bodies and from leaders in many walks of life reveal a fundamental and widespread respect for law and for the conventions of civilized society. It is highly disturbing when mobs in almost unprecedented numbers participate in or witness lynchings, especially when mob action is initiated or led by young men and youths. It is even more stirring to public indignation when an executive of a great state condones mob crimes. But the people are right in mind and in feeling on this subject. The country has not gone "haywire."

There may be an unwonted reassertion of the primitive passions and a corresponding disregard for law outside the professional outlaw class, but there is no evidence that the demoralization has become a menace to national integrity. It must not be allowed to become this by condoning of lynching or by the timidity of executives and peace officers.

COLUMBUS, O.
OHIO STATE JOURNAL
DEC 27 1933

The Church on Lynching.

THE recent outbursts of lynchings and mob rule in scattered sections of the country have led various observers to take the stand that if such outrages are to be controlled it is up to the clergy. Churches are blamed by these sources as partly responsible for the growth of the condition because of their willingness to stand aside and let matters take their course.

It is hard to agree with this precept. Churches can and do train people in the ways of religion, of tolerance, of forgiveness and of human love. But if the individual, like the horse led to water only to refuse to drink, is perverse, the church is helpless.

Too many evils are blamed on the failure of the church to reform mankind. They are looked to all too often as the saving grace to alter conditions not of their making and among people who are not churchgoers and who so live that the church cannot reach them.

The fact is that mobs are made up of individuals who for the moment do not reason.

We are more inclined to agree with a recent survey made in the south which places responsibility at the doors of courts and law enforcement officers who stand supinely idle while lynchings go unchecked. These sources have power to break up and punish mobs. The church does not.

BOSTON, MASS.
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
MONITOR

DEC 6 1933

Mirror of the World's Opinion

The opinions expressed in the quotations hereunder do not necessarily carry the indorsement of the Monitor.

What the Press of the United States Thinks of Lynching

Doubly Disgraced

A LYNCHING is a crime, an offense against society and an insult to the law, no matter what other crime may provoke it. . . . Vengeance belongs to the law, not to an irresponsible and bloodthirsty crowd of self-appointed executioners. . . .

The decent citizens of California will recognize this lynching as an outrage and scandal. And they will share the widespread indignation of the American people against the statement of their Governor, who professes to believe that by defiant lawlessness California has set a good example to the rest of the nation.—*Public Ledger* (Philadelphia).

The San Jose Lynching

SWIFT and terrifying vengeance descended upon the two murderers of Brooke Hart. . . .

With that, however, the case cannot be dismissed. The people of beautiful San Jose witnessed a horrible deed. For it, when the passion has passed, they will feel shame and remorse. Lynching is as contrary to the law as kidnaping. . . . In this case, the victims had confessed guilt, but in many cases in American history, lynchers have murdered innocent men. . . .

Governor Rolph wishes to teach kidnapers a lesson, and thinks this mob action will have that result. Perhaps it will. It is to be hoped it will also hasten and debunk criminal trials and procedure. Mob violence is less likely if we clear our courts of the rubbish that has gathered with the ages, making it easy to free guilty but well-defended criminals.

In opposition to the California executive's point of view, however, it must be remembered that violence has the habit of begetting violence.—*Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, Utah).

Lynching the Law

"WHY should I call out troops to protect those two fellows?" asks Governor Rolph of California, referring to the two kidnapers who were lynched at San Jose. He has his answer in Maryland, where a crowd attempts to release from the custody of the authorities supposed members of a mob which lynched a Negro a few weeks ago. Lynching does not stop with itself. It fans the flame of lawlessness and provokes defiance of any official or any measure that stands in the way of a mob's will.—*New York Evening Post.*

Official Betrayal

THE statement by Governor Rolph of California that he will protect the lynchers of the accused kidnapers in that State, and "that was a fine lesson for the nation" constitutes possibly the most brazen support ever given by an American high official to violation of the law. Amazing especially when one recalls that Governor Rolph when taking office took a solemn oath to support the laws of his State and the Constitution of the United States. . . .

If lynching is to be the deterrent of kidnaping, why should it not also be the deterrent for the ravaging and slaying of women? Or for that matter, for any other hideous crime?

Governor Rolph has struck a blow at the movement against lynching which will be felt in every state of the nation, especially in the southern states.—*Houston* (Texas) *Chronicle.*

Lynch Law

THE statement made by Governor Rolph of California in approval of the San Jose lynchings must rank among the most shocking ever made by a governor of an American state. . . .

In no country in the world is a recrudescence of mob justice more to be feared than in the United States. . . . At one time lynchings exceeded 200 a year in the United States. It has required more than fifty years of progress in the extermination of this dangerous attitude toward justice to reduce the number of annual lynchings to the present almost negligible, or at any rate comparatively slight, total.

Still lynch law remains the national skeleton, a disgrace before the eyes of the world, a reproach before every civilized people, a scandal for which every American is forced to apologize before he can point condemningly to the violent lapses of other countries. Nor is it the case, as some may believe, that this has been solely a method of retributive justice growing out of the peculiar social conditions of the old South. It will surprise such persons to learn that one out of every four victims of lynch law since statistics began on this subject in 1885 has been a white person.

Lynch law, therefore, has been one of the blots on the record of American life. . . .

He who condones or, what is worse, actually encourages it, assumes a grave responsibility.—*Saint Paul* (Minn.) *Pioneer Express.*

What Is Behind These Mob Outbreaks?

THESE extraordinary outbursts of mass violence at so widely separated points may perhaps be explained as regards each separate case by particular circumstances that inflamed local feeling. But taking them all together, don't they represent resentment and revolt against the easy-going attitude that has kept American criminal law from holding the sureness and terror for evil doers that the law of England and of Canada holds?

Mob law is the same thing as no law. The only "lesson" these lynchings can have for an America that does not want to lapse into barbarism is that lynching cannot be condoned or tolerated. But there is a warning in these outbreaks—the stern and unmistakable warning that dilatory, technical and uncertain administration of justice not only deprives the public of the protection it has a right to expect from its courts, but deprives the courts of the respect and confidence which should be their strength and make mob rule unthinkable.—*Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock).

The Lesson

GOVERNOR ROLPH, reading the news accounts from St. Joseph, Mo., may admire his handiwork; few others will do so. The efforts of years are often undone by some cheap and reckless remark from an irresponsible personage who should know better, but it is seldom that the damage follows so swiftly, or with such appalling clarity. It seems fair to say that the Governor of California now has two lynchings and (in Maryland) a bitter outbreak of mob violence mainly to his personal credit; thanks to him, passions have been released all over the country which may prove difficult to still and the consequences of which are likely to be as subtly far-reaching as they must be lamentable.

That, rather than what Governor Rolph supposed, is the real "lesson" which the country has derived from this strange episode. The only hopeful aspect is that it has been so thorough and unmistakable. It should now be perfectly plain to everyone why lynch law will get us nowhere and why it is so dangerous a thing to temporize with even in cases where it seems most nearly justifiable.—*New York Herald Tribune.*

Lynching of Kidnapers

THE fury that vented itself in the lynching of the two confessed kidnapers and murderers of young Brooke Hart in California may be understood, but once again reasons stand out plainly why mob action can never be condoned. While the right men were obtained eventually by those who broke into the jail at San Jose, but for the sheriff and a deputy who suffered injuries in protecting him, a prisoner having no connection with the case would have been dragged out.

No matter what the righteous indignation against the fiends who kidnap and murder, . . . the true way and the best way is to leave them to the law instead of to an irresponsible mob, led in this latest instance by a sixteen-year-old boy who seems to have been carried away more by a lust for excitement than by any sense of doing justice.

If the law had been slow to act in such cases, some show of excuse might be seen for individual action; but a speed record was set by the authorities in this case in apprehending the murderers and they were on their way to legal execution, California having only recently provided the death penalty for kidnaping for ransom as well as for murder. Moreover, the Federal Government and several of the states have given remarkable exhibitions lately of sureness and swiftness in bringing kidnapers to justice.—*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.*

California's "Lesson"

THE happenings in Maryland and California prove, if proof was needed, that lynching is not a sectional evil. The South has no monopoly in mob violence. . . . But we cannot rest upon the assumption that we are no worse than others. We should condemn the lynchings in California, and we should cap that condemnation with the most earnest resolve to prevent any recurrence of such stains upon our own life.

That is the lesson the nation needs, not the one boasted by Governor Rolph, proudly vaunting the San Jose lapse into barbarism.—*Birmingham* (Ala.) *Age-Herald.*

Mob Justice in California

LYNCH law cannot be defended in any civilized country where justice supposedly is administered by the authorities after due trial. Acts of mob vengeance have a demoralizing effect on a community and state after the fury of the moment has subsided. Repeated outbreaks of violence would soon create a mob spirit, resentful of legal inhibitions, intolerant of normal criminal processes and prone to attempt control by minority coercion. . . .

There can be no discrimination in outbreaks of this sort. One lynching cannot be condoned and another deplored. The offense is less against the victims than against orderly citizenship and the due processes of law. . . . Authorities throughout the land should read in the California lynching the determination of the American people that kidnaping will not be tolerated. Justice should move more swiftly and no considerations of mercy should spare the known perpetrators of such atrocious crimes.—*Indianapolis Star.*

The Disgrace of California

THE California lynching is a terrible manifestation of growing popular wrath against kidnaping. . . . But resort to mob "justice" was not the human way to go about punishing criminals of any stripe. If lynching were ever justifiable, it perhaps would be in an atrocity of this sort, but civilization cannot tolerate primitive madness, if its institutions and its laws are to endure. . . .

The determination of these western citizens, who may have entertained the idea that they were harking back to something heroic in the vigilante age, could well be directed toward better law enforcement in state and nation.—*Cleveland* (Ohio) *News.*

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3932

WASHINGTON, D. C.
NEWS
DEC 1 1933

Lynch Bees and Governors

Editor, The News:

CONTRAST the two governors—Ritchie and Rolph. One stands for law and justice; the other for mob violence. Rolph is playing with dynamite when he incites the mob and urges it to further frenzy. Law and justice are a slow, painful evolution of the ages. Law is a sane, careful way of protecting the rights of the individual. If Gov. Rolph favors the mob taking the law into its own hands, how about a state that frames an innocent man like Mooney or Billings? May not Rolph's espousal of "direct action" suggest a mob uprising to free Mooney?

Gov. Rolph will find that he has opened Pandora's box of troubles and all sorts of unexpected results will occur. If the governor of a big state has no faith in the legal processes of his own machine, it shows what a rotten machine he is the head of.

WILLIAM BLISS.

Editor, The News:

ALLOW me to congratulate you on your splendid editorial, "San Jose Lynching."

Demonstrative of an intelligent press, your editorial should be carried by papers thruout the United States and the world.

In continental Europe our American lynchings have long branded us.

Your denunciation of the blockhead Rolph is particularly gratifying.

L. N. G.

Editor, The News:

I APPROVE the editorial on the California lynching in The News.

I. L. HUNTER.

Editor, The News:

THE diabolic barbarity of the mob in California last Sunday night showed the world how little man has gone in the direction of reason and away from savagery. We in our sophistication are content to look back with scorn upon the era of witch-burning in early American history, but can it parallel the disgraceful scene which California staged? Sunday's primitive atmosphere of revenge?

Gov. Rolph, sitting contentedly in his chair—while Mooney and Billings rot in their cells—sanctions with smug self-assurance the latest inhumanity of mob violence! Whereto, next, if an advocate of anarchy can hold the high public office of state governor?

CLARENCE GUREWITZ.

Editor, The News:

"LET'S get him!" The cry of a frenzied mob. In other words—"to hell with law and order!" Anarchy! The mob spirit grows. Who knows, after cataclysms of destruction, where it will finally lose its now growing strength?

But what is the cause behind this blind fury? Corruption of the courts, of law officers, of men in high places. The people know that justice has been both blinded and stifled. Will those individuals responsible hang from an unauthorized gallows?

If the next Congress does not pass a Federal anti-lynching law to suppress this anarchistic movement, then an awakened citizenry will eventually deduce that it can also hang the influential "big wigs" whose notorious robberies have been revealed by a Senate investigating committee.

VOLTAIRE.

Editor, The News:

SOME weeks ago, a resentful roar emanated from the press when a colored youth, guilty of a most heinous crime, was lynched on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Now many of these chameleon-like journalists who roared the loudest are condoning the ghastly lynching of ~~two degenerate men in the~~ sunny(?) state of California.

It should scarcely be necessary to say that the identical spirit that afflicted Maryland groups (their reason temporarily dethroned by the savage crime) swept like prairie fire over San Jose, with the same devastating results.

To roundly condemn the group that lynched the colored boy and condone the lynchings of two white boys makes one inclined to agree with a recent, ironic utterance of Bernard Shaw, viz., "This world is the lunatic asylum for the other planets."

If Gov. Rolph of California actually believes that lynching will actually lessen the crime of kidnaping, it logically follows that lynching will lessen other crimes too numerous to mention.

EDMUND GAINSBOROUGH.

Editor, The News:

JOHN M. HOLMES and Thomas H. Thurmond may both deserve death now, and eternal punishment in the next world, but no governor who respects law and order should make such a statement following the acts of the mob at San Jose.

As you "shout," governor, so back comes the answer. You shout brutality and the answer comes back with more brutality. Your statements are unbecoming and undignified and will tend, I think, to make for disrespect for law and order.

E. E. DUDDING.

Editor, The News:

WHY condemn California for the hanging of two worse than savages, kidnapers of a promising youth.

Californians no doubt know of the "Vigilantes" of California. Montana followed California's example and the people of Montana thought so well of its "Vigilantes" they sent the leader to the Senate.

We want to stop lynching by Federal law. Embody into such a law immediate trial of murderers and kidnapers upon proof of their guilt. No longer months of delays by bails, court stays, etc. Unless these things eventuate, lynching of brutal murderers and kidnapers will continue.

W. E. RYAN.

Nobody's Soul His Own but Carter's Now, as He Sees It

Editor, The News:

THE solicitude your "C. A. F." recently expressed for Federal officeholders with "good records" losing their jobs for political reasons would be touching were it not for the unfortunate illustration he used—George Carter, public printer.

Regardless of whether Carter's record is good or bad, the question at once comes to one's mind, how did he get the job? And if your columnist doesn't know the answer, I'll tell him. He got it thru politics.

As a Republican, he was appointed to the job to succeed a Democrat—and he took office just one month after the Administration changed from Democratic to Republican. Nor did Carter lose much time in replacing Democrats holding key positions with Republicans. And Republicans hold these key positions today, nine months after a Democratic Administration superseded a Republican one.

During the years 1913 to 1921 all men and women working at the G. P. O. could call their souls their own; they were free to have and express their opinions on any and all subjects. Quite different, however, under Carter.

EX-EMPLOYE G. P. O.

'Nothing to Say' Is Atty.-Gen.'s Reply On Lynch Inquiry

By MARGUERITE YOUNG
(Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

Daily Worker 12-8-33 New York

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 7.—Talk about lynchings is one thing, in the Roosevelt administration and action is altogether something else again.

I asked Attorney General Homer S. Cummings today what he would do about the demands he personally received months ago for federal investigation of the lynchings of Negroes in Maryland and Alabama.

"I haven't anything to say about it," replied the attorney General.

And he smiled. And his long fingers came to rest in a gesture of finality on the bright cigar-lighter on his desk in front of his high judge's chair.

He said this, although just about twelve hours earlier President Roosevelt had publicly branded lynching "collective murder," and had said that the judicial function of government had fallen into "disrepair" and that "it must be a part of our program to re-establish it." This, although just a few moments before, Cummings himself had excoriated lynching in the abstract.

"It is so reprehensible," Cummings exclaimed, "so intolerable, so inexcuseable, so un-American, so unjust, so everything wrong that it is difficult to express myself in parliamentary fashion."

Daily Worker

In this connection Cummings promises to deal out "essential justice." He will, he explains, make persistent effort to catch liquor racketeers, particularly those who evade the revenue laws that require them to divvy up the booty with the Uncle Sam. Of this type of criminal the Attorney General says, "if I can't get him one way, I'll get him another, if I can't use one law, I'll use another because he ought to be gotten."

12-9-33

"Mr. Attorney General," I managed to get in, finally, "in view of President Roosevelt's statement, is the Department of Justice going to take any action with regard to lynchings?"

"Not in view of or as a concommitant of any statement," he says, removing his pince nez spectacles, his lean frame, the picture of Olympian judiciousness, "I can make a 'statement'; all I can say on the subject is that the recrudescence of lynching is a very distressing thing. There isn't any possible excuse for it."

"But about the demands you received for federal investigation?"

"We're doing the best we can here to create respect for law, because of the department's promptness in following up criminal cases and the results we have achieved."

And then came the blast on lynching—in principle. And then, finally, the confession that, with respect to specific cases, the head of the powerful Department of Justice couldn't express himself at all, either in parliamentary or unparliamentary fashion.

But what is Cummings directing the Department of Justice to do? Nothing. Despite the fact that carefully prepared legal briefs, explaining the grounds on which the Federal Government can act, have been in his hands for days.

PITTSBURGH, PA.
PRESS
DEC 6 1933

Urges Alabama to Protect Scottsboro Boys

Editor, The Pittsburgh Press:

IN THE past few months there has been a reign of lynchings in the South that is a disgrace not only to the South but to the whole United States. This reign is likely to be climaxed by the wholesale murder of the nine Scottsboro boys, their attorneys and star witnesses. They have received threatening letters; sentiment against them has intensified to the point of lynch hysteria.

The Scottsboro boys are innocent. Any right thinking person who is unprejudiced and who knows anything about this trial, realizes this.

I urge all Press readers to write to Governor Miller, of Alabama, and ask him to protect the Scottsboro boys from lynching.

This case has become internationally known and such an uncivilized end to it would be a stain upon the whole United States forever.

JUSTICE.

Deep Down Under Lynching

An appalling revival of lynching is sweeping across the land. There was a time when the harvest of lynching mobs exceeded 100 victims per year, but in recent decades the number of mob-murders has diminished substantially. Now the lust for blood has again assumed terrifying proportions.

World Tomorrow

Among the numberless solutions being proposed, three stand out: speed up the processes of justice so that criminals may more certainly be apprehended and made to feel the penalty of the law; make far more drastic the punishment meted out to wrongdoers; and enact a Federal law against lynching. The case for the first and third of these proposals is unassailable. The ease with which crime may now be committed with only a low mathematical probability that the criminal will ever be made to bear the full burden of a just legal sentence constitutes a scandal. And the urgent necessity of a national law against lynching and the placing of responsibility for its enforcement in the hands of Federal authorities, who are less swayed by local passions than State and community officials, is beyond question.

12-21-33

But the theory that drastic punishment is a deterrent to crime cannot be validated by the record of criminology. There was not less crime but more during the days when a hundred offenses were punishable with death, and there is not less crime in those states which now resort to capital punishment than in states which refrain from the practice. This fallacious theory is popular because it makes a scapegoat of the criminal and tends to relieve society of responsibility for the acts of its lawless members.

New York, N.Y.

The truth of the matter is that lawlessness and crime are rooted in the prevailing mode of life in the United States. Granted the greed and ruthlessness and callousness of our economic and political system, crime is inevitable and ineradicable. So long as each successive generation is taught to grab for itself and let the devil take the hindmost; so long as the investing public is fleeced by legal but outrageous manipulation of the stock market and the public treasury defrauded by legal but immoral devices on the part of rich taxpayers; so long as vested interests resort to legal and extra-legal acts of violence in protecting property rights against the just claims of exploited workers; and so long as patriots feel obliged to go out and slaughter citizens of other nations—that long will we continue to be engulfed in a never-ending series of crime waves.

The difference between legality and criminality seems extremely important to respectable middle-class people, while in moral quality there may be no ground for distinction. The damage done to society by a second-story man is inconsequential in contrast to the havoc wrought by such leading citizens as Insull, Mitchell and Wiggin, all of whom are still dwelling in luxurious liberty. The loss of life occasioned by machine guns in the hands of racketeers is lamentable but incomparably less than the casualties of an unjust and ruthless economic system. A thousand times more innocent men, women and children die at the hands of impassioned patriots than are killed by members of the "criminal class."

Pouring rosewater on a loathsome cancer is about as efficacious as the effort to cure crime by savage punishment meted out to the offender.

Excelsior Springs, Mo.
STANDARD

NOV 29 1933

Lynching in St. Joseph Last Night Recalls the Humiliating Experience Excelsior Springs Went Through When Negro Was Hanged Here in 1925

The lynching of a young Negro in St. Joseph last night recalls the lynching here in August of 1925, of Walter Mitchell, Negro farm hand who was accused of an attack on a white girl on the Excelsior Springs-Lawson road.

The girl recognized her assailant and a posse found Mitchell in a rooming house. He was arrested and brought to jail.

Early in the morning excited folks from north and west of Excelsior Springs began to gather in the street near the city jail. Mob violence was in their heart.

When local officers were about to take him to jail in Liberty, the violence of the crowd became more pronounced and armed with bricks, clubs, iron pipe they appeared at the rear door of the jail, threatening violence.

County Prosecutor Cummings, pleaded with the mod to let Mitchell be legally tried of the crime of which he had been accused. His talking seemed to quiet the crowd until the girl arrived at the jail and identified Mitchell.

Her identification was the spark which set off the crowd. Word had been spread that a riot squad of Kansas City police were on the way to Excelsior Springs.

"Let's get him before the Kansas City police arrive," was the battle cry of the crowd. The mob stormed the city hall and with a sledge hammer broke down the jail door and took their prisoner. Mitchell was struck down several times by the crowd, but a part of the mob rushed him down Thompson avenue, followed by a great crowd of men and women.

A new rope appeared mysteriously from somewhere and the noose was thrown over the negro's head. He stumbled along the street, half running, with perspiration dripping from his face and his shirt torn open at the breast.

Although he was kicked and cuffed often, he showed no sign of terror. There was no cringing, no pleading, or yelling for help.

The crowd stopped at a tree opposite the Elms hotel, but someone shouted "take him out of town" and the crowd rushed him south of town near the Wabash crossing.

S. J. Rowell pleaded with the crowd to think of what they were about to do, but he was threatened with personal violence.

The rope was drawn tight and the negro's toes tipped the ground. He was hand-cuffed and helpless. The rope was loosened and he was asked if he had anything to say. For an answer he said, "I have notning to say except that I want another chance."

The reply to this short plea for his life was another pull on the rope and he was stretched six feet from the ground and the rope was tied to a fence post.

The leaders in the hanging wiped the sweat from their faces and for several minutes stood with arms folded and quietly beheld the results of their act. The crowd was quiet. There was little yelling, men and women turned their faces from the ghastly sight and shook their heads. One by one the crowd left the scene of the tragedy.

That was Excelsior Springs' experience with lynch law. Humiliation soon came to the community as metropolitan press gave much adverse publicity to Excelsior Springs. Pictures of the lynching were printed over the world. It is the consensus of opinion that Excelsior Springs will never go through another such experience.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions

White Press, Northern.

3933

"They Were Lynching Me—And Two White Workers Saved Me"

Louisiana Negro, Who Escaped After Being Hanged, Tells of Lynching in Which Another Died; to Speak in Harlem Tomorrow

On Saturday, Oct. 7, Anna Mae Larose, a white girl living with her mother and step-father, a man named Darvie, in Labadieville, La., left home. When she did not return that night or Sunday night, a search was instituted.

Just after dark, a deputy sheriff drove down the road, stopped his car at a certain point, entered the sugar-cane field, and immediately found the girl's body. She had been stabbed.

Daily Worker

Immediately, Freddie Moore, a Negro boy, who lived close to the girl's home, was arrested, and charged with murdering her. Word was sent out to adjoining counties, and even as far as New Orleans, that there would be a lynching Wednesday night, in Labadieville.

Though it was known that there would be a lynching, Sheriff Hemiel, of Napoleonville, conveniently left town Thursday night. The jailor, an old man of 60, named Landry, readily turned Moore over to the lynchers when they asked for him.

12-27-33

Moore was tortured, beaten, castrated, and hung to the bridge in the town of Labadieville. That same night, the gangsters, led by Deputy Sheriff Ferdinand Richard, went to the house where Norman Thibodeaux, 19-year-old Negro boy, was staying with his grandmother, on a plantation, brought him to the bridge, beat and tortured him, and hung him also. How he escaped is told by himself in the story below.

After the experiences told in this story, Thibodeaux was arrested for "peddling fish without a license," in New Orleans, where the sale of fish is a monopoly, and held in jail for fifteen days. Upon his release, he made contact with International Labor Defense representatives in New Orleans. His situation was still dangerous there, and the I.L.D. made arrangements for sending him to New York City, where he has now arrived. The full, dramatic story of the lynching of Thibodeaux and of his escape is here told for the first time.

On Thursday, Dec. 28, Thibodeaux will speak at a meeting called by the International Labor Defense and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, in Temple Baptist Church, 260 Lenox Ave., at eight o'clock.

By NORMAN THIBODEAUX
(As Told to Louis Colman)

On Oct. 11 I left New Orleans in the morning and arrived at Labadieville, La., about 4:30 in the afternoon of the next day. I came there to visit my grandmother.

After I got to my grandmother's house, I heard that a white girl named Anna Mae Larose, had been found killed in the cane-field, and they had a Negro boy, Freddie Moore, in jail.

Freddie Moore's mother went to see him that day. They wouldn't let her see him.

"I heard him crying and weeping," she told me. "I said: 'Is that my boy crying and weeping?' And they told me: 'Never mind, you can't see him.'

"I heard him say: 'Mama, get me out of here, Mama!' But they wouldn't even let me see him."

Thursday morning, about one or two o'clock, about six or seven men came into my house. They woke me up and stood by my bed. The one at the head of them was Ferdinand Pichard, the Labadieville deputy sheriff.

He said to me: "Nigger, get up and put your clothes on."

They all had guns, and when I didn't put my clothes on fast enough to suit them, Richards hit me with the butt end of his gun on the forehead. There's a big scar there yet. I put on my pants and my shirt, but they wouldn't let me put on my shoes or my cap.

They rushed me into a car. They'd been hitting me some over the head—I have big scars from that, too—and my head was all bleeding.

They stopped in front of the jail at Napoleonville for a minute. One of them said:

"Where will we put this nigger?"

"Put him in jail and keep him there safe where nobody can touch him," somebody said.

So they all laughed. They had got Freddie Moore out of that jail a while before.

"We're going to take you to Labadieville, and show you where your pal is strung up," they said to me.

When we got to Labadieville, they stopped at the bridge. There were about 600 men there, every one with a gun. They had every kind of a gun and pistol exept a machine-gun. The car stopped there, and they dragged me out of the car onto the bridge, where the automobile lights made it like daytime.

Freddie Moore was hanging from an overhead girder of the bridge. He was already dead. His clothes were all covered with blood. His toes were all burned where they had put red-hot irons to them. His hands were hanging free. They told me—and I found out later it was true—that the first thing they had done to him when they took him out of jail was to cut off his testicles.

Later on they took pictures of Freddie, with a sign hanging to his feet, saying:

"Niggers Let This Be An Example. Do Not Touch for 24 Hours. Mean It."

Before they took this picture, they tore off his shirt and tied his hands, to make it look more horrible. They peddled this picture all over New Orleans and everywhere around.

When they dragged me out of the car, they started to hit me. I guess about sixty or seventy took turns at hitting me. I knew some of them.

One was the District Attorney. I didn't know him then, but later on I'll tell you how I came to see him again.

There were two brothers named Emil among those beating me.

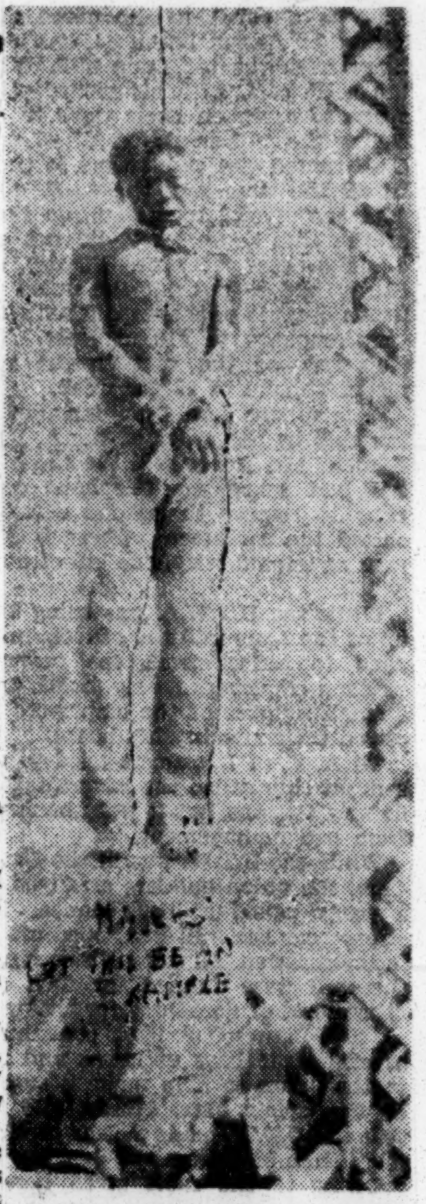
There was the man who owns the drug store in Labadieville. I don't know his name, but there's only one drug store there.

They hit me everywhere except on the soles of my feet. The only reason they didn't hit me there was because I was standing on them.

They tried to make me say my name was Norman Jackson. I told them no, my name was Norman Thibodeaux, so they started to beat me again.

The reason they wantd me to say my name was Norman Jackson, I found out from what they said:

The Other Victim



Freddie Moore (above), horribly mutilated and lynched by the mob which attempted to lynch Norman Thibodeaux also.

They had been torturing Freddie Moore before they hanged him. You could tell that from the condition he was in, especially his feet. Finally, it seems, they made him say that somebody by the name of Norman Jackson helped to kill this white girl. There wasn't anybody living anywhere near by that name, and I guess that's why Freddie said that. He hoped they would go looking for somebody by that name, and leave him alone. But it didn't do any good. They hung him anyway.

Then they heard there was somebody by the name of Norman living in my grandmother's house, and that's all they wanted to know.

I knew there wasn't any use saying anything to them, or pleading with them. I just told them I was innocent, and kept repeating it every time they hit me. I never pleaded with them.

They just had one rope that they hung Freddy Moore with, and they sent a boy away to get a brand new, springy rope. They put it around my neck, and threw the end of the rope over the girder to a boy who was standing there.

The District Attorney came up. He was a big fellow with glasses. Somebody said:

"Here's the big shot. Tell him what you want to say."

I said: "I have nothing to say. I am innoent."

The D. A. laughed and walked away.

"Nigger, you carry a dirk, don't you?"

"I don't even carry a pocket-knife," I said.

"You lying son-of-a-bitch," the fellow said, and he hit me with his gun.

All the big shots were standing around there, all dressed up nicely. One of them standing there in a brown suit said:

"This nigger don't even tremble—he will before we get through."

So they started to hit me again with their fists and guns.

"Nigger," they said, "do you know how to pray?"

"No," I said, "I don't know any prayers."

"Nigger, you'd better learn some kind of prayer quick because, you black son-of-a-bitch, we're going to string you up high."

There was one heavy-set white woman standing in the crowd, shouting:

"Kill that black bastard!"

Somebody said:

"Let's hang the nigger and be done with it."

Another voice said:

"No, let's burn him. We hung the other."

But I guess since they had the rope around my neck, they thought it would do O. K.

They started to pull me up, slow. It was a new, springy rope. It isn't an easy death to die. It isn't hanging, like that. It's strangulation.

They pulled me up two feet. I hung there, strangling slow.

Then the old man of the bridge, the bridge-tender, came up. His name is Coudeaux. He began to say:

"Cut him down! This boy is innocent. He just came into town today I don't know what the sheriff and from New Orleans. I saw him get off the other big shots said, but the old the bus. He doesn't know anything man's son, Harry Codeaux, got up on about the killing." the side of the bridge and cut me

I was hanging there and I couldn't down, and I fell to the bridge. say anything. But I was listening. They are two white workers, Cou- and while I was strangling I was deaux and his old man, that saved saying over and over again to my- my life. self: "I am innocent. I am innocent."

LYNCHING AND MOB VIOLENCE

Another case of mob violence and attempted lynching in the United States was reported last week from Milledgeville, Georgia.

12-8-33

Though Governor Rolph, of California condoned the lynching of the two alleged kidnappers at San José the business men of that State are strongly against it. The Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco has issued a statement condemning the lynching which is described as

> a brutal outburst of primitive lust for vengeance—mob violence, marked by the most degrading brutality, violating the very spirit of government and disgracing the State.

Mr. Hoover, the former President of the United States, is one of the signatories of this statement.

Negroes Chased Out of Town

Meanwhile 300 negroes have been chased out of the town of Princess Anne (Maryland) by a thousand jubilant citizens, says the Central News. It was at Princess Anne on Tuesday of last week that a mob of townsfolk fought with the Federal troops when the Governor ordered the arrest of nine men accused of taking part in the lynching of an aged negro in October. On Wednesday night the circuit court set free four men who were accused of leading the mob which lynched the negro, finding that there was not sufficient evidence against them.

A great crowd outside the court yelled their delight at hearing of the acquittals, and another crowd rounded up the coloured people in the town and chased them out.

The terrified negroes fled to Crisfield, some five miles away.

A State inquiry has also been opened to determine the responsibility for the lynching of Lloyd Warner, the 19-year-old negro who was burned alive while awaiting trial at St. Joseph, Missouri, on a charge of attacking a 20-year-old white girl.

Mob's National Anthem.—

My country, 'tis of thee,
Gone on a lynching spree,
  Of thee I sing;
I love thy flimsy jails
Where onslaught never fails
To get imprisoned males
  And make them swing.

Our country's law, at thee,
Fraught with futility,
  We thumb the nose;
Let Maryland run red,
California lose its head,
And South Carolina shed
  All legal pose.

12-16-33

May other States take heed:
Lynch law is what we need
  To stamp out crime;
For courts and things like that,
We wouldn't trade a cat;
Justice? The dame's a bat—
  Blind half the time.

Lynching is all the rage
With folks of every age,
  Its thrills and throbs
Sway many a vengeful crowd
That loves to wave a shroud;
The land may well be proud
  When safe for mobs.

—*Edmund J. Kiefer in the Buffalo Courier-Express.*

LONG BRANCH, N. J.
RECORD

DEC 1 1933

WHY LYNCH RULE?

A wave of lynchings has swept the country. Public indignation against law breakers has reached such a strained point that mob justice is being meted out in open defiance of authorities.

The California lynching is an example. Two alleged kidnapers and murderers were put to death in a dramatic, yet gruesome fashion after the body of their victim had been recovered.

In St. Joseph, Mo., a Negro, charged with assaulting a white woman, was executed and burned by an angry populace.

A similar incident happened in Maryland but with entirely different results.

Governor Rolph of California virtually gives official sanction to the mob by saying that a pardon awaits any member who may be arrested.

The Chief Executive of Missouri says he is "shocked" while Governor Ritchie of Maryland sent armed troops to arrest members of the mob which lynched the Negro and a battle with infuriated citizens resulted. Fortunately there were no casualties.

What is the basic cause of this mad desire on the people's part to take the law into their own hands?

Out in Milwaukee three men, alleged members of the Touhey gang, were exonerated of the charge of kidnaping a prominent brewer and holding him for ransom. The court gave the trio a clean bill, but the people still debate the case.

Under our judicial system a criminal has the advantage. Every man should be given an opportunity to prove his innocence, but, unfortunately, this has mitigated against justice and placed the evil doer in an advantageous position. Given a smart lawyer and a sympathetic jury, the criminal has every chance to escape punishment. Courts, themselves, are inclined to dilly-dally over technical points and if a conviction is obtained, the long procedure of appeal precludes immediate punishment.

In no other country but ours do the wheels of justice turn so slowly through the mire of red tape.

The people, seeing desperate characters escape retribution almost every day, have started to revolt openly in these lynchings.

This country has been in the grip of criminals for many years. Since prohibition the underworld has controlled the nation. Public sentiment will no longer tolerate kidnapings and other heinous crimes and the courts must speed up. Only through prompt trials and quick justice will public indignation be eased.

This does not mean that mob rule should be condoned. It has no place in our civilization. But lynch law is now with us and it must have been caused by some fundamental evil or condition which the public will no longer tolerate. The California Governor's official approval of the lynching at San Jose will inspire other similar incidents but we can't get away from the fact that some condition is responsible for mob justice as we have it today.

SALEM, ORE.
STATESMAN

NOV 28 1933

Judge Lynch

POPULAR feeling condones the mob action in lynching two confessed kidnapers and murderers of a San Jose young man. The lynching it is asserted will be a warning to kidnapers everywhere. Perhaps it will; but in this case there was no necessity other than the venting of fury for the lynching. The criminals were in the arms of the law. They had confessed. The corpus delicti had been found. Their plea of insanity would have been of no avail; and the California punishment for the crime would be life imprisonment or execution.

Nor is there justification for mob action because of leniency in other parts of the country. Juries at Kansas City dealt severely with kidnapers, in one case directing the death penalty. In the Oklahoma cases recently tried the kidnapers were given life sentences although their victim was returned unharmed. There is no ground for thinking that the San Jose kidnapers would have gotten off from suffering the consequences of their beastly act.

Comment is useless now. But when the governor of California lauds the action of the mob and promises to pardon the members, then the cause of justice seems trailed in the dust. In vigilante days direct action was resorted to only because there were no dependable courts. But that condition does not rule in California today.

Lynching is still lynching whether it is applied to a blackamoor on the Eastern Shore of Maryland or to a pair of degenerate whites in California.

Lynchings-1933
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Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

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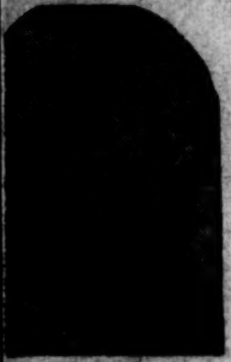
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
NEWS

NOV 28 1933

A SINISTER CHALLENGE

THERE is a sinister challenge to constituted authority, not only in the actual lynching of the confessed kidnapers of Brooke L. Hart, but in the condoning of the deed by Gov. James Rolph, of California.



Gov. Rolph

Every phase of the tragic episode is a grim warning of the extent to which law and order has broken down in this country.

When 15,000 citizens feel the necessity for taking the discharge of justice in their own hands matters have surely reached a pretty pass.

Should such procedure become the rule, instead of the exception, one does not have to be an apostle of gloom to foresee chaos supplanting order and injustice completely triumphing over justice to the ultimate doom of the ideals and traditions upon which this country is founded.

* * * *

There are courts and law officers to discharge the duties which the California mob took upon itself to execute.

Law In Disrepute

Of course, there is no gainsaying the fact that our laws have fallen into disrepute. Nor is there any denying that a bad situation is being made worse, when some such impractical, unenforceable and corruption-ridden piece of legislation as the Pinchot liquor control plan is offered as a corrective measure.

Similarly, no defense can be offered to the charge that corrupt politicians and legal authorities have precipitated the breakdown of law and order through traffic with organized crime, graft and various forms of misconduct.

But, even so, there is no excuse for a law officer, such as Gov. Rolph, to condone mob rule as manifest by the disgraceful California lynchings.

* * * *

Condoning mob exhibitions can only result in a situation more intolerable than the one sought to be eliminated.

Gov. Rolph may find many who agree with him that the kidnapers summarily dealt with by the California mob got precisely what they deserved.

But the principle of the procedure is too faulty for acceptance.

Rolph a Contributor

There is nothing wrong with our system of justice. The fault is with its administration.

Gov. Rolph, himself, is not without blame for contributing to the miscarriage of justice and the growing disrespect for law and law officers. His attitude in the Tom Mooney case is not productive of much-needed faith in the administration of justice under the present arrangement of things.

* * * *

Instead of condoning lynchings, Gov. Rolph would do well to first make sure that his administrative house was in order.

There will be nothing gained by condoning or condemning the California exhibition of mob rule.

It is first and foremost a challenge to constituted authority.

Only One Answer

And the only answer that can be given is for constituted authority to place itself in a position to be worthy of the respect of the people and capable of demanding the respect of the criminals who have been spawned at guinea-pig ratio since the ignoble experiment of prohibition. Get rid of the corrupt politicians who have contributed to the legal delinquency and loss of respect. Kick out shyster lawyers and judges who are a disgrace to the bench.

In short, reinstate justice and honesty.

By no other method is one of the darkest blots on our escutcheon going to be effectively and permanently wiped out.

CHICAGO, ILL.
News

NOV 29 1933

TWO WAYS WITH LYNCHING MOBS.

It is fortunate for the cause of law and order that the extraordinary approval by Gov. Rolph of California of an outbreak of mob violence at San Jose coincides with a sincere demonstration against the lynching evil by Gov. Ritchie of Maryland.

It would be idle to deny that many citizens and public officials sympathize with the California executive, and believe that the San Jose lynching of two kidnapers, who had murdered their victim before demanding a ransom for him, was an instance of wholesome justice. But such sentiments, even if attributable in part, at least, to the weakness, uncertainty and exasperating slowness of the processes of the criminal law, should not be melodramatically voiced, or applauded, by public officials sworn to enforce the constitutions and statutes of their respective states.

Gov. Rolph, in condoning a lynching and declaring his intention to pardon any one convicted of participation in that crime, violated his oath of office as well as the principles of constitutional government. His attitude can scarcely fail to stimulate mob violence.

On the other hand, Gov. Ritchie, in ordering state troops into a community in which local officials had exhibited sympathy with the lynchers of a Negro accused of rape, and insisting that the known leaders of the mob be apprehended and properly tried, set a commendable example of enlightened devotion to basic American principles of justice.

Lawlessness cannot be eradicated by lawlessness. Civilization implies self-restraint, self-discipline and popular willingness to abide by due process of law. Kidnaping must be suppressed, but the recrudescence of mob violence is fraught with peril as great as that of kidnaping.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
TIMES

NOV 29 1933

THE MARYLAND REBELLION

SALISBURY, MD., is in rebellion against the state. Its citizens attacked state officials and state troops, driving them out of town.

The issue is no longer merely the apprehension and punishment of the Princess Anne lynchers. The issue now is whether the state of Maryland will re-establish authority over its rebellious citizens.

The duty of the Governor is plain. Local authorities having failed—if indeed they tried—to prevent anarchy and wholesale violence, state troops should be kept there until the reign of law is recognized and respected.

Whether state officials and police by their inaction partly were to blame for the lynching last month is still an open question. Nevertheless, Governor Ritchie deserves credit for his belated attempt to use the power of the state to capture the lynch leaders protected by the local authorities.

But the fact that only four of the nine lynching suspects were captured, coupled with the fact that the attorney-general and the troops yesterday retreated from the town under attack by another mob, leaves a much more dangerous situation than existed after the lynching.

By yesterday's violence the mob spirit was encouraged. Lawless elements all over the state will grow.

Maryland, like any other state, is made up chiefly of peaceful and law-abiding citizens. The purpose of law is to protect the community from the lawless minority. Governor Ritchie can not compromise with mob rebellion.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
EVE. TRIBUNE

DEC 1 1933

Professor Fears Lynching Wave Due to Rolph Stand

By Roger Batchelder.

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New Yoork, Dec. 1.—"A cycle of suicides usually follows an unusual method of meeting death, and unless something is done about the present craze for lynching people, there will be the same widespread flair for lynchings," said Professor Robert S. Woodward, head of the department of psychology of Columbia university, in commenting on the outrages committed in three states following the tacit consent to "lynch law" of Governor Rolph of California.

"Unless the governors of the several states follow the attitude of Governor Ritchie of Maryland in quelling mob rule, the country should prepare for such a reign of outlawry as has not been known since the vigilantes of the west used their own methods. The attitude of Governor Rolph in condoning the unofficial killing of kidnapers will have a serious effect on the administration of law unless something is done about it.

"If a civil officer, sworn to maintain the law, tells the crowd to go out and do what it wants and that he will back it up, there is a perfectly normal demoralization of the crowd. 'If a governor,' people say, 'does not want to uphold the law, why should we?' The result, naturally, is a general flaunting of the law, and an incentive to primitive methods of justice.

"The governors, nominally in charge of troops, should see that every prisoner is protected until he is taken to a place of safety. If a small city cannot or will not maintain order in proper fashion, the prisoners should be taken elsewhere. In fact, I think that they should be taken to a safe place immediately, before a mob becomes organized.

"Troops should be used, if necessary, though it would be much simpler to take precautions beforehand."

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
NEWS

NOV 29 1933

Ineffaceable Blot

EDITOR: I want to contribute my word of praise for your editorial on "Sober Second Thought." Lynching of Negroes in the so-called "backward states" by groups of irresponsible whites driven by fanatical race hatred can be explained, though not condoned. But the cold-blooded, premeditated, sadistic mob-murder of two white men in a supposedly civilized community is as dastardly a crime as the original murder of Brooke Hart. And above all this is the fact that not only was this extra-legal murder condoned, but it was actually encouraged and praised by the highest executive of the state . . . the official pledged to the support and enforcement of law and order! This is the final act that puts an ineffaceable blot on the state of California.

Will The News have the courage to call for the arrest and conviction of the confessed leaders of the mob, and for the impeachment of Gov. Rolph?—Lester F. Pease.

DES MOINES, IA.
REGISTER

NOV 30 1933

COURT BLAME PUT ON PEOPLE

Dr. Herriott Discusses Lynching Causes.

The people themselves are responsible for the alleged inefficiency of the courts which they are protesting by barbaric lynchings, Dr. Frank I. Herriott, head of the political science department at Drake university, declared Wednesday.

"Sudden Jars."

Dr. Herriott was commenting on the lynchings at San Jose, Cal., and at St. Joseph, Mo.

"Ordinarily, normal human beings are walking combustibles capable of blowing up at any moment if suddenly jarred," Dr. Herriott declared.

"Let them be distrustful and fearful of the clumsiness of the courts and let them be angry at and outraged against society—then they may become a mob of barbarians that will lynch," he said.

"Their Fault."

"The people distruct the courts, yet it is their fault if the courts cannot be trusted. The people are responsible for keeping state judges elective and they are responsible for legislation robbing the courts of power to expedite trials.

"The federal courts are notably more efficient. There is no reason why the state court systems should not be replanned after the federal pattern, the chief feature being appointive judges," Dr. Herriott declared.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN

DEC 4 1933

It Is A Mathematical Fact That Lynchings Are Less Frequent Where The Negro Population Is Densest

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* Much is being said at this time of the Negro and his criminal tendencies. I beg that you reproduce the following deliverance of Bishop-Coadjutor Jackson, of the Episcopal Diocese of Alabama, at the missionary council of the Episcopal Church, held during the year 1894. Bishop Jackson said:

> There is not throughout this country a more certain sense of security of life and property than there is in the black belt of Alabama. That section of Alabama, where the Negro is ten to one, is the only section of this country that I have visited where all doors are open and a lock is a strange thing.

The teachings of Jesus, in precept and life, will prove more powerful as a corrective than the shotgun or the lyncher's rope. GEORGE F. BRAGG, SR.

Baltimore, Nov. 19, 1933.

TRENTON, N. J.
TIMES

NOV 28 1933

Moore Won't Comment On Lynching Situation

CAMDEN, N. J., Nov. 28 (AP).—Governor A. Harry Moore declined to comment today on the actions of Governors Albert C. Ritchie and James Rolph, Jr., in connection with recent lynchings.

Ritchie sent Maryland National Guardsmen to arrest alleged leaders of a lynching mob, while Rolph approved the action of a crowd which hanged two men in California.

"They are situations which have occurred in States in opposite parts of the country and a result of local conditions," said Governor Moore. "I don't wish to take the position of criticizing or commending the respective Governors.

The Governor came to Camden to participate in an NRA parade.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
EVENING PUBLIC LEDGER

NOV 28 1933

PENOLOGIST FLAYS ROLPH LYNCH TALK

Dr. Robinson Sees Future Mob Acts Encouraged; Dr. Poling's View Same

Philadelphians today continued to voice criticism of the attitude of Governor James Rolph, Jr., of California, in condoning the lynching Sunday at San Jose of two kidnapper-slayers.

"Governor Rolph's declaration will simply encourage lynching and lawlessness in the future," said Dr. Louis N. Robinson, penologist and newly appointed trustee of the Eastern Penitentiary.

"While it may be said that the kidnappers got just what they deserved, I frankly cannot understand how the Executive responsible for law and order in California could condone the mob action.

"I am satisfied that society can organize to handle the crime of kidnapping in an orderly, legal fashion."

Dr. Daniel A. Poling, president of the International Society of Christian Endeavor, in this city to deliver an address, expressed similar sentiments.

"Governor Rolph and Deputy Sheriff Howard Buffington cannot both be right," he said. "Buffington risked his life to defeat the mob, to keep his oath and to protect society from mob violence. Governor Rolph's statement repudiates Buffington's act.

"The road that Sheriff Buffington tried to block leads to anarchy. Crime, whatever its proportions, must not overthrow law and order."

PROVIDENCE, R. I.
BULLETIN

DEC 1 1933

MOB VIOLENCE

Mob violence usurping the regular and orderly process of law cannot be condemned too strongly in the United States. The brute instincts of men let loose in a blood-lust strike savagely at the protective framework of society and leave deep scars in a community where they have been surfeited. A mob howling for personal vengeance and casting aside the restraints which have been painfully reared for ordered living is the enemy of authority and cannot be condoned or tolerated.

Lynchings in Maryland, Missouri and California and a mob attack on National Guardsmen who arrested four men charged with participating in the lynching in Maryland bring forcibly to the attention of the nation an outbreak of lawlessness that should shock responsible officials into probing for its roots that they can be destroyed.

Though the average well-intentioned and law-abiding citizen could find no pity in his heart for the horrible fate of the brutal San José kidnapers, nevertheless he cannot blink the fact that the law, in its regular course, would have arrived at the same end without the brutalizing effect of mob violence. No exceptions can be made without inviting the mob spirit to spread like a contagion. Society for its own protection cannot open the Pandora's box and free the evil spirits of mob action. The majesty of the law then becomes a mockery and King Mob raises its unlovely head.

Ashmun Brown makes a point which should give serious concern to every citizen who hopes that some day the United States will be free of the incubus of lawlessness. He recites the startling fact that in the Maryland and San Jose lynchings "the majority of those actively engaged were youths, whose sadistic impulses and lust to kill were all too apparent."

We hear much of the breakdown of authoritarian regulations, of the decreasing influence of the home and other healthy environments, of the scorn of or indifference to the law and to tradition on the part of young people. We take this as platitudinous, without too seriously disturbing ourselves, until the unwelcome fact, in highly concentrated form, hits us like a blow between the eyes. There is no need of dwelling upon the danger of letting such a spirit breed in this country.

There is very great need, however, of finding remedies to suppress it or, rather, canalize and control it. Obviously our process of justice must be speeded up and made more certain

Without doubt, in the back of the mind of these recent mobs, was impatience with the orderly process of law. They clamored for speedy action and took the law in their own hands. But deeper than this mechanical imperfection, there is a moral or spiritual unrest in the land, and the economic conditions of the past four years have contributed to further dislodgment and unsettlement. There seems to be a craving for action and excitement and more action and excitement. There seems to be a mocking disregard of restraints; yet such restraints are the foundation of civilization. These outbreaks of lawlessness, following the past decade of violence, are nature's sign that there is something fundamentally unhealthy with our civilization. It is the job of men who care for this country to find out what is the matter and join with men of like mind in eradicating it.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press. (Northern.)

3935

TIMES
Glens Falls, N.Y.
FEB 15 1933

LYNCHINGS ON DECLINE

At a time when encouraging news is relatively scarce, it is worth noticing that the number of lynchings in the United States during 1932 fell to eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept.

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TRIBUNE
Lowell, Ind.
FEB 16 1933

A LESSON FOR MOBS

How unjust it is to judge of guilt on the strength of superficial circumstantial evidence was illustrated some time ago by the case of a 11 year-old boy murdered in Arkansas presumably for a small amount of money he carried.

It was known that shortly before his death he had been in company with a one-eyed negro boy, who also was missing. Search for the negro was begun, with open threats of summary vengeance. After several days the negro boy was found not far from where the white boy was killed. But he was also dead, with indications that he gave his life in common battle with the white lad's murderers.

Now suppose that the two boys had separated before the white boy had captured the negro lad, who was killed. And suppose the mob sightless eye would have identified him beyond question. There would have been just one more lynching of a negro, despite his pleadings and protestations of innocence.

This should be a lesson for any who may be tempted to take part in mob murder.

GLOVERSVILLE, N. Y.
HERALD
MAR 10 1933

LYNCHINGS ON DECLINE

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FRESNO, CALIF.
BEE
MAR 27 1933

Brighter Side

The Tragedy of Lynching is the title of a volume issued by the North Carolina Press. It represents the first comprehensive study of all such lynchings in the United States from 1889 to 1932. Its author is a southerner, Arthur Raper, field secretary of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation.

In the forty-three year period the number of victims of mob violence totaled 3,724. More than four-fifths of these were Negroes, less than one-sixth of whom, however, were accused of assaults on white women. According to the author:

> These facts utterly demolish the claim that lynchings are a means of protecting the virtue of white women.

Worse than this is the fact that a considerable number of those tortured, burned or hanged were not even charged with any crime and doubt exists as to the guilt of a large number of others. These were the unhappy victims of racial suspicion and hatred.

It is not a happy picture.

But there is a brighter side, namely that in the South itself large groups of men and women are working—and with good results, too—to wipe out the infamy of depriving any man of life and liberty simply because of the color of his skin.

MT. CLEMENS, MICH.
LEADER
FEB 14 1933

LYNCHINGS ON DECLINE

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NEW YORK CITY JOURNAL
APRIL 18, 1933

GEORGIA LEADS IN MOB DEATHS, REPORT SHOWS

By ROBERT G. NIXON,
International News Service Staff Correspondent.

ATLANTA, Ga., April 18.—Judge Lynch, whose summary jungle law has claimed the lives of 3,724 victims in the United States in 41 years, is "on the spot"

In an exhaustive investigation of lynchings from 1889 through 1930, the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, headed by George Fort Milton, Chattanooga publisher has found that the majority of mob murders are preventable, that innocent persons often are the victims of mob hysteria and that lynchings have no basis in necessity.

The commission's report, "the tragedy of lynching," dealing particularly with intimate case studies of the 21 lynchings of 1930, has just been released.

Among its startling findings are:

ASSAULT CASES FEW.

Fewer than a fourth of the lynching victims during the 41-year period were accused of assaulting women, the "usual crime" chief occasion for mob violence.

"Those who apologize for lynching as a necessary defense of womanhood," the commission declared, "in reality doubly betray the Southern woman, first in making her danger greater by exaggerating her helplessness, and second by undermining the authority of police and courts, which are her legitimate protectors."

Two of the 21 victims in 1930 afterward were proved innocent. There was doubt of guilt of 11 others.

Lynching, while decreasing rapidly during the past three decades, is becoming almost exclusively a Southern practice. Ninety-seven per cent of the nation's lynchings occured in the South in recent years, compared to 82 per cent in earlier periods.

GEORGIA LEADS.

Georgia, with 465 mob deaths, leads the lynching toll since 1889. Mississippi is second with 464 lynchings Texas third with 364 and Louisiana fourth with 349 victims.

Lynching, the commission found, also is becoming increasingly a racial phenomenon. On the basis of Negro population, the percentage of illegal hangings during the 41-year period was greatest, in the order named, in Florida, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas.

Mob violence flames most frequently in sparsely-populated and newly developed rural areas where education and cultural influences are at their lowest.

GLEN FALLS, N. Y. TIMES
FEBRUARY 6, 1933

NEW YORK—Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept, the department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches reported today. The number was eight, the department said, as compared with 13 in 1931, 12 in 1930 and ten in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six negroes.

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.
OUTLOOK
MARCH 27, 1933

Institute Recorded Only Eight Lynchings in 1932

TUSKEGEE, Ala., March 27 (U.P.)—Eight lynchings, the fewest in five years, occurred in the United States during 1932, according to a report released here recently by Tuskegee (Negro) institute.

They took place in the following states: Arkansas, one; Florida, one; Kansas, one; Kentucky, one; Louisiana, one; Ohio, one; Texas, one, and Virginia, one.

In 31 instances, law enforcement officers prevented lynchings, thus saving the lives of se[illegible]n white men and 31 Negroes.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN

MAR 26 1933

PASS THE ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

One of the measures to which the Legislature ought to give careful consideration during the days that remain before adjournment is Delegate Goodman's anti-lynching bill. This proposal was introduced nearly a month ago and referred to the Judiciary Committee of the House. As long as the banking and budgetary crises continued to absorb the attention of the legislators, they could not in fairness be expected to devote their time and attention to such matters as this bill covers. But now that the emergency measures have taken shape, the anti-lynching bill has a proper claim on their time and their interest.

The fundamental purpose of the Goodman bill is to make a county in which a mob outbreak occurs financially liable to the victim or to the victim's estate. This is a sound legislative approach to the lynching problem. The bill may be in need of amendment as to details. It might, for example, be appreciably strengthened by adding a section that would directly authorize the Governor or the Attorney-General to offer a reward for information that would lead to the identification and arrest of a mob's members. But it is of the highest importance to set up the principle that a county whose officers fail to protect individuals in their personal rights is financially responsible for the failure. This principle is already recognized in the Maryland code in cases where a mob damages property. It ought to be further recognized in cases in which a mob inflicts personal injuries or death.

There ought to be no objection at Annapolis to such a move as this. Maryland, fortunately, has but few lynchings, but even one lynching in a decade constitutes a blot on the record of the State. When the opportunity to help prevent such blots by appropriate legislation arises, Senators and Delegates ought to take advantage of it without delay.

N. Y. HERALD

APR 15 1933

In the News

Bruce Lockhart's "British Agent," which was the Book-of-the-Month Club's January choice, has a special timeliness today. Lockhart tells of distributing British money to foment revolt against the Bolsheviks in 1917; espionage may not seem as impossible to them as to Sir John Simon. . . . That report of the Southern Commission on Lynching, "The Tragedy of Lynching," has a paragraph of peculiar import today. "When the mob cannot have its murderous way in defiance of law," it suggests, it may "openly attempt to force the constituted authorities to do its bidding. Mobs do not loiter about courtrooms solely out of curiosity; they stand there, armed with guns and threats, to see that the courts grant their demands—death sentences and prompt executions. Such executions are correctly termed 'legal lynchings.'" . . . It is strange what local patriotism can do to a good man's mind. Welbourn Kelley, who wrote that curious letter about the Scottsboro case printed in yesterday's Herald Tribune, is author of "Inchin' Along," a first-rate novel which showed a genuine sympathy with the Southern Negro. Yet Mr. Kelley wrote a summary of the case which entirely omitted from Alabama's record the shameful first Scottsboro trial, which the Supreme Court of the United States reversed. . . . That reminds me: I wish I knew who had borrowed my copies of "Inchin' Along," of "British Agent," of "Lorenzo in Taos" and of "Ann Vickers." . . . Downtown folks describe Warren and Pearson's "Prices" as the "Bible of the devaluators. . . . One of those books that make events."

New pamphlets: "How to Restore Values," by Ambrose W. Benkert in collaboration with Earl Harding (John Day). . . . "Hitler: Menace to Mankind," by Sidney Wallach (Emerson Books).

PALO ALTO, CAL.
TIMES

APR 1 1933

SOUTH TAKING STEPS TO STOP LYNCHING

"The Tragedy of Lynching" is the title of a volume issued by the North Carolina Press. It represents the first comprehensive study of all such lynchings in the United States from 1889 to 1932. Its author is a southerner, Arthur Raper, field secretary of the Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation.

In the 43-year period the number of victims of mob violence totaled 3,724. More than four-fifths of these were Negroes, less than one-sixth of whom, however, were accused of assaults on white women. According to the author:

"These facts utterly demolish the claim that lynchings are a means of protecting the virtue of white women."

Worse than this is the fact that a considerable number of those tortured, burned or hanged were not even charged with any crime and doubt exists as to the guilt of a large number of others. These were the unhappy victims of racial suspicion and hatred.

It is not a happy picture.

But there is a brighter side, namely that in the South itself large groups of men and women are working—and with good results, too—to wipe out the infamy that deprives any man of life and liberty simply because of the color of his skin.—Sacramento Bee.

ADVOCATE

Belleville Ill.

FEB 16 1933

LYNCHINGS ON DECLINE

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BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN

JUL 15 1933

THOUGHTS ON LYNCHING

We have no desire to engage in a debate about the age of lynching or its efficacy in preventing horse stealing. But our correspondent who alludes to these matters in a letter appearing on this page today indulges in some rather sweeping assertions on this score, and inasmuch as his questions seem to imply a defense of lynching as a social institution it would seem in order to ask a few questions.

Why, may we ask, if lynching was "most efficacious" as a cure for crime did society universally turn away from lynching to the régime which we denominate today as "law and order?" Are men so unanimously blind as to prefer the inefficacious remedy to the efficacious? Or is it possible that the evils of the remedy our correspondent chooses to regard as effective more than outweigh its alleged advantages? Isn't it possible that when mobs administered justice, as our correspondent says they did, the innocent were punished as often as the guilty? Isn't it possible that no man felt secure in his home or in his person when justice depended upon chance marauders instead of on the courts?

An for the law's delays to which our correspondent refers with so much feeling, they must be admitted. But because the law is not always prompt it does not follow that we must do away with law and live under a régime of anarchy. Moreover, the law's delays, regrettable and reprehensible though they are, do not of themselves account for the depredations of the gangsters our correspondent is so eager to put down. The first task in dealing with the gangsters is to catch them, and it is in this department that most of the trouble now seems to lie.

As we said in discussing the kidnapping situation, it is not that the courts do not convict and punish gangsters. It is rather that so few of them are apprehended and brought into court for trial. If society would give more attention to this, the police side of the problem, and devote less time to howling about the law's delays and crying for lynching parties, we might get more done.

Lynchings-1933 White Press, Northern. 3936

Discussions.

TIMES-MIRROR
WARREN, PA.

NOV 28 1933

POOR CALIFORNIA

California in recent years has been taking high rank among her sister states. Her universities are nationally known, not only for their athletic achievements, but for more substantial achievements in science. Blessed above other states in climate and other natural resources, she has utilized these things to her advantage.

Today, however, California ranks considerably below the lowest of the 48 states. A lynching alone would not cause that debasement; many other states have had lynchings. Lynching of white, American-born citizens would not alone cause it; that has been done, though rarely, in other states. But California is the first state in which a governor has publicly approved lynching. That is the thing which sends California into a disgrace which must cause shame to her own more thoughtful citizens as well as to the nation.

California's moron-minded governor not only approved the lynching of the kidnapers of a young San Jose merchant. He termed it "a good job." He called it "a fine lesson to the whole nation." He admitted that he postponed a trip to Idaho solely that he might be on hand, not to provide troops to prevent a lynching, but to prevent any subordinate official providing those troops—"not for the purpose of being on hand to call out troops but to prevent it," as he himself expressed it. He promised to pardon anyone convicted of participation in the lynching.

In taking his oath of office the California governor promised to uphold the constitution of the United States. He probably doesn't know it, but in that constitution is a clause guaranteeing to every citizen of the United States trial by a jury of his peers, a clause assuring him that neither his life nor his property may be taken from him without such trial. Governor Rolph not only ignores that pledge but publicly praises the mob that violated it. Should the people of California so choose they have ample grounds upon which to impeach their mob-abetting governor. By that action they might in some measure atone for the stigma he has put upon them.

Denunciation of lynching is, of course, not approval of the victims or their acts. The slayers of young Hart undoubtedly deserved death, but no mob is legally or actually capable of pronouncing and executing a death sentence. That is the primary purpose of courts of justice, to prevent trial and execution by mobs. Possibly the greatest single step in the centuries-long march towards a civilized society was just that one thing, creation of courts of justice to replace mobs and tyrants and despots as the arbiters of human life and property.

It is not the killing of these kidnapers that is wrong. It is their being killed by a mob, denied their constitutional right to a fair trial and to execution by properly constituted officials, should that be the verdict of the court.

If mob law may be justified in this case, then it may be justified in other cases. If it is quite alright for southern states to lynch negroes for rape, quite alright for California to lynch kidnappers and murderers, then it becomes alright for any other states to choose any crime most revolting to them, for the moment, and invoke and sanction mob law. That, carried to its ultimate implication, means the collapse of all law.

If we accept Governor Rolph's argument as sound, then the California citizens who are shamed by their governor's action would be quite justified in taking him out and stringing him up on a tree, instead of invoking the legal process of impeachment. That would be no greater violation of the nation's basic law, the constitution, than the lynching at San Jose.

Judging from his public statements, some such drastic procedure as that would be necessary to impress upon the California executive even a faint conception of the fundamental purpose of courts of justice, of constitutional guarantees and other hard-won human rights.

The average citizen who, at first glance, may be inclined to approve lynching, might well consider the problem by putting himself in the victim's place. Suppose you were accused of a crime, accused falsely, perhaps. Would you prefer to have your case handled by a mob crazed with a desire to take your life—or would you be devoutly thankful that you lived in a civilized country where your guilt or innocence would be established in a court of justice, where the penalty, if any, would be administered by properly constituted authorities?

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
INQUIRER

NOV 30 1933

Growth of the Mob Spirit

After California and Maryland come Missouri and Kansas. Two actual lynchings and one fortunately prevented, and an attempt to free prisoners accused of that crime, loom large in the news for three successive days. In Missouri the affair was one of kind only too familiar—mob vengeance on a Negro for attacking a white woman. It is easy to understand why a crime of this sort should provoke bitter resentment, particularly in the South. But even that does not justify overriding law and order. The Missouri case is exceptionally brutal, in that the body was set afire after the man had been hanged. The South has been sensitive on the subject of lynching, and in recent years it has met an increasing amount of public disapproval there. Indeed, efforts have been made in every part of the country to stamp out the evil practice. These four disgraceful episodes reveal how unsuccessful they have been.

The mob spirit is contagious, and illustrations of its continued existence are peculiarly unfortunate at this time, when the too prevalent lawlessness, in great things and small, is beginning to arouse the national conscience. Attempts to enforce prohibition have undoubtedly been one cause of its growth; but it is clearly not the only cause. Must we therefore admit that we are not a law-abiding people? That would be a too sweeping conclusion. Yet the fact remains that crimes of co-operative violence are more common here than in most other countries. The explanation is not easy. Burke knew of no way of indicting a whole people, and in cases of this nature we can not argue from the particular to the general. That there must be some fundamental cause, however, for a series of shocking crimes, not by one person, but by many, is obvious. It may be the failure of justice through the technicalities of criminal procedure. It may be the spirit of liberty degraded to license.

It is less important to look for reasons than to arouse in our people a sense of shame that such things should be. Perhaps we have been on the whole too lax in condemnation. The indignation provoked too soon subsides. One nail drives out another, and in the news of today the news of yesterday is forgotten. What we need most of all is a steady pressure of opinion. If it were properly exerted, condemnation of the mob spirit might restrain the impulse to indulge in it. There might be a decreasing tendency to allow the anger aroused by a horrible crime to lead to the perpetration of another. Evil can not be cured by evil. If a crowd in the heat of the moment forgets this, at least officials sworn to enforce the law should not. The offence of the Governor of California in approving the lynching at San José has actually been applauded by those who ought to know better. Has our moral sense so lapsed that such a reaction is possible? The time has come for deep searchings of heart on the part of the American people.

CINCINNATI, O.
TIMES STAR
NOV 30 1933

Gov. Rolph Sets a Precedent

Thomas Thurmond and John Holmes undoubtedly were guilty of one of the foulest crimes known to the country—murder in connection with kidnaping. Few will deny that the extreme and horrible punishment meted out to them by a half-drunk mob in San Jose, Sunday night, was any more than was coming to them. A long-suffering American public has become angry and vengeful in its attitude toward kidnapers.

One may condone the statement of Gov. Rolph immediately after the lynching as an expression of the instinctive reaction of millions of Americans. But his later, fully-considered pronouncement, setting up leaders of the mob as examples for imitation to the rest of the country, is another matter. In effect, Gov. Rolph has admitted that the Government of California, of which he is the chief, is incapable of protecting the lives of its citizens, of maintaining order and punishing crime. He has sanctioned mob action against his own subordinates; and he has given the signal for an outburst of mobism all over the country.

The reactions have been immediate. Gov. Ritchie of Maryland, replied to Rolph's statement with an order to round up the perpetrators of the Princess Anne lynching—and a mob of a thousand stormed Maryland troops at their Salisbury armory, threatened to lynch Ritchie himself. Tuesday, at St. Joseph, Mo., a crowd of seven thousand fought police and national guardsmen, wrecked the jail, and hanged a Negro.

Crime is striking hard at American institutions. It can be eradicated, in as advanced a civilization as ours, however, only by increased respect for law through demonstrated ability of the law to provide swift justice. What could be more lawless and full of more dangerous potentialities than for the executive of a State to encourage an irresponsible, unrepresentative rabble to take the functions of government into its own hands?

WASHINGTON, D. C.
NEWS
DEC 1 1933

AN ANTI-LYNCHING LAW

UNLESS governors and local officials display more courage in curbing the blood lust of mobs, Sen. Costigan of Colorado will find the sentiment of the United States rolling up behind his promised Federal anti-lynching bill by the opening of Congress. On Wednesday occurred another revolting lynching in Missouri, following the recent mob crimes in Maryland and California.

None believes that the Federal Government is repository of the nation's conscience. We are not ready for the federalization of police powers. But just as it took the Federal Government to make effective war on kidnapers so it is necessary to invoke Federal power to stop lynching.

Civilized America will not, cannot brook these barbarous outbreaks against the law. If sheriffs fail to hold their prisoners secure the state governments must move in and help them. If governors, like California's Rolph, invite and condone rabble rule, or, like Maryland's Ritchie, delay adequate state protection, what is left but Federal action?

A Federal anti-lynching law has been discussed for years. The Dyer bill almost passed Congress in 1922 when it went thru the House on a vote of 230 to 119 to be filibustered to death in the Senate. In recent years the old evil of lynching appeared to be gradually diminishing. This year the embers of lawlessness have flamed. There have been 27 lynchings already this year, compared with 10 for the whole year 1932.

Since only a few states have passed adequate anti-lynching laws a Federal law is required. It should have teeth enough to insure that the lowliest American, regardless of his race or the charge against him, gets the protection of due process of law as guaranteed by the Constitution.

BALTIMORE, MD
EVENING SUN
DEC 4 1933

Mr. Raab Clarifies His Views On Lynching

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—Sir: My letter of November 27, which appears in The Forum of today's issue, in no way seeks to justify lynching, as your heading over this letter would make it appear, nor do I believe that the most able member of your editorial department, even with the aid of your new dictionary, can so interpret my letter. If you wish my total conviction on the subject, I do not favor capital punishment by due virtue of the law, much less than at the hands of the mob.

"A prophet is not without honor save in his own country," however, so perhaps I should not despair that the whole intent of my letter should be overlooked. God have mercy, though, on America if the legislators and politicians do not heed the "writing in rope" and perhaps in imagination feel its rough periphery about their own necks!

As for my quotation from Lincoln, did he calmly let slavery continue or did he not enter war "that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from this earth"?

Baltimore, Nov. 30. HENRY G. RAAB.

The California Lynching

Guardian Weekly

12-1-33

Manchester, England

Even if the two men who were lynched on Monday night by a mob in San José, California, were guilty of all the charges on which they were arrested—which included kidnapping, murder, and an attempt to extort £8,000 ransom for a man already dead,—the manner of their death was still an outrage against civilised government. But even the violence of the mob seems less outrageous than the applause which it has won from James Rolph, Governor of California, who has called their brutal acts "the best "lesson California has ever given this "country." There have been lynchings before quite as revolting as this; and there have been Governors who have been bitterly criticised by decent Americans for their impotence or unwillingness to restrain the mob. But not even in the most backward of the Southern States does one remember a Governor who openly praised the men who had wrested his own responsibility from his hands. A tacit alliance between legal authority and illegal violence is a canker which has attacked American politics before, but silently and secretly. Governor Rolph's attitude is the more odious when one recalls his refusal to free from prison Tom Mooney, the former trade union organiser, who was convicted seventeen years ago of complicity in a bombing outrage in San Francisco. It has been proved abundantly during Governor Rolph's term of office that the conviction of Mooney was a miscarriage of justice. And still the Governor has refused either to pardon Mooney or to support the plea for a retrial. He keeps in gaol a man who is certainly innocent; he praises men who are guilty of murder and announces that he will pardon anyone arrested in connection with the lynching. The disgraceful riots in Maryland yesterday—in which a mob resisted the attempt of State troops to arrest nine lynchers—show that the United States is soil only too fertile for the reckless exhortations of Governor Rolph.

ENCOURAGING LYNCHING

American Concern

Guardian Weekly

(From our New York Correspondent.)

The possible social consequences of the statement made by Governor Rolph of California publicly and officially approving of the action of the frenzied mob of men, women, and even children which at the city of San José lynched two men who were accused of kidnapping and murdering a young man is causing widespread concern.

12-1-33

Manchester England

It is felt that such official justification from a public official is likely to encourage mass violence of the sort which has been threatening during the last two difficult winters. The United States has a long and vigorous tradition of mob violence, which during the present generation has been surprisingly diverted from the political and social spheres, partly because the people, despite the depression, still have faith in a return to the prosperity that was known in 1929. Mr. Rolph's statement that the lynchers "did a good job and gave a fine lesson to the whole nation" was intended to apply only to action against kidnappers, but it amounts, in effect, to a general invitation to violence at a moment when nerves are so frayed that little is needed to cause people to kick over the traces.

This incautious invitation to mass violence has already had more unfortunate consequences. A mob estimated to number 11,000 persons has lynched a negro at St. Joseph, Missouri.

A crowd of political opponents of Governor Huey Long of Louisiana at a meeting in Baton Rouge, the State capital, demanded "revolutionary action" to end official abuses and the lynching of Governor Long.

The Governor of Indiana has been called upon to prevent the lynching of a game warden who shot a crippled boy in the town of English.

White Press, Northern.

3937

Lynchings-1933

Discussions

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN
NOV 27 1933

Advantage Of Having A Sympathetic Coroner

To THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir:* Your editorial has made clear the choice which Governor Ritchie must make in the Armwood affair: government by mob intimidation as implied by State's Attorney Robins or the reign of law.

Attorney Robins declares that "any writs charging murder must be issued on the findings of the coroner's jury." This makes the detached observer wonder whether Somerset's guardian of the peace is aware of the full possibilities of the coroner's jury. Mr. H. G. Roberts, of Corsicana, Texas, Justice of the Peace and acting coroner of his precinct back in 1901, afforded a fine model for communities who desire to handle their "niggers in their own way." Sitting over the body of a lynched Negro in that year, the astute Texas jurist returned the following verdict:

"I find that the deceased came to his just death at the hands of the incensed and outraged feelings of the best people of the United States, the citizens of Navarro and adjoining counties. The evidence, as well as confession of guilt by the deceased, showed that his punishment was fully deserved and merited.

Given under my hand and seal of office at Corsicana, Texas, this 13th day of March, A. D. 1901.

H. G. ROBERTS.

J. P., Precinct No. 1, Navarro County, Texas, and Acting Coroner.

The advantages of such a verdict are obvious. First, by way of superlative compliment it gives legal sanction to the oft-voiced opinion that the lynching community is second to none in the United States; second, it clothes that outlaw action in a shroud of legality; and, third, it gives a tone of finality to the whole proceeding, leaving not the slightest suggestion of further appeal.

E. E. ERICSON.

Chapel Hill, N. C., Nov. 24.

Will Uncle Sam "Loosen Up"?

To THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir:* "Litvinoff needs valuta." In plain English, he needs money. Naturally, recognition had to come first.

Wealthy relatives are quite a comfort, provided they loosen up. Frequently they don't.

F. V.

Washington, D. C., Nov. 28.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
BULLETIN
NOV 25 1933

ANTI-LYNCHING PRECAUTION

Maryland's recent lynching led Governor RITCHIE to name a commission including the Chief Justice of the State Court of Appeals and many distinguished lawyers, to make recommendations as to legislation desirable to prevent mob outrages in the future. He has transmitted their recommendations to the Legislature now in special session, saying they seem to meet the needs of the situation as far as legislation can, and urges their serious consideration. While he suggests that the Legislature also study the various types of anti-lynching legislation enacted in other States, he sees no need of a law specifically making lynching a crime since it already has that status in Maryland.

The recommendations provide for expediting appeals, removal to safety of a prisoner threatened by mob violence, liability of a sheriff to be sued on his bond in case violence happens to a prisoner through dereliction on his part, and power of removal by the Governor of a sheriff so derelict.

Probably the greatest cause of lynching has been the hesitation of sheriffs and other officials charged with the custody of prisoners to take adequate measures to protect them, for fear of offending local sentiment. For that reason the provision making the Sheriff liable to damages and loss of his post if he is derelict seems to furnish the law with exactly the kind of teeth required to take hold of the situation. It gives a timorous Sheriff something else to worry about beside local sentiment.

New York Times
DEC 3 1933

ROLPH'S LYNCHING PRAISE SHOCKS SOUTH, CALIFORNIA OPINION BACKS THE GOVERNOR

WORK OF YEARS UNDONE

Effort of South to Prevent Lynching Gets a Setback.

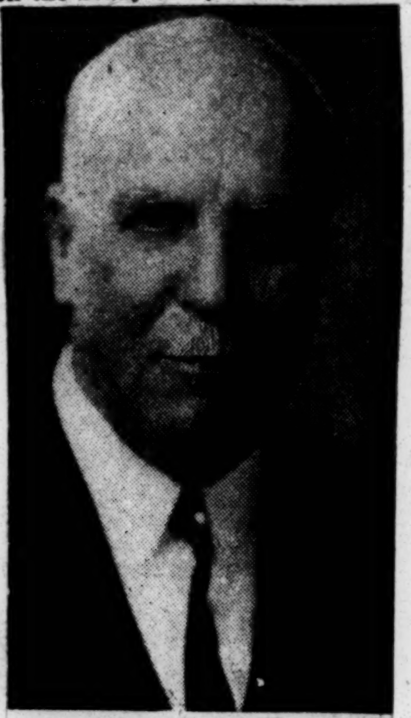
FIGHT A THANKLESS TASK

Association of 15,000 Women Sends Western Governor Telegram of Protest.

By JULIAN HARRIS.

Editorial Correspondence, THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., Nov. 29.—On the very day the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching issued its



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JAMES ROLPH JR.,
Governor of California.

report relating to the notorious Tuscaloosa lynching, the Governor of California praised the hanging of two prisoners by a San José mob. In one utterance, Rolph has set back for years the efforts of the South to prevent lynchings.

It is impossible to estimate the havoc wrought in this section by the incendiary utterances of the California Executive, who is, by his own confession, an accessory to the lynchings, before and after the fact. For Rolph, by his refusal to prevent the lynching and his promise to pardon any or all of the murderers who may be connected for participation in mob action, has given to lynching the accolade of authority.

The fight against lynching and the spirit of lynch law has been and continues to be a difficult and thankless task in the South. The sinister element of race prejudice is a handy basis for justification when a Negro, innocent or guilty, is hanged by a lawless group. And when Rolph's praise of lynching was printed, sentiments in line with the following overheard utterances indicate the reaction of certain groups: "California's my address from now on," "Let's send all the niggers to California," "There ought to be a lot more lynchings," "Those Westerners are learning how the South handles 'em," "That California man oughter be President."

Southern Women Protest.

Comparisons are odious, but it should be said of the South that its leaders have fought fearlessly to extirpate the spirit of lynching. And the Governors of Southern States have not only never praised lynchers but have usually attempted to prevent lynchings. Within the past few weeks, learning an effort might be made to lynch a Negro who was to be tried in Georgia, Governor Talmadge sent a company of National Guard to the scene. There was no lynching.

Realizing the seriousness of the blow struck at law and order by Governor Rolph, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching sent to the Californian the following telegram:

"The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, numbering thousands, condemn lynching for any cause. As Southern white women working for a public conscience which will insure all persons the constitutional guarantee of trial by jury, regardless of race or alleged crime, we deplore your astounding attitude. The South is still charged with brutal lawlessness because officers some time fail to protect prisoners against mobs, but we are grateful that no Southern Governor today has made himself a public defender and protector of lynchers. Your public approval of these lynchings constitutes a sinister menace to all forces of law and order throughout the country and makes your action one of national concern."

At the head of the association which sent the foregoing telegram to Rolph is Mrs. Atwood Martin of Louisville, Ky., and the executive director is Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta. It is said there are more than 15,000 members, who affirm their faith in law and order and refuse to accept the outworn excuse that lynching is the Southern woman's protection and safeguard.

Equally to the point was the protest made by Dr. W. W. Alexander of Atlanta, director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. This commission has been battling for years to prevent lynching and to create a public opinion which would demand the arrest and punishment of the lynchers.

Southern Newspapers Condemn.

Of the Southern newspapers which have excoriated Governor Rolph, none was more scathing than The Birmingham (Ala.) News, which said, in part:

"As hideous and disgraceful as was the resort to barbarism and lawlessness, the lynching itself is overshadowed by the astounding attitude shown by Governor James Rolph Jr.

"Alabama may not be in position to point the finger of scorn at California so far as lynchings are concerned. But Governor Rolph has put upon his State a disgrace which Alabama, thank Heaven, has not known. Alabama has had its lynchings; but our Governors have not condoned them; on the contrary, Governors of Alabama have consistently stood for law and order and, when a lynching has occurred, condemned the crime vigorously and earnestly. Alabama's Governors have set a good example in this respect and done what they could to strengthen public opinion against lynching."

Any one interested in the enlightened viewpoint on lynchings will find worth-while reading in the pamphlet issued here this week on the Tuscaloosa lynchings. It is entitled "The Plight of Tuscaloosa," and carries the subcaptions, "Mob Murders," "Community Hysteria" and "Official Incompetence." This excerpt from the foreword indicates the nature of the contents of the pamphlet:

"As one reads the depressing record, one feels keenly the tragedy of lynching. This study demonstrates the imperative need for re-establishing law's supremacy over private violence."

ALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

NOV 29 1933

Text Of Governor's Telegram To Judge

[*From a Staff Correspondent*]

Annapolis, Nov. 29—Gov. Albert C. Ritchie late today called upon Judge Robert F. Duer to order the rearrest of four Princess Anne lynching suspects if a court hearing decides that the men are being illegally held. Governor Ritchie's message, contained in a telegram follows in full:

"More than ten days ago the Attorney-General procured testimony which justified the arrest of a number of people for leadership in the Armwood lynching, and he urged State's Attorney Robbins to arrest these men and hold them for the grand jury.

"The State's Attorney refused to do so. The entire situation was fully presented to the three judges of the circuit, with the request that they appoint special counsel to represent the State. They have not done that.

"Since the local officials of Somerset county would not perform the constitutional duties imposed on them, it became my responsibility as Governor of the State to exercise the authority conferred upon me by the law of this State for such an emergency and cause the men to be arrested through the agency of the National Guard.

"This was an unpleasant duty for me to perform because I recognize fully that the enforcement of law is primarily the responsibility of the local officials, but after I had used every possible effort to induce these officials to fulfill this responsibility and they declined to do so, no other course was open to me.

"The men now having benn arrested, the responsibility of the local judicial machinery to proceed with the conduct of the charges is clear and inescapable. In fact, the judicial machinery of Somerset county possesses the only power we have in this State to proceed with the cases, and this responsibility is now plainly and openly upon the local authorities.

"After midnight last night I learned through newspaper sources that writs of habeas corpus had been granted by you requiring the production of the men in Princess Anne today.

"This, of course, is a right accorded these men by the Constitution. I had the Secretary of State telephone you with regard to the production at the hearing on these writs of the winesses on whose testimony the arrests were made.

"He was told by you that the hearing would have to be held at 3 o'clock this afternoon and would not be postponed beyond that time.

"I realize, of course, that the hearings today involve principally the legality of the custody of the arrested men, but at the same time it seems clear to me that in conducting the hearings you should have before you statements of the testimony on which they were arrested. These statements are in the hands of State's Attorney Robins and you yourself are acquainted with that fact. I request, therefore, that you secure these statements from the State's Attorney before deciding on the habeas corpus proceedings, so that you may be in full possession of all the testimony which led to the arrests.

"Moreover, if the point is made before you that the men are now being held without warrants; and should you release the men for that reason, then I call your attention to the fact that the statements in the hands of Mr. Robbins make it appropriate for you to consider the rearrest of the men on bench warrants.

The witnesses who will testify to the truth of these statements will be available if you will advise me that you will hear them and will give sufficient time to secure their attendance at Princess Anne.

ALBANY, N. Y.
NEWS

NOV 29 1933

Mobs or Law!

TWO more mob outbreaks are recorded today. In Missouri 7,000 gathered and lynched a Negro. In Maryland a mob endeavored to take from guardsmen men charged with taking part in the lynching of a Negro sometime ago, but the mob failed in its purpose. This mob spirit, upheld by one American governor in one case may break out anywhere. Missouri now has something to do. It cannot take the stand that has been taken in California.

When the local prosecuting attorney failed to do his duty, Governor Ritchie of Maryland sent National Guardsmen to Somerset County and they arrested several persons accused of participating in the lynching of George Armwood, Negro, at Princess Anne, Oct. 18. One of those arrested was a member of the coroner's jury which began an investigation into the lynching. He is accused of being a participant. Governor Ritchie is doing his duty.

In California is another picture. There Governor Rolph declares that the mobsters who lynched Thurmond and Holmes are 'fine, patriotic citizens." And he says he'll pardon anyone arrested for that lynching. What is patriotism? He seems to think that treason to Constitution and order is patriotism.

No one can offer one word in defense of the victims of this lynching. But that does not excuse mob law. These men had not been acquitted. Justice had not failed in their case. They were quickly caught through the ingenuity and persistence of Sheriff Emig. A mob rewarded the sheriff by hitting him on the head and taking his prisoners from him. They would have been tried quickly and there is reason to believe their sentence would have been death. The law had not failed so that old excuse could not be offered by the mob.

That mob went on the principle that if a man is arrested he may be taken by the public and punished and Governor Rolph upholds that. Then why arrest men if the mob is to take them? Why have officers of the law, why have courts, why have government, why have a governor even?

The souvenir-stripped trees whereon a mob hanged Thurmond and Holmes will be uprooted but California cannot uproot the memory of that public crime nor the reprehensible policy of its governor who runs with the mob because he thinks that the popular thing instead of being governor of his state as Ritchie is governor of Maryland.

No state can countenance mob law and survive. No state can compel respect for law when the state itself flouts law.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN

NOV 28 1933

DISTANT PROSPECT

Through the economies of words enforced by distance, the newspaper reader in this part of the country—specifically in Maryland—is given an opportunity to survey a lynching as a lynching, attaching to it none of the various excuses, pretexts and compromises which are assigned to lynchings near at hand. Whatever the periphery of circumstance surrounding the mob's murder of the two California kidnappers, the dispatches from San Jose give us little more than the stark horror of the event itself. The screams of the victims, the hysterical laughter of women in the crowd, the mob's demoniacal indifference to tear gas, the rush for "souvenirs"—the familiar pattern of lynch action stands out 3,000 miles away in ghastly reality and shame. Distance lends pictorial sharpness to the view.

As usual with lynching, the passion of the mob was accompanied by an exhibition of official degradation. Governor Rolph, always in line with popular sentiment of the moment, all but invited the lynching by the manner of his rejection of the Sheriff's request for troops. "What, call out troops to protect those two guys?" he exclaimed; and the hotheads of San Jose knew that the coast was clear. After the lynching, Rolph not only justified the lynchers, but announced in advance that he would pardon any lynchers whom the local officials might arrest. Seldom has high office been so shamefully degraded. In certain circles of Princess Anne, California must seem blessed for better reasons than her climate. Has she not a Governor who recognizes that lynchers must "have confidence that troops will not be called to mow them down when they seek to protect themselves against kidnappers?"

The logic of the mob also ran true to form. For many days the two confessed kidnappers lay in the San Jose Jail. Capital charges could not be brought against them, despite their detailed confession, because the body of the victim had not been discovered. During that interval, a mob—enraged at the anomaly which might permit two murderers to escape the noose because of the absence of a *corpus delicti*—might have had logical, if not moral, justification for cutting the Gordian knot. But after the discovery of Hart's body the obstacle to a conviction for murder was removed, and with it any possible excuse for a lynching. Nevertheless, there was a lynching with all the orgiastic features that have come to be familiar—a lynching encouraged by the Governor in advance and blessed by him after the event.

Heaven knows Maryland has no occasion for self-righteousness in this regard. No nice weighing of the relative amount of provocation, no meticulous balancing of the precise degree of difference between lynching a kidnapper and a rapist, a white man and a Negro, can obliterate the awful kinship which springs up between communities when mobs develop the habit of taking the law into their own hands, and public officials, sworn to uphold the law and protect the accused, in effect join the mob. Nevertheless, at the moment California seems slightly ahead. For it was her Governor who blandly announced, after this mass murder, that California had demonstrated her disapproval of crime! That must represent a new low for all time in official misfeasance and cynical connivance.

N. Y. SUN

DEC 4 1933

Priest Calls Presence In Lynch Mob a Sin

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., Dec. 4 (A. P.)—The Rev. Victor Meagher, pastor of St. Francis Xavier Church, told his Catholic parishioners yesterday that presence in the mob that last Tuesday night hanged Lloyd Warner, a Negro, accused of attacking a white girl, was a "sin that must be confessed."

"The mere presence of any Catholic in that mob is a matter of confession," Father Meagher said. "I don't care whether presence there was only curiosity. The very fact that you were there and watched that murder makes it a sin that must be confessed."

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BRONX HOME NEWS

DEC 4 1933

Catholics, Jews and Protestants Join in Rousing Protest Against Lynching

New York City yesterday registered a ringing protest against lynch law, as exemplified in the recent hanging of two California kidnap murderers in San Jose, when more than 1,500 Protestants, Catholics and Jews gathered in the Great Hall of the College of the City of New York, 139th St. and Convent Ave., and adopted resolutions condemning the action of Gov. James Rolph Jr., in publicly condoning the San Jose lynchings.

Bishop William T. Manning, of the Episcopal Church, former U. S. Atty. Charles H. Tuttle, Bernard S. Deutsch, president-elect of the Board of Aldermen, and Alfred J. Talley, representing Cardinal Hayes, were the principal speakers.

There was some disorder at the meeting during the adoption of a resolution demanding a "fair trial" for the colored youths accused in Scottsboro, Ala., of attacking two white girls, when a well-dressed young woman heckled Tuttle as he asked for a vote on the resolution.

Resolutions urging the removal from office of Gov. Rolph, the passage of Federal laws to cope with lynchings in the future, and asking that Pres. Roosevelt and the Governor of Alabama intercede for a fair trial in the Scottsboro case, were adopted.

The latter resolution was introduced from the floor by a colored man and was unanimously adopted.

It was while this resolution was before the meeting that the unidentified woman rushed down the aisle to the speaker's platform and shook her fist at Tuttle.

Hits New York "Dirty Linen"

"Why wash the dirty linen of California when there is so much dirty linen here in New York?" she shouted. "How about the Seabury investigation? Did you raise your voice against rotten politics here at that time and at the time of the kidnaping in New Jersey?"

Tuttle asked her if she referred to the Lindbergh kidnaping, and when she said she did he told her he had aided in the investigation into that crime. He added that he considered that his office had "started the Seabury investigation."

There were cries of "Throw her out" and the crowd became menacing. The young woman held her ground for several more minutes, shouting to be heard. Once she referred to Tuttle as "you filthy thing." She finally left the hall, followed by boos and catcalls.

Deutsch, in his address, stressed the need of preventing happenings such as that in California in the future, declaring that such events weakened the case of the American people in protesting such outrages as the persecution of the Jews in Germany.

Talley Denounces Rolph

"I came here today to denounce not the crime of San Jose," declared Talley, who was a former judge of General Sessions, "but the crime of Sacramento, because it was there that one who stood for authority and for law and order made the most disgraceful and un-American pronouncement that ever came from the lips of a public officer.

Rev. A. Clayton Powell, of the Abyssinian Church, received an enthusiastic ovation from the audience, more than half of which was composed of colored men and women.

The Rev. Dr. Powell warned his audience that unless lynching is outlawed and supressed, whites as well as colored people would suffer.

"About 95 per cent of those lynched are colored," he said. "But you can't confine lynching to colored people. If lynching is not stopped, the mobs will lynch not only colored men, but white men, and not only white men, but Governors and newspaper reporters and photographers. If we don't put a stop to the situation we will have mob rule right here in our city."

Would End Death Penalty

Dr. Frederick B. Robinson, president of City College, termed political pleas to the mob "demagogy of the worst sort," and Rabbi David de Sola Pool, of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, made the suggestion that the death penalty be abolished as a possible cure for lynching.

A telegram received by Bishop Manning from Rev. Benjamin Gould, president of the Ministers' Assn. of San Jose, stating that the members of that organization have publicly denounced lynching and mob rule, was read to the audience by Bishop Manning, and this reply was wired to the Rev. Mr. Gould:

"Your message received and read at mass meeting now assembled in New York representing all faiths. We who are here assembled send you our congratulations upon your faithful and courageous stand in behalf of law and justice. We join with you in your condemnation of mob violence and call upon public officials everywhere to put down lynching with the whole strength of the law and we unqualifiedly condemn Gov. Rolph for the betrayal of trust and the incitement to mob lawlessness of which he stands guilty before the State of California and the people of the United States."

Earlier Meeting Held

At a mass meeting held earlier in the day under the auspices of the International Labor Defense and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, at 415 Lenox Ave., near W. 131st St., several resolutions condemning mob violence and asking for fair trials for all persons accused of crimes were adopted.

Another development in the movement against lynching that took place yesterday was the retraction by Rev. Henry Darlington, pastor of the Church of the Heavenly Rest, Fifth Ave. and 90th St., of a telegram he had sent to Gov. Rolph earlier in the week, congratulating him on his stand in the lynching of the two California murderers.

Pickets representing the Intercollegiate League for Industrial Democracy, some of them students of the Union Theological Seminary, walked up and down before Darlington's church before the morning service started, carrying placards denouncing the rector for his stand.

Three of the pickets were arrested during a brief scuffle when Mrs. Mary Brown, 79 E. 91st St., a socially prominent member of the parish, attempted to snatch their placards from their hands. They were charged with disorderly conduct.

No Charge Against Matron

The pickets, who were identified as Lillian Megrath, 21, of Butler, N. J.; Louis Goldberg, 1482 41st St., Brooklyn, and William Chamberlain, 600 W. 121st St., were given summonses for their appearance in Harlem Court this morning on charges of disorderly conduct. No charge was made against Mrs. Brown.

While the picketing was in progress, the Rev. Dr. Darlington read a brief statement to his congregation in which he withdrew his endorsement of Gov. Rolph's action. The statement read:

"It was the result of being deeply stirred at the time, and I have come to the conclusion it should not have been sent.

"It is the duty of all good citizens to uphold the law, and I do not condone in any way the attempt of groups or individuals to take matters in their own hands."

Two Arrested in Missouri

St. Joseph, Mo.—Police here are investigating tips which have been received since the arrest of two alleged members of the mob that on Tuesday lynched Lloyd Warner, 19, colored, and additional arrests are expected soon.

Carl Fisher, 24, was arrested after police learned that he had attempted to sell a pistol identified as one taken from Sheriff Otto Theisen in the Buchanan County Jail when the mob rushed that building before the colored youth was lynched. The other prisoner's identity is being withheld, but police believe he is the man who engineered the removal of the steel jail doors by hooking them to a motor truck with a chain.

BOSTON, MASS.
HERALD

DEC 1 1933

Our Mail Bag

Bouquets and Brickbats For Us and Gov. Rolph

To the Editor of The Herald:

I protest as strongly as possible against the leading editorial in The Herald this morning, practically approving the attitude of Gov. Rolph in regard to the California lynching. The attitude of The Herald is even more discouraging than that of Gov. Rolph. The sacredness of law cannot be upheld by breaking law.

EDWARD S. DROWN.
Cambridge, Nov. 28.

PRAISE

To the Editor of The Herald:

Gov. Rolph is to be congratulated upon his stand taken in the lynching of the two kidnapers of young Brooke Hart.

Lynching is a terrible thing, but when things have come to such a state that the people no longer can trust what is known as justice, the people will administer it themselves.

What this country needs most is either a return of the vigilance committees of the past, or else a detachment of the army in every city in the country. The army would have orders to shoot on sight any known criminal, no matter what his political control might be.

When the criminal element finds that they can no longer drive the people like sheep as they have done, then, and only then, will we be free of the crime that completely surrounds us today.

WARREN W. FLAGG.
Winchendon, Nov. 28.

CONDEMNS

To the Editor of The Herald:

The Governor of California does not appear to believe that justice can be administered by the courts of his state. Knowing that lynch law was the only means by which justice might be done, why has he not made an effort to improve the judicial system?

If the public is going to take the laws into its own hands in the case of the self-confessed kidnapers and murderers in California, why not also in the Wynekoop and Cote cases?

The participants in such outbreaks foster the very lawlessness they are trying to stamp out. We have not as yet cast out by violence our legislative representatives and assumed their powers ourselves. No, we give them a chance to prove their worth and then vote them out of office in a lawful manner. Can we not give the courts an opportunity to demonstrate their worth before taking the law into our own hands?

JOHN F. ELLSBREE.
Brighton, Nov. 28.

COMMENDS

To the Editor of The Herald:

I owe you an apology.

When I read in yesterday's papers of the California lynchings, I anticipated an editorial in this morning's Herald condemning the crazed action of a mob and advocating that law and order should have been allowed to take its course. Instead I find a very splendid article which seems to me to express clearly the true keynote of the real situation.

It is high time that something drastic be done with respect to crime in this country. There is nothing so effective in the prevention of crime as swift justice. If our laws and duly empowered officials whose duty it is to enforce them are so slow and inefficient in their practice that justice is delayed, and indeed thwarted, the common people must take the administration of affairs into their own hands. . . .

HARRY DEXTER PECK.
Sharon, Nov. 28.

"FOOLED TOO MANY TIMES"

To the Editor of The Herald:

I wish to compliment you on the sanity of your editorial on the California lynching. Lynchings are at best dangerous things, but we have been fooled too many times by the plea to let the law take its course. We let the law take its course and we get—what? Read the answer in the Leopold and Loeb case. The number of executions in Massachusetts, when compared with the number of brutal murders, would be a joke if it were not such a tragedy. With crime running rampant, our courts are giving armed robbery men, if by any chance they are convicted, four to five years. This means that in about two years they will be turned loose on the public again.

We are nursing along today, in our courts, a man sentenced to death some months ago for a particularly brutal and unnecessary slaying of an unarmed filling station attendant. Why? Because he did not commit the crime? Oh, no, the question of whether or not he did it is not involved. It is admitted that he committed the crime, but there is a very serious question—serious, I mean, in the eyes of the court—whether his constitutional rights were not invaded when the jury was shown the filling station and he was not present! Ye gods!

W. H. RUSSELL.

Boston, Nov. 28.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
NEWS
DEC 1 1933

Ritchie's 'Blunder' Compared to Action Against Bonus Men

Editor, The News:

THE decision of Gov. Ritchie in ordering out the militia against those usually mild mannered Eastern Shore people, who over a month ago took the law into their own hands, while the Governor was then refusing to act, should go down in history as another blunder bordering upon something almost as heinous as that when the bonus marchers were ejected with fire and gas from Washington.

Gov. Ritchie should know by now the violence of mob rule, for several overturned and burned autos, broken cameras, beaten-up innocent citizens and assaults upon press representatives, bear mute testimony to the violent frenzy and rage of these people.

He should have acted in time, when a request was sent in before the lynching, and thereby saved himself this unpleasant later task.

He has now added insult to neglect and injury by stirring up a matter that could have better been left to die a natural death, for after all, justice was served and no further injuries done and all went their way in peace and satisfaction, but there is always that class of reformers who are not satisfied to leave well enough alone; and so we see a state's attorney general crying for more blood.

A. M. RAYMOND.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
NEWS
NOV 28 1933

Comes to Defense Of Lynching Area

To Editor of the Daily News:

In reference to Henry Van Dorson's letter concerning the lynching in Princess Anne, Md., I would like to say that Princess Anne is not a "neck of the woods" and the residents there are very much civilized. If the law had been a little fairer in prosecuting Lee for the murder of a family of four perhaps there would have been no lynching. Perhaps if it would have been Van Dorson's mother he would feel differently about the affair.

MISS MILDRED LAWSON,
Philadelphia.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.
TIMES UNION
DEC 1 1933

Lynch Law Again

Very likely some psychological connection existed between the California lynching and the more recent outbreak in Missouri.

Residents of St. Joseph, who undoubtedly had read about the San Jose case and noted the approval mob action had obtained in high places, were so much the more ready to take the law into their hands in connection with an atrocious crime in their own vicinity.

But the Governor Guy B. Park of Missouri does not follow the example of Governor Rolph of California in condoning and praising lynching. He promises a full inquiry and says:

> Mob violence . . . . is always wrong and is destructive of good government. To condone such an offense is to encourage lawlessness, deny the efficiency of the courts and the power of constituted authorities.

It took hundreds of years to build up and make generally effective in civilized countries the rule that no one shall be deprived of life or liberty "without due process of law."

If we in the United States permit that rule to be disregarded and that heritage of law and order to become impaired we shall be permitting action which is, in fact, "destructive of good government."

NEWS
PROVIDENCE, R. I.
NOV 29 1933

MOB RULE

Since it is hardly likely that Gov. Rolph of California thinks even the heinous crime of kidnaping more heinous than that of rape, he will, if he wants to be regarded as a logical crusader, send a message of congratulation to the mob at St. Joseph, Mo., who yesterday lynched a Negro boy of 19 after he had allegedly confessed to having assaulted a white woman. Moreover those newspapers which went to such pains to express their "understanding" of the emotional storm which led the San Jose mob to do what they did, should, of course, express also their understanding of the emotional storm which drove the St. Joe mob to do what they did.

It seems to us that several newspapers which do not ordinarily lose their heads or their bearings when mobs usurp the prerogatives of organized society, did so yesterday and the day before in commenting on the San Jose affair. Take, for example, the following from the Boston Herald, a paper of high standing and of ultra-conservative traditions:

> And what should good citizens say about Governor Rolph's justification of the lynching? Frankly, we think that they will applaud him. They will condemn "wild justice" in the abstract and on principle. They will think of the possibility that the next mob will get the wrong man, or somebody who has not been definitely proved guilty. They will say that a governor, head of the State, should speak and act always for law and order. But the crime of kidnaping plus murder is so vile that the average person can hardly view the California episode in a calm, objective, philosophic way. Perhaps the best comment of all is that of a colleague, who believes that the right words came from the wrong man.

What all this amounts to practically is an argument that it is all right for mobs to lynch persons who thoroughly deserve lynching. If it is all right for a mob to take the law into its own hands, it is all right for an individual, outraged by some wholly infamous crime, to shoot, knife or bomb the criminal to death without waiting for the law to assert itself.

On this question there is no middle of the road; the choice has to be between law and anarchy. To excuse a mob for giving vent to its passions in defiance of the law is to set the mob up as the executant of justice. Such an attitude is defensible only on one condition, that the legal authority as set up by the people has become patently so inefficient or so corrupt as to be incapable of vindicating the rights of organized society. That condition did not exist in California—in this case at least. To Governor Rolph, and to those who approve of his stand, may be commended events in Maryland where, under the leadership of a governor and an attorney-general who have right-thinking minds and plenty of backbone, those accused of an Eastern Shore lynching are now being brought to the bar of justice. The question, we repeat, is not whether or not any given victim of a lynching got "only what was coming to him." The question is whether we want to see the rule of the jungle prevail. Lincoln said a nation could not exist "half slave and half free." Neither can it exist half barbarous and half civilized.

PITTSBURGH, PA.
POST GAZETTE
NOV 29 1933

Two Kinds of Governors.

TWO governors and two sheriffs, the one set of officials in California and the other in Maryland, afford a sharp contrast in the attitude of officialdom as to whether mob rule or the law should be paramount.

In California, Governor Rolph condones the lynching of two kidnapers and announces that he will pardon the lynchers if any are arrested. The sheriff at San Jose, scene of the lynching, seems to have done his best to protect his prisoners, appealing to Governor Rolph in vain for the National Guard. In Maryland, Governor Ritchie has the National Guard arrest alleged ringleaders in a mob which lynched a prisoner a month ago. It was a sheriff in Maryland who seemed apathetic as to the fate of his prisoner, and other local authorities have copied that attitude in the month that elapsed since the mob rose. When the local authorities failed to act, Governor Ritchie ordered the state troops into the Eastern Shore county.

There is no doubt that both in Maryland and California crimes had occurred which make it readily comprehensible how the public mind was inflamed. But there can likewise be no question but that Governor Ritchie and the California sheriff who tried to do his duty are right and that Governor Rolph and the county authorities in the Maryland case are wrong. If all men sworn to uphold the law approved lynchings, there would soon be no law, but only a series of mob uprisings leading downward to anarchy.

White Press, Northern

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Lynchings-1933
&
Discussions.

N. Y. HERALD

OCT 22 1933

Race Prejudice Cure Believed To Lie in Education of Children

Dr. Zorbaugh, of N. Y. U., Cites Hoboken Test to Show Study Raises Pupils' View of Negro; Says Toleration Training Would Curb Lynchings

Crimes of violence which are the result of racial prejudice can be effectively cured by the education of children to toleration of custom, creed and color other than their own, according to Professor Harvey W. Zorbaugh, director of the clinic for gifted children of the School of Education of New York University. Dr. Zorbaugh described a recent study carried on at the School of Education by Dr. Paul W. Schlorff which definitely proved that education can reduce social prejudice and create in children a more appreciative and tolerant attitude toward the Negro.

"Periodic lynchings," said Dr. Zorbaugh, "such as the lamentable incident at Princess Anne, Md., should by this time have taught us that race friction cannot be controlled by legislation and public opinion alone.

Describes Hoboken Experiment

"Dr. Schlorff asked 425 high school students in Hoboken, N. J., to indicate, on an experimentally constructed scale of 'social distance,' the extent of intimacy to which they would admit individuals of the twenty foreign nationalities making up the bulk of the population of that city," Professor Zorbaugh said. "The Negro was included in this list of nationalities. The high school students were themselves largely of foreign extraction — Italian, Jewish, German and Irish.

"The scale of social distance was represented by various degrees of personal relationship, ranging from 'your chum,' through 'a member of your club' and 'a neighbor in the same house or block' to 'a person you would exclude from your country,' which, it had been experimentally determined, represented to this group of children varying degrees of intimacy. The relationships had a scale value, ranging between 5.37 for 'your chum' and 0.00 for 'a person you would exclude from your country.'

"The children were then asked to indicate to what personal relationships they would admit various races and nationalities. A scale was thus obtained for each nationality, representing the resistance to intimacy, or 'prejudice,' the children held toward that race or nationality.

Scores on Relationships

"The Irish led in this test with a score of 4.34. Other scores included English, 4.19; German, 3.89; French, 3.28; American Indian, 2.05, and Russian, 1.45. The Negro had a score of .97, indicating that while the children would admit him to citizenship in this country, they would exclude him from all more intimate contacts.

"Experimental and control groups were then selected. The experimental group, organized as a class in civics, was familiarized with the history of the American Negro—his African origin and customs, his transportation to America through the slave trade, the period of slavery, his liberation and difficulties in adjusting himself to freedom, and finally his contribution to American literature, art, music, science and education. They were also familiarized with the life stories of great Negro men and women.

"The control group was also organized as a civics class, but was given only the regular course of study.

"At the end of the semester of study the two groups were asked again to score the list of races and nationalities against the scale of social distance. While the scores assigned to the two groups were identical at the beginning of the experiment, they varied widely at its end. The score assigned the Negro by the group which had not been familiarized with his history and cultural contributions remained the same. The experimental group, however, assigned him a score of 2.20, more than twice the score of .97 assigned him in the beginning, indicating a very considerable breaking down of prejudice.

"Dr. Schlorff inferred that the change in the rating was the direct effect of the curriculum to which the experimental class had been exposed. Careful investigation determined that neither the community nor the pupils had undergone any unusual experience during the time of the study to which the change might be attributed.

"An unusual effect of the study of the background of the Negro by the experimental group was a general raising of the scores of virtually all the ratings. A similar change of attitude did not take place in the control group.

"There is, of course, a difference between what we say we will do and actually will do, between opinion and action. But this experiment gives us every reason to hope that education can do much toward achieving fairer and happier race relations."

Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3940

Chronology of the 34-Month Mass Fight for 9 Negro Boys

Daily Worker 11-11-33 New York, N.Y.

Nine Innocent Lads Menaced by New Lynch Trials and Organized Lynch Gangs

By CYRIL BRIGGS

The nine Scottsboro Boys, facing a new lynch trial on Nov. 27, and further menaced by the State-fostered lynch-gang conspiracy exposed by the "Daily Worker," have been in the shadow of the electric chair for the past two years and eight months. Their lives have been several times threatened by lynch gangs and by prison guards and gangsters introduced into the prison.

Arrested on March 25, 1931, the boys were first charged with hoboing. This charge later changed to rape when two white girls were discovered on the freight. Girls at first refused to accuse the boys of rape. But later, threatened with prosecution on their widely known record as prostitutes, one of the girls, Victoria Price, accused all nine boys of having raped her. Ruby Bates still held out, but later gave in to the coercion of State officials.

On April 2, the Daily Worker began the first expose of the Scottsboro frame-up.

Rush Through Lynch Verdicts

April 6—Trials of the boys open at Scottsboro before Judge E. A. Hawkins. Denied the right to select their own attorneys, tried by all-white juries, eight of the boys were speedily condemned to burn in the electric chair. A mistrial in the case of Roy Wright, 14 years old at the time, prevented a unanimous lynch conviction. The trials were deliberately set for horse-swapping day in Scottsboro as an additional attraction to draw visitors from the outlying districts. Outside the court, a brass band furnished by the local mill bosses, hailed the verdicts with a rendition of "Happy Days Are Here Again."

April 9 — Death sentences pronounced on eight of the boys, and date of execution set for July 10.

Masses In Indignant Protests

The International Labor Defense enters the case. Its attorney, Gen. George W. Chamlee, gives notice of appeal. The Communist Party, the I.L.D. and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights roused the white and Negro masses to angry protests. A thunder of protest rises all over the country and is echoed throughout the world.

June 22—Judge Hawkins overrules all motions for new trials. I. L. D. gives notice of appeal to the Alabama Supreme Court.

Jan. 21, 1932, Supreme Court of Alabama hears the appeal.

Ala. Supreme Court Upholds Verdicts

March 24, 1932, Alabama Supreme Court upholds lynch verdicts against 7 of the boys, grants new trial to Eugene Williams. Chief Justice Anderson in dissenting opinion admits that none of the boys had had a fair trial.

March 25—I.L.D. files petition in U. S. Supreme Court for new hearing.

Oct. 10.—U. S. Supreme Court hears arguments on appeal. Defers decision.

Mass Fight Wins New Trials

Nov. 7—U. S. Supreme Court hands down decision, on eve of presidential election, granting new trials to the boys, but ignoring constitutional questions raised by the I.L.D. Scottsboro protest demonstrations held throughout the world. Demonstrators before U. S. Supreme Court building attacked by Washington police.

Nov. 21—J. Louis Engdahl dies in Moscow following strenuous European Scottsboro defense tour with Mrs. Ada Wright, Scottsboro mother.

March 7, 1933—Change of venue granted. New trial set for Decatur.

March 28, 1933—New trials open in Decatur, Ala. I.L.D. challenges jury system of South on exclusion of Negroes from jury. Haywood Patterson first of boys to be re-tried.

April 7—Ruby Bates appears as defense witness, repudiating her former testimony, causing great sensation. Lester Carter, one of the male companions of the two white girls, also appears for defense. Attorney General Knight attacks Ruby Bates as having "sold out" the South.

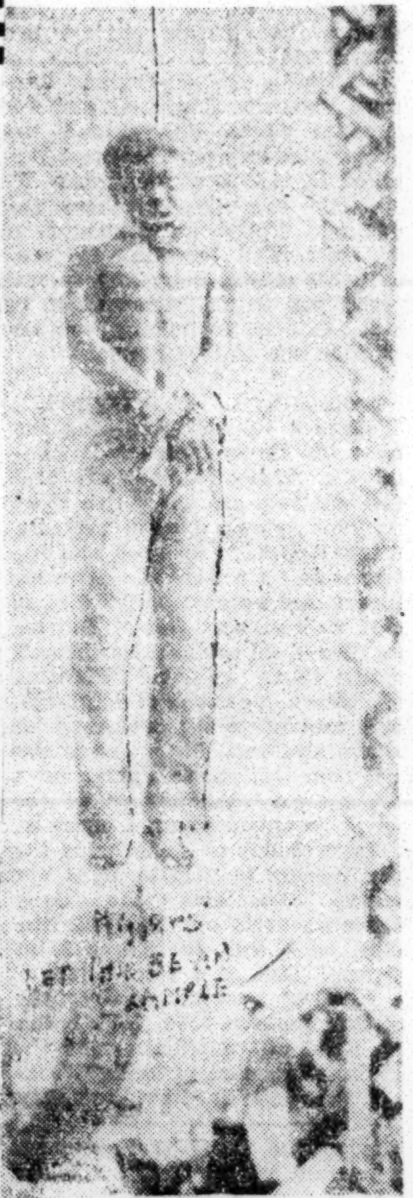
Mass Upsurge Answers Patterson Verdict

April 9, 1933—Palm Sunday. Grinning, all-white jury brings in lynch verdict against Haywood Patterson. Harlem in angry upsurge. White and Negro toilers throughout country answer lynch verdict with indignant protests and iron determination that "the Scottsboro Boys Shall Not Die."

April 17—Judge Horton postpones indefinitely further lynch proceedings.

May 8-9, 1933 — 5,000 Negro and white workers in Scottsboro protest march to Washington place demands on President Roosevelt and Congress for release of the boys, and for adoption and enforcement of Bill of Civil Rights for Negroes drawn up by L.S.N.R. and carried to Washington by the marchers.

Lynch Victim



Freddy Moore

Negro Farm Hand Reveals Story Of Lynching After Escaping Mob

New York, N.Y. Daily Worker

NEW ORLEANS, La., Nov. 7.—Freddy Moore, a Negro plantation worker of Labadieville, Louisiana, was hung from the girders of a bridge near that town, by a lynch mob organized by white plantation owners.

"Niggers, let this be an example to you. Do not touch for 24 hours. Mean it."

11-11-33

Norman Thibodeaux was hung from the same bridge on the same night, Oct. 11. Poor white farmers cut him down and he escaped alive. The lynching was dismissed by capitalist newspapers with brief mention and it was not until Thibodeaux had made his way to New Orleans that he dared relate details of the occurence to the International Labor Defense. He is now in this city. Threats have been made to lynch him if he ever returns to Labadieville, and attempts have been made to find him and take him back there.

The excuse for the lynching was that Moore and Thibodeaux were friends of Anna May LaRose, a white girl of the neighborhood, who was murdered while on a visit to her sweetheart in Labadieville.

Moore was arrested and held in the parish jail at Napoleonville. Plans were immediately made for his lynching, but it was postponed until the next day because the landlords wanted to invite some friends from New Orleans to enjoy the orgy.

The jail was unlocked, Moore taken out, beaten, tortured with red-hot branding irons, then hung from the bridge.

Beside the sign on his body, another one was posted on the front of the post-office, saying:

"WARNING TO NIGGERS! No niggers allowed on bridge, in front of church, in front of post-office. Keep moving."

This sign remained there for nine days on U. S. Government property, directly opposite the Roman Catholic church of the community.

No evidence was ever brought forward connecting either of the youths with the murder of the LaRose girl. It was openly said that any real accusation should be levelled in the direction of her step-father, who was opposed to her marriage because by it he would lose her services.

Manifesto Declares Existence of Negroes Threatened

Daily Worker 11-21-33 New York, N.Y.

To the Oppressed Negro People!
To the White Toilers of the United States!
To All Willing to Fight Against Lynching and Persecution!

The renewed murderous onslaught by the ruling class upon the Negro people calls for immediate and decisive action if a whole nation of 12,000,000 is not to be trampled into the dust.

With rope in one hand and torch in the other lynch terror stalks the land abetted and organized by the powers that be. In the very shadow of the White House, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, the charred body of George Armwood has been tossed upon the scrap heap of King Lynch as the 34th victim of the year. In preparation for the wholesale legalized lynching planned for the Scottsboro boys, the State of Alabama has thrown back into the teeth of the mass movement of protest the lynched bodies of its victims at Decatur and Tuscaloosa. It has released murderous rifle and machine gun fire against the indomitable and courageous Negro sharecroppers of Tallapoosa County.

U. S. Supreme Court Directs Terror

Rising to the occasion, the Supreme Court has ordered that Crawford be returned to the lynch-infested courts of Virginia and that Euel Lee be sent to the electric chair. The date of execution has been set for Willie Peterson of Birmingham. Georgia, which has already thrown Angelo Herndon into its dungeons to serve a 20-year sentence, is now moving to invoke the death sentence against the six Negro and white labor organizers. Not to be outdone, the authorities in the North are deporting Negroes to the homeland of lynch terror, filling the jails with the victims of the frame-up, the hospitals with the victims of police brutality. Each new insult and degradation is sharper and more stinging than the last.

The bloodhounds of terror seek out every head raised above its fellows in protest against poverty, hunger, unemployment, starvation wages, disease, death which has settled with a double weight upon the Negro people. All the suffering and degradation which have been visited upon the white masses by the crisis have been applied with double force against the Negro masses.

N.R.A. Blood-Stained Slavery

The eagle of N.R.A. has buried its claws with a firmer grip upon the body of Negro labor. The "New Deal" of 1933, administered by the

Democrat Roosevelt, recalls the "New Deal" promised the Negro people by the Democrat Wilson. Then Wilson, seeking the co-operation of the Negro people, in the waging of a war which benefitted only the rulers and the rich, promised the Negroes the full rights of citizenship. Today Roosevelt, also by promises, seeks to make the Negro people bear the heavy end of the burden of the crisis. Then, on the battlefield of the crisis, Roosevelt gives his official sanction to the double standard of American democracy by condemning, in official legal action, the Negro worker to the lowest paid category; by signing the death warrant for Negro croppers in the plowing-under and acreage reduction program; by ruining the small Negro business men. Never, in recent years has there been such a program of annihilation decreed for the Negro people.

Nor has the "New Deal" altered in any respect the whole system of social degradation, segregation and jim-crow. It has put its official stamp upon it. Delegation after delegation has presented President Roosevelt with the facts of persecution of Negroes. Yet the President, despite his promises, has not uttered a single word of protest or made a single move to punish lynchers, or in any way or form guaranteed the enjoyment of equal social and political rights by Negroes. He has, instead, signified his allegiance to the Southern slave-drivers by appointing an outstanding white Southern bourbon as "guardian" of the Negro in the industrial recovery machinery. The Bill of Rights, presented by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights in the Scottsboro March on Washington, has been thrust into the waste basket by the President.

Chains of Serf Labor Extends to the North

Chattel slavery has given place to serfdom on the Southern plantations; the slave regime, to all forms of legalized and tacit persecutions and oppression. To this day the small farmer and sharecropper does not own land, the Negro worker is handicapped, the Negro professional people and business men are being driven out. The right to free and equal public education, to vote, to hold office, to be an equal citizen is denied.

The slave conditions which reign in the Southern Black Belt have plagued the Negro wherever he has gone. The chains of serf labor in the South extend to the cities in the North and enshackle the Negro industrial worker. The shackles that bind the Negro also bind the white worker. The Negro worker in the North cannot free himself as long as the Negro masses are chained. The blow that strikes the shackles from one must strike the shackles from the other.

The leaders of the American Federation of Labor (Woll, Green, Lewis, etc.) have blinded the organized white workers to this fundamental fact. They have excluded Negroes from unions. They are supporting the special codes which assign lower wages to those industries where Negroes are chiefly employed; they have accepted the difference in wage scales and working conditions for the North and South. They are a part of the Roosevelt machinery. They are doing their best at the present time to halt the widespread mass revolt against the N.R.A. They are doing their best to divide the white and Negro workers even further.

Of the same mould is the leadership of the Socialist Party (Thomas, Solomon, Crosswaithe). At bottom contemptuous of the Negro masses, they are compelled by their desire to keep their hold upon the rank and file Socialist Party members to gloss over their support of white supremacy with such hypocritical remarks as: "Let us first liberate the white workers; then we'll work for the Negroes." This is the answer that only those can give who are quite content to see the Negro people enslaved, who support the white ruling class in keeping the Negro people enslaved.

N.A.A.C.P. Leaders Betray Negro People

In this emergency have the so-called leaders of the Negro people taken up the cudgels for the rights of the masses? Many of them grovel at the ante-room to President Roosevelt's chamber seeking a place of honor at the feast of the rulers. Some of them, like the leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League (Walter White, Dubois, Spingarn, Pickens, Eugene K. Jones, etc.) murmur against the wage differential, but their paeans of support to the "New Deal" drown out even these feeble whisperings. Major Moton, in that domain at Tuskegee, left as a heritage of the betrayal of Booker T. Washington, continues his same grovelling and scraping before the feet of the mighty. Dr. DuBois, the so-called Socialist, has found that the path of enlightenment leads to none other than B. T. Washington, and he is now preaching the gospel, so long ago discredited, of pulling oneself up by the bootstraps. No matter that the N.A.A.C.P. was born in a movement of protest against the betrayal policies and actions of the "great" Washington. "New times, old songs"—the misleaders are now almost unanimously preaching the gospel of alliance with the ruling class, of maintaining in all its basic conditions the present order of things, of rejecting the proffered alliance of the white workers in the struggle against oppression and tyranny.

Time Has Come for Courageous Fight

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights calls upon the Negro masses to reject the treacherous policies of these misleaders and to establish a close alliance with the militant white workers. The time has long since come for a clear, courageous, basic struggle on the part of the Negro and white masses for equal rights for Negroes, against lynching and persecution.

For Land, Freedom, Equality!

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights proclaims Land, Freedom and Equality as its watchwords. We hail the struggles of recent years as the forerunner of the decisive struggle for land and freedom—a struggle which was betrayed in so dastardly a fashion by the Northern ruling class after the Civil War. Such struggles are the fight for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys which has made clear before the whole world the conditions of oppression of the Negro people and a program for fighting against it; the struggles of the sharecroppers in Alabama against serfdom, which is only a first step in the struggle for land; the growing solidarity of white and Negro workers as shown in the struggles of recent years.

Thus extends the path to freedom. No utopian dreams of escape to Africa preached by Garvey, but a struggle here for the freedom and land in the Southern Black Belt, for the right of the millions of Negro people there to say: This land which we have tilled for generations belongs to us; these counties which hold our majorities we will weld into a new state where we shall have authority and where the whites as a minority will have equal rights with us. It is here that the Negro people shall have the right of self-determination—the right, if they choose, to proclaim an independent country.

Only then will the American Negroes appear upon the world stage as an independent and free people, equal to all and subservient to none.

A Call to White Toilers

And to the white workers it must be said: Without the Negro masses you cannot be free, with them the future belongs to you. The Negro workers are your powerful black hand. Would you go to battle with one arm severed? Would you not equip that arm with the best of weapons? Then disown the vile slander against the Negro people which has been foisted upon you, step forth free from the filth of race hatred, to claim the Negro masses as your friend and ally.

Step forth to strike out for Negro freedom, to strike out for Negro rights. Only in this way can you convince the Negro masses that you are worthy of an alliance, that they can entrust their battle to you as you entrust your battle to them. United, in mass effort, you can then shatter the chains from your legs, thrust the burden from your shoulders. Especially now, when the Negroes are struggling as they never did since the Civil War period, can you mend a century of error, by extending your arm in fraternal clasp.

Support Struggles of African and Other Colonial Slaves

Throughout the whole world colored and oppressed peoples are also struggling for freedom. The fight for the independence of Africa and the West Indies, for freedom in South and Central America and in Cuba is also our struggle. Our victory is also their victory: in solid phalanxes we battle the same enemy—world imperialism.

To support the struggles that are now going on and to extend them, there is a crying need for a militant central organization around which can be grouped all those organizations and persons, whether they be white or black, determined to fight for the liberation of the Negro people. Such a center will unite and centralize the efforts of the various organizations and individuals on the basis of a definite program, welding them into a powerful united force against Negro oppression.

Militant Unity Against Imperialist Enemy

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights is such an organization. Its program and platform shows the way for the liberation of the Negro people, to which all sincere fighters in this cause can adhere.

The terrific needs of the Negro people have dictated this program. It is based upon the experiences and traditions of three centuries of struggle against oppression. Its sharpness has been tempered in the blood of Negroes murdered by the white ruling class oppressors. Turn it into a powerful weapon in the struggle for Equality, Land and Freedom!

Join the League of Struggle for Negro Rights!

Affiliate Your Organization!

National Council
League of Struggle for
Negro Rights

WASHINGTON, D. C.
POST
DEC 28 1933

Speakers Split Over Causes Of Lynch Evil

Student League Hears Two Sides; Roosevelt Stand Hit.

A symposium on lynching and the "Scottsboro case," by the National Student League in session at Howard University last night, revealed the opposed views of two prominent colored speakers, Dean Kelly Miller, and Richard B. Moore, of New York, on the position of President Roosevelt in relation to the lynching evil.

Moore, who heads the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, presented an analysis of the rising wave of lynching in America which, he said, grew in direct proportion to unemployment, starvation and misery. He branded small organized groups of so-called leading citizens, including officers of the law, as mob leaders, supported by the highest Governmental authorities.

Blames Officers for Mob.

Mob violence in Kuntze, Tex., he said, was precipitated by an officer of the law who turned David Gregory over to a mob. In Princess Anne, he declared, the mob was led by the head of the American Legion post, under no form of resistence by Judge Duer and State's Attorney Robbins. Gov. Ritchie he blamed for failure to protect Armwood. Gov. Rolph, of California, he declared, showed his attitude by remaining at the Statehouse to prevent anyone from calling out the militia in the San Jose lynching case.

Judge Foster and Sheriff Shamblin, likewise, were blamed in connection with the Tuscaloosa, Ala., lynching, along with Attorney General Knight, Gov. Miller and Judge Callahan in the Scottsboro case.

President Roosevelt's pronouncement against lynching, he said, in view of his action in reference to kidnaping, "to protect the children of the rich," was "too weak to cover up his failure to act against lynching by calling for legislation.

Laws Held Ineffectual.

Dean Miller gave his opinion that development of healthy moral sentiment against the lynching evil was necessary rather than legislation against it. "The more laws we make," he said, "the more we break." As examples he cited the fourteenth, fifteenth and eighteenth amendments.

"President Roosevelt," he said, "has gone far, and has taken the only feasible stand, to create the sentiment that lynching is murder, an offense against human and divine law. With such sentiment, well developed legislation will prove effective. Without such sentiment, it will be of no effect, and its enforcement will fail.

"The State governments, rather than the National Government, are better adapted to act to prevent mob violence."

Resolutions in connection with the Scottsboro case, discussed by Dr. Donald Henderson, were drawn up to be in shape for the league approval today.

Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3941

SYRACUSE, N. Y.
POST STANDARD
DEC 3 1933

Depression Partly to Blame for Lynchings, Opinion of Dr. H. N. Shenton, Sociologist

Professor at University Sees People Seeking Direct Action

BY ELIZABETH PYKE

What causes lynchings?

Six weeks ago, George Armwood, 28-year-old Negro, was dragged from jail and lynched by an incensed mob in Maryland.

Last Sunday, a similar mob battered down the doors of a California jail and hanged two confessed kidnapers.

Last Tuesday, the lynching craze broke out in Missouri, where a crowd of 7,000 watched a 19-year-old Negro die in flames at the end of a rope.

Are incidents such as these to be explained as protests against the inadequacy of our institutions of justice, or is the blame for them to be laid perhaps at the the door of the depression?

Dr. Herbert N. Shenton, Syracuse university sociologist, whose studies in the field of human relationships enable him to discuss this question from a scientific rather than an emotional viewpoint, declares that lynchings do not occur for reasons so rational as protest against inefficient courts.

Direct Action

"You can rationalize lynching by saying that when people become dissatisfied with legal procedure they are likely to take more direct action," he comments. "That sounds logical, and there may be a tendency in that direction. People today undoubtedly have lost a great deal of their faith in all our institutions, including institutions of justice.

"But the crowd that goes in for lynching is not given to rationalistic philosophy," Dr. Shenton emphasizes. "Hence, one can not relate this rational process to the causes of lynching."

The Syracuse sociologist observes incidentally that the recent lynchings have taken place in fields where operations of justice are particularly effective.

"Kidnaping," he illustrates, "has especially adequate legislation, which probably is enforced as effectively as any legislation we have."

Depression Not Actual Cause

While depressions cannot be defined as an actual cause of lynching, according to Dr. Shenton, there seems to be a definite relationship between the two.

"We must expect more emotional jamborees of that sort in conditions

Dr. Herbert N. Shenton

like the present, when people are in a state of insecurity and instability which makes it easy to arouse their emotions," he believes. "A large part of the population have nothing to keep them busy, and so they are just looking for excitement. This state of affairs lends itself to all sorts of emotional action rather than action based on judgment.

"In times of depression people are inclined to lose faith in existing institutions, and the stage is set for direct action, of which lynching is only one form. During the past year there have been lots of killings by direct action activities, such as strikes and riots. The whole world right now is stirred up to direct action."

Dr. Shenton doubts, however that lynchings in one part of the country stimulate mobs in other sections to similar actions.

Occasions Different

"The occasions of various lynchings are so different that I think usually they are a local manifestation," he says.

Will lynchings continue?

Dr. Shenton answers this question by pointing out that in the United States lynching heretofore has been regarded chiefly as a racial issue, and that when racial prejudice disappears lynchings of this type are likely to stop.

"The lynching of the kidnapers in California, on the other hand, is the only case of its kind," he continues, "and under such circumstances it is dangerous to generalize. I would say, on the whole, that lynching is one of the methods of direct action, which always is more likely in times of emotional strain and lack of faith in existing institutions, and that when people get over the strain and have more faith in their institutions, the situation automatically corrects itself."

Education and Lynchings

Can education prevent lynchings in the future?

"That depends on what you mean by education," Dr. Shenton holds. "Many people who ordinarily are considered to be educated may be emotionally unstable and hence could easily become participants in a lynching mob.

"Personally, however, I think that training toward control of the emotions is one of the fundamentals of education. An emotionolly stable man is less likely to become involved in such an incident. Modern educators are giving more attention to the importance of the emotions in education."

Can good come out of the California lynching as Governor Rolph seems to believe?

Dr. Shenton concedes that as a single incident the lynching of the kidnapers may have some good effects, but he considers that condoning of the action by public officials is rather unwise, since "their responsibility demands that they think of it not simply as a single item but as a principle and as a precedent likely to be imitated."

Fear in Hearts of Kidnapers

"It was a dramatic exhibition of the state of mind of the public with regard to kidnaping," he remarks, "and probably put as much fear into the hearts of potential kidnapers as half a dozen trials. There is undoubtedly too much expectancy of avoiding punishment in the courts of our country.

"But even if the officials thought this particular lynching would do more good than harm, in the next case the evidence might not be so clear. The victims in this instance had confessed, but even a confession unless it is voluntary, may not mean a thing.

"The danger is that mobs do not rationalize these points. They are emotional rather than rational, and therefore their judgments are likely to be basically unsound and unjust."

New York Times

DEC 8 1933

CHURCHES PRAISE ROOSEVELT SPEECH

Federal Council Approves Condemnation of Lynching but Repeal Aid Is Deplored.

'MORAL SAG' IS FORESEEN

Secretary Wallace and Green at Washington Urge Campaign for Better Social Order.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7.—President Roosevelt's condemnation of lynching as "collective murder" was unanimously acclaimed, but his part in prohibition repeal was deplored by several delegates at the concluding session here today of the anniversary meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Definition of the council's attitude on prohibition was left by agreement to its executive committee, which will meet for the purpose in New York Dec. 18, but omission of the subject from the proposed "message to the churches" and the "leadership" in repeal of the President and "his associates" was protested from the floor by the Rev. Raymond A. Walker of Harrisburg.

Declaring that due to repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment "a moral sag" had developed throughout the country within the past few months, making more difficult his own and the work of all ministers of religion, Mr. Walker continued:

"We all must feel that the leadership of President Roosevelt and those associated with him had a great deal to do with this moral sag and that had his influence been thrown to the other side, our task would not now be so difficult."

Wallace Sees Better Order.

Secretary Wallace predicted a new and better social order, based on "more Christian principles" of cooperation instead of competition, but expressed fears that its development might be hampered or impeded by "social drinking" and devotion to "selfish enjoyment."

Secretary Wallace told the delegates that what "appalled" him about repeal was the "great amount of social drinking in Washington among extraordinarily decent people," something he said he had never seen before. He was "appalled" also, he said, by what seemed to him their disposition to "care for nothing in life but enjoyment."

"It may be that is not the result of repeal and that it only impresses me because I never saw it before I came to Washington," he said.

Unalterable opposition to the "liquor traffic" and determination to restrict to the utmost its inevitably evil results was announced by Bishop James Cannon Jr. following an address by Dr. Daniel A. Poling of New York, who expressed the conviction that regardless of repeal "beverage alcohol is on the way out."

"Speaking for myself and for others who may be of the same opinion," he said, "we do not recognize in the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment the defeat of our cause. Dry victories may be expected in local communities, in counties and in States throughout the country. There is still natural dry territory and other territory that may be won."

Approve Ban on Saloon.

The necessity of a new approach to the whole problem of temperance through the education of young people was emphasized in the discussion that followed. Several delegates expressed satisfaction over new Federal guarantees of protection of dry States and with the statement of President Roosevelt in opposition to any return of the old saloon system.

They said that President Roosevelt had carried out all his promises so far and could in the future be

depended on to fulfill others and to help in the building up of a temperate nation.

Presentation by the Rev. W. J. Walls of Chicago of a memorial praising Governor Ritchie for his action in connection with the recent lynching at Princess Anne, Md., was the signal for a lively debate in which the sending in of troops by the Governor was attacked by the Rev. Leonard Wright of Salisbury.

Mr. Wright, one of the two white men who participated in the discussion, blamed the law's delays in past cases and not "the fine people of the Eastern Shore" for what had occurred.

Jury Reform Urged.

In reply the Rev. R. R. Wright Jr. of Philadelphia, acting president of Wilberforce University, suggested that reform of the jury system, to prevent the exclusion of Negroes from service, and of legal codes discriminating against Negroes, would do more than anything else to prevent appeals to high courts and other delays in consummation of cases in which Negroes were involved. Mr. Wright is editor of the Christian Recorder, official organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

"Every Negro in America lifted up his head this morning and thanked God for the statement of President Roosevelt on lynching last night," said Bishop John A. Gregg of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Kansas City.

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, delivered an address in which he urged the aid of the church in bringing about a new and better social order. The delegates pledged their support to changes representing moral and spiritual as well as economic values.

A tentative draft of the proposed "Messages to the Churches" expressing these views was read by Dr. Albert W. Beaven, president of the council, and its reference to the executive committee for definite formulation was approved by the delegates.

TROY, N. Y.
TIMES

NOV 29 1933

Two Governors and the Law.

Whatever Governor James Rolph's personal views may be with regard to the lynching at San Jose, California, of the kidnapers of young Brooke Hart; whatever part as and a private citizen he might have taken in the proceedings had he been present; wherever, as a human being, his sympathies may lie, his action as Governor of California in openly condoning the affair is open to most severe censure.

In espousing the cause of mob rule, no matter how great the provocation, as in the San Jose incident, he, as California's Chief Executive, strikes at the basis of all law and order, undermines the foundation of all government and negates the very laws he is sworn to uphold and defend. As California's supreme law enforcement official he was called upon by every consideration of his office to put all personal feeling aside and take every means at his command to insure the arrest and prosecution of the offenders, even to calling out the troops if necessary. It is possible as a human being to understand Governor Rolph's sympathy with the lynchers, perhaps, and the extent of their provocation, but it is neither possible nor expedient to condone his failure as an official to uphold the law.

In solemn contrast to the California Governor's quiesence in the face of mob rule, the nation within forty-eight hours has been shown how the Governor of another State treats such offenders. Using the power of his office to uphold the law Governor Albert C. Ritchie of Maryland sent the militia into rebellious Somerset County to apprehend four men accused of participating in the lynching of George Armwood, a Negro, a month ago.

To be sure the circumstances in both cases were not analagous. Armwood was not accused of kidnaping, but he had confessed to a crime which in the eyes of some is equally as heinous—a criminal attack upon a white woman which caused her death. It, too, was the culmination in some respects of widespread dissatisfaction with the delay in processes of the law in an earlier case in which the prosecution of a Negro charged with the murder of a white man and his wife was permitted to drag through the courts for more than two years. The authorities of Maryland may have bungled the handling of both cases on all counts, but its Governor insisted that with all its faults the processes of the law must be upheld and supported.

Attempts may be made to excuse lynch law on the grounds that it is the public's protest against delays and circumlocutions of the courts which all too often permit criminals to escape the consequences of their acts. It may also be held up as an object lesson and a warning to the criminal element in the country that their activities will no longer be tolerated. But if lynching were the answer to the problem of crime control, it is to be wondered why crimes which have ordinarily resulted in lynchings have not ceased in areas where lynchings have been more or less common. The public may find every reason to sympathize with Governor Rolph's action on purely human grounds, but as a law official Governor Ritchie has made by far the better showing.

PATERSON, N. J.
CALL

NOV 29 1933

Anger Smouldering On Maryland Shore

Quiet Is Restored, But Determination to Uphold Lynchers Continues.

Resent Action Of Governor

By HARRY FERGUSON.
(United Press Staff Correspondent.)

Salisbury, Md., Nov. 28 (UP)—A burned automobile cushion in a main street and scattered missles lying harmlessly on the pavement were almost the only evidence left in Salisbury tonight of a day of furious rioting. But beneath the quiet that had descended on the town was a grim determination to continue resistance against Governor Ritchie's attempts to punish the lynchers of George Armwood, Negro.

Even the violent anger toward newspapermen which led a mob this afternoon to burn one newsman's automobile, throw a sound camera truck into the Wicomico river and chase reporters out of town had calmed. But the eastern shore dwellers still showed suspicion of outsiders and a friendly resident advised me urgently to go elsewhere to seek quarters for the night.

Four in Jail.

Four residents of Princess Anne and vicinity, a few miles below Salisbury in Somerset county, were in jail in Baltimore awaiting formal charges of participating in the lynching but five others sought by national guardsmen and state police on orders of the governor remained at large. Queries of neighbors brought only the word that the five men were "not at home."

There was excited discussion tonight over what the governor might do next. If the four men in Baltimore are brought back to Princess Anne for arraignment, the citizens of Salisbury, Princess Anne and neighboring communities seem likely to unite again in an effort to free the prisoners. Efforts to arrest the other five also will bring danger of recurrence violence.

The eastern shore area, though scarcely fifty miles from Baltimore or Washington by direct route, is made remote by the Chesapeake and can be reached only by Ferry from Annapolis or Baltimore, or by a long journey to the head of Chesapeake bay at Elkton, almost up to the Pennsylvania line. As a result there is an air of isolation and independence about the district and its citizens resent bitterly outside interference in their affairs.

They had outside interference aplenty today when national guardsmen descended on Princess Anne before daylight to arrest the lynching suspects.

The four men taken were Irving Adkins, William H. Thompson — a member of the coroner's jury which first investigated the lynching — William P. Hearn and William S. McQuade.

Mob Attacks Troops.

The original intention was to arraign the men at Princess Anne today, but the gathering of the mob forced Brigadier General Milton A. Reckord, in charge of the national guardsmen, to take his prisoners to Baltimore. Great clouds of tear gas floated through the streets of Salisbury as the national guardsmen attempted to hold back the mob that gathered outside the Yellow Stone armory here where Reckord had taken his prisoners after arresting them before dawn in Somerset county.

Most of the men in the mob were roughly dressed in overalls, knee boots and caps. Pistols bulged in the pockets of some of them.

National guardsmen stood with fixed bayonets and kept the street in front of the armory cleared. Then a member of the mob knocked off a soldier's hat. There was a blow exchanged and the crowd surged up toward the line of guardsmen. Several members of the mob were pricked by bayonets, but none was injured seriously.

Reckord ordered tear gas bombs used. The crowd saw the heavy yellow smoke spurting up as the bombs were discharged by soldiers standing in the windows of the armory. A thirteen-year-old crippled girl on crutches coughed as the gas swept into her lungs and two men picked her up and carried her out of range.

Reckord ordered the trucks in which the National Guardsmen had arrived to pull up at the armory door. A double file of guardsmen waited beside them. Suddenly up an alley came the Salisbury fire department, dragging a hose that had been coupled to a hydrant.

Water poured out in a heavy cold stream and was turned on the guardsmen. The soldiers stood their ground while the crowd jeered. A telephone call went through to Pittsville, a nearby town, asking that fire department to come to the aid of the Salisbury department.

Guardsmen continued to hurl tear gas bombs at the mob and the firemen kept the water pouring on the soldiers. Members of the mob were caught in the cross "fire" of water and gas as the battle raged for a half hour. It ended only when Fire Chief F. A. Grier climbed the armory steps and told his men to take away the hose.

Shortly afterward the trucks with the four prisoners inside left for Baltimore.

General's Auto Stoned

A car carrying Reckord and Attorney-General Lane was stoned and its windows were broken. As the car and the trucks speeded away the mob turned back toward the armory.

A half block away is the Wicomico hotel. The crowd burst into the lobby. Several newspapermen were standing near telephone booths.

"Where are the reporters?" shouted the crowd.

Hotel officials hurried the newspapemen into a room on an upper floor of the hotel. At ten minute intervals they brought down the newspapermen one at a time, slipping them out a side door and into a taxicab. Members of the mob demanded to inspect the hotel registers and did not leave until they were certain no newspaperman remained.

Then the mob surged back into the street. A motion picture sound truck was standing at the curb, and the crowd pushed it down to the Wicomico river and shoved it in. It disappeared beneath the water.

Another news reel man had a box of film which the mob tore away from him and threw it into the river. Turning back to the main street, the crowd saw an automobile with a District of Columbia license bearing a placard "Press." They turned it over in the middle of the street and set fire to it.

Before the flames died away the crowd went on down the street and stopped beside an automobile which they thught belonged to Lane. They turned it over on the curb and were about to set it afire when some one reminded them that Lane had left several minutes before in his car.

By late afternoon there was no sign of mob spirit, though small groups of men clustered along the sidewalks and talked through the early night hours.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3942

SCHENECTADY, N. Y.
UNION STAR

DEC 1 1933

Letting Down the Bars

IT MIGHT BE expected that the open alignment of Governor Rolph of California with the blood-thirsty mob of San Jose lynchers would be the signal for an epidemic of lynchings all over the country. Lawless elements, observing a chief executive of a great state declare his sympathy with breakers of the law which it was his sworn duty to execute, might be expected to take his act as amnesty to all kidnapers everywhere.

Fixing the blame for the hanging of a negro at St. Joseph, Missouri, is not such an easy matter. Governor Guy B. Park, who ordered out troops to hold the jail against the mob, appears to have done his duty, but there was evidence of laxness among the guardsmen themselves which denoted half-hearted compliance with orders. There was no such iron and steel resistance in Missouri as there had been in Maryland.

Not much can be said for the Missouri judge who ordered a delay of the trial of the negro who is reported to have been ready to plead guilty the day before he was summarily destroyed at the hands of the mob. The proper authority would be doing a service to the State of Missouri if it looked into the court's delay. One of the best preventives of lynching is assurance of quick and sure justice in the courts.

Much of the benefit from federal co-operation in arresting and convicting criminals is negatived by failure of state authorities to carry out the letter and spirit of the law. It is a point for legal debate whether heirs of the two victims of the San Jose mob might not bring civil action against the State of California to recover for the deaths of these two unconvicted men. It is not likely that the California legislature would bring impeachment against the Governor.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
INQUIRER

NOV 29 1933

The Case of Two Governors

There have been two recent lynchings—one in an Eastern State and one in a Western—and two Governors have had thrust upon them the duty of dealing with them. In Maryland Governor Ritchie sent out State troops to arrest the members of the mob in Princess Anne county which took the law into its own hands. The soldiers were conveying four men from the Salisbury Armory to Princess Anne for a hearing. A crowd closed in upon them. "What right have you to come down here and run our county?" shouted a voice. Disregarding the orders of the commanding officer, the crowd continued to press forward until it was checked by tear gas in lieu of rifles. In the riot that followed there was great disorder, though no fatalities were recorded. Governor Ritchie had done his duty in spite of much popular resentment. He had upheld the cause of law and order.

In California the lynchers overpowered the Sheriff and his forces, and succeeded in lynching two criminals awaiting trial for kidnapping and murder. The provocation was great, no doubt; but the duty of Governor Rolph was none the less clear. Instead of sending troops to the assistance of the Sheriff, he allowed the lynching to go on, and then approved it. He has received rather surprising messages of sympathy from various parts of the country, which are naturally gratifying to him. None the less his failure to do his duty, as Governor Ritchie has done his, is a blot upon his own reputation and that of the State. After the uproar has subsided the people of California will probably realize this.

This outbreak of the lynching spirit in two widely separated communities is a portent of evil omen. In the past some of the Southern States have been the chief offenders. But no stones can be thrown at them now. Lawlessness has become a national disgrace. Weak yielding to a mob will not stamp it out. Only public officials with the courage and sense of duty which Governor Ritchie has displayed can do that.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
Star

DEC 1 1933

CONTRAST IN GOVERNORS.

THE difference in the caliber of public officials is demonstrated by the striking contrast in the attitude of Governor Rolph of California and Governor Ritchie of Maryland toward lynching. The former indorsed the mob hanging of two kidnaper-murderers. He interpreted the outbreak of mob violence as evidence that his state will not tolerate kidnaping. Governor Ritchie sent troops to arrest Maryland citizens charged with lynching a prisoner for an alleged attack on an elderly woman. Guardsmen were mobilized after local enforcement officials had refused to act.

It would have been easier and, perhaps, more expedient politically for Governor Ritchie to have placed responsibility on the local prosecutor. The lynching took place more than a month ago, so that the executive could have washed his hands of the affair. Mr. Ritchie, however, is made of sterner stuff. He has the greatest respect for law and order and believes that summary justice meted out by mobs will breed evils dangerous to law enforcement everywhere. The conduct of the Maryland crowd demonstrated the perils of lynch law. An innocent traveler was mistaken for the attorney general. His car was wrecked and he was threatened with violence before the hoodlums discovered the error. In San Jose, Cal., the sheriff and deputies were seriously injured by the enraged mobsters.

The argument that the prisoners in both cases deserved death does not justify recourse to lynchings. Such violence may reflect the public's bitterness against the delays and loopholes of the law, but this indignation should be expressed in the determination to end such legal practices. Courts should read in these outbreaks the public's remonstrance against technicalities, abuse of the change of venue, repeated appeals and stays, the weakness of the indeterminate sentence law and the leniency of pardon and parole boards. Confidence in law has sunk to its lowest level on account of these practices. Bar associations applaud speedy justice, but legal rascals still are linked with underworld gangs.

Those evils can be corrected if the legal machinery is subjected to a drastic overhauling. Therein lies the remedy and not in the substitution of anarchy. No just comparison can be made of the recent California lynching and the justice meted out by vigilantes in that state's pioneer days. The law then was almost nonexistent. Governor Rolph's statement echoed the hasty sentiment of the man in the streets, but it did not increase general respect for a man whose position supposedly is the essence of law and order.

Mennonite
Berne-Ind

NOV 30 1933

DECREASE IN LYNCHING.

One of the finest examples in modern history of social progress resulting from an enlightened public opinion is the decrease in lynching in America. The press, colleges, interracial commissions, missionary societies and women's clubs have united in an effort to remove this stigma from our land. Public opinion has been rallied in support of law enforcement and protection and has honored officers who have prevented lynchings. Only eight occurred in the United States in 1932. That is the smallest number in any year since records have been kept. This is a remarkable achievement in a year when ...onomic competition which expresses itself in ... forms of jealousy and prejudice has been so ...een.

"A Lynchless South in 1933" is the goal of Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. They have set about to rally public opinion to the realization of that goal.—C. E. Guide.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN

DEC 4 1933

Says Lynching Reaction Brings A New "Low" In Politics

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* Politics has reached a new "low" when legislators consider resolutions condemning our Governor and Attorney-General for attempting to enforce our laws after local officials neglected their plain duty. If lynching, rioting, destruction of person and property are things that should be condoned or passed unnoticed these legislators should establish their propriety by amending the laws.

While our present laws and Constitution prevail it is absurd to criticize such of our public officials who undertake to give effect to them. However, probably legislators who join in such criticisms today would tomorrow introduce resolutions commending the act of the Governor if then it appeared popular—in their own sections—to do so.

It is no wonder that the people become disgusted with our legislative branch of government; nor surprising that the laws it enacts and permits to prevail are associated with delays and a want of effectiveness that arouse a people's ire and resentment.

JOHN J. FITZPATRICK.

Baltimore, Dec. 1, 1933.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
EVENING PUBLIC LEDGER

DEC 1 1933

CONTRASTS

IN TWO of the three States whose reputation has recently been blackened by lynchings and other exhibitions of mob spirit, expressions of disapproval of such crimes are far stronger than those of cynical indorsement.

Thoughtful, responsible Californians are strongly condemning both the San Jose lynchings and the attitude of Governor Rolph, who, too late, is trying to tone down his utterances. A statement signed by leading citizens of the San Francisco area, including Herbert Hoover and Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, points out that:

> This humiliation and shame is intensified by the laudation of the mob and its acts. More than this, such laudation, particularly when coming from the Chief Executive of the State, undermines the very foundations upon which the State and all civilized society is built, respect and reverence in the mind of the citizenry for law, order and justice.

In Missouri similar condemnation of the St. Joseph lynching comes from Governor Park and is echoed throughout the State. Announcing a State investigation of that crime, the Governor said:

> Mob violence, whether in punishment of crime or in attempt to obtain alleged civil rights, is always wrong and destructive of good government. To condone such an offense is to encourage lawlessness, deny the efficiency of the courts and the power of constituted authority.

It would afford unbounded pleasure to be able to report that similar expressions of regret and disapproval prevailed in Maryland. But law-abiding citizens of that State, Governor Ritchie and other officials still find it difficult to be heard above the shouts of the mobs on the lower Eastern Shore, where a "victory" celebration was staged upon the return of four suspects seized by National Guardsmen, from Baltimore.

There are belated proposals by local authorities on the Eastern Shore for a Grand Jury investigation of the Princess Anne lynching, of which the Salisbury riot was an equally disgraceful aftermath. But they invite skepticism in view of the assertions, reviving old plans for secession, that the people in that area have been used to lynchings all their lives, that a lynching is much more fascinating to them than a county fair, and that they wish only to be spared interference with this esteemed privilege.

TIMES
GENEVA, N. Y.

DEC 1 1933

MOBS AND VIOLENCE

It is a big fire whose flames were fanned by the governor of California when he praised the lynching of the San Jose kidnappers. The result was an immediate spread of the lynching fever. It showed in the prompt lynching of a negro in St. Joseph, Mo., and in the fury with which the people of Maryland's "eastern shore" resisted the arrest of the mob leaders who recently lynched a negro there.

Violence always breeds violence. Lawlessness breeds lawlessness. And this is especially true when the administrators of the law themselves encourage lawlessness.

Granted, private citizens taking the law into their own hands in such cases are under great provocation. They bitterly resent the futility, or delay of law administration.

But these are faults of weak men and local conditions. They do not in themselves condemn the system. And the public itself, which creates the system of law and order, and for which the system exists, is to blame for putting weak, wrong-headed men into office and keeping them there. Let the public—all of us who want decent life and fair play—search our own hearts and consciences and act accordingly. We need a new deal in law enforcement in this country. And the way to start it is exactly opposite to the way pointed out by the governor of California.

The mob cannot and must not rule. Mobs are people gone mad, ordinarily rational men seized with a sudden mass insanity, acting under emotional and irresponsible leaders.

This is a bad time for mobs. If there is one danger that confronts the country more than any other this winter, it is the mob danger. If mobs may be assembled with impunity for one purpose, they may be assembled for other purposes. Mobs breed mobs. Any American who encourages mob spirit today is playing with volcanoes.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

NOV 28 1933

Decision

A mob in Princess Anne, Somerset county, Md., defied the officers of the State of Maryland, even beat them up and then perpetrated one of the most barbarous lynchings in the whole history of that degraded sport.

An investigation by the Attorney-General revealed witnesses able to give the names, addresses and occupations of at least nine members of the mob.

Local authorities refused to arrest these persons. Local judges took the matter under advisement, but as yet have made no decision.

Last night, therefore, militiamen were sent to the locality and early this morning four of the accused had been taken into custody.

This means that so far as Governor Ritchie and the State officials can act to uphold the authority of the State, they have acted. It means that there is in the hands of the Governor sufficient power to arrest, at least, those accused of murder even when local authorities attempt to prevent it. It does not necessarily mean that there is power to bring the accused men to the bar of justice, for no trial can be had unless the local Grand Jury is willing to indict.

But certainly there is ground for satisfaction in knowing that the Governor and his immediate agents have at last decided to do what they can to prevent a further flouting of the law they are sworn to uphold.

BUFFALO, N. Y.
TIMES

DEC 3 1933

AN ANTI-LYNCHING LAW

UNLESS governors and local officials display more courage in curbing blood lust of mobs, Sen. Costigan of Colorado will find the sentiment of the United States rolling up behind his promised federal anti-lynching bill by the opening of Congress. On Wednesday occurred another revolting lynching in Missouri following the recent mob crimes in Maryland and California.

None believes that the federal government is repository of the nation's conscience. We are not ready for the federalization of police powers. But just as it took the federal government to make effective war on kidnapers so it is necessary to invoke federal power to stop lynching.

Civilized America will not, cannot brook these barbarous outbreaks against the law. If sheriffs fail to hold their prisoners secure the State governments must move in and help them. If governors, like California's Rolph, invite and condone rabble rule, or, like Maryland's Ritchie delay adequate State protection, what is left but federal action?

A federal anti-lynching law has been discussed for years. The Dyer bill almost passed Congress in 1922 when it went through the House on a vote of 230 to 119 to be filibustered to death in the Senate. In recent years the old evil of lynching appeared to be gradually diminishing. This year the embers of lawlessness have flamed. There have been 27 lynchings already this year, compared with 10 for the whole year of 1932.

Since only a few States have passed adequate anti-lynching laws a federal law is required. It should have teeth enough to insure that the lowliest American, regardless of his race or the charge against him, shall have the protection of due process of law as guaranteed by the Constitution.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

DEC 4 1933

Tale Of Two States

Two arrests have been made in connection with the Missouri lynching, and at last reports the two suspects were still in jail.

There seems to be one difference between Missouri and Maryland. When lynchers are arrested in Missouri, they stay arrested. Doubtless one reason is that the Missouri officers sworn to uphold the law believe in upholding the law, rather than in giving encouragement to those who would break it down.

In Maryland, on the contrary, when some officers try to uphold the law, they encounter their greatest difficulty in other officers, also sworn to uphold the law, but plainly not much burdened by the oath, when abiding by the oath would be politically unpopular. So, even when arrests are made in Maryland they don't stick.

Lynchings-1933

Discussions

White Press, (Northern.)

3943

NEWS

Hartford City, Ind

FEB 18 1933

LYNCHINGS ON DECLINE.

At a time when encouraging news is relatively scarce, it is worth noticing that the number of lynchings in the United States during 1932 fell to eight—the smallest in any year since records have been kept.

This is especially worth comment, since a prolonged economic depression usually intensifies those antagonisms and prejudices which lead to lynch law. The year 1932 might logically have been expected to produce an exceptionally large number of lynchings; that the number actually fell below the lowest total previously recorded indicates that a very genuine and encouraging shift in public sentiment is taking place.

Walla Walla, Wash

BULLETIN

FEB 22 1933

FEWER LYNCHINGS

A negro was lynched in Louisiana this week. He had abducted a bank cashier and his wife, attempted to attack the woman and then so seriously beat the man that he died from his injuries. A crowd of men found the negro, secured a confession from him, hung him to a pole and riddled the body with bullets.

Lynching the negro did not bring the banker back to life but did cast a stain upon a southern state.

According to records compiled at Tuskegee Institute, there were 8 persons lynched in 1932, the smallest number ever reported in any year since records have been kept. The gain is more clearly realized when it is recalled that in 1892 there were 255 lynchings and in 1903, 104. The 1932 figure compares with 13 thus killed in 1931; 21 in 1930; 10 in 1929; 11 in 1928; and 16 in 1927.

Sentiment throughout the United States is growing stronger against the dispensation of justice at the hands of a crowd of people by lynching. If a man is guilty of a crime and should be hung let the state take the responsibility.

The Tuskegee records show 31 cases in which officers prevented lynchings last year. Four were in northern and western states and 27 in southern states. In 24 of the instances the prisoners were removed or the guards augmented or other precautions taken. In the seven other cases, armed force was used to repel the would-be lynchers. A total of 42 persons, 7 white men and 35 negroes, 33 men and two women, were thus saved from death at the hands of mobs.

Only a small percentage of the lynchings were for attacks upon women. The others were for crimes which even in half-civilized communities are left, as a matter of course, to the peace officers and the courts. The offenses charged were: murder 1; attempted murder 1; rape 1; attempted rape 1; wounding officer 1; dynamiting store 1; insulting women 1; and threatening men with a knife 1. Of the 8 lynched 2 were white and 6 negro.

Lynchings occurred, one each, in Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Texas, Virginia, Ohio and Kansas.

In addition to the smaller number of actual lynchings, 1932 goes down in history as the beginning of a movement that should become ever stronger, that of a stern attempt by law enforcement officers to prevent lynchings. Had not the officers involved in the 42 cases mentioned made the serious attempt they did to prevent this crime the total of lynchings would have been five times as large as it was.

Lynching can be prevented and it will be a proud day for America when for the first time the national escutcheon is entirely white.

HARTFORD, CONN.

COURANT

MAR 8 1933

SOUTHERN LYNCHINGS

Comment Is Made On Recent Outrage in Louisiana

To the Editor of The Courant:—

The lynching in Ringgold, La., on February 20, prompts me to say that a monstrous evil like lynching and the fiendish practice of burning human beings, usually colored, in the South, are two vices that ought to be wiped out of existence, even if it has to be done by force of arms.

Studied indifference on the part of the white law enforcers is, to a great extent, responsible for the tragedies perpetrated by southern mobs, as is also the ignorance of those composing these mobs. It has thus come to pass that mob torture human beings without trial and in defiance of law and order; mobs shoot down women and children who have never been charged with crime, and against whom there is no suspicion. It is enough that they are Negroes. These things are done, not in a corner, but under the full glare of the noon day sun.

The American people will never accept the dictum that the Negro scholar is the inferior of a white ignoramus, that a Negro gentleman is the inferior of a white blackguard, that a man's title to consideration rests on the color of his skin and not on his character and his achievements. We will stand by them until the sun of liberty, fixed in the firmament of our Constitution, shall shine with equal ray upon every man, black or white throughout the Union.

A. J.

Worcester, Mass., March 5, 1933.

CHESTER, PA.

TIMES

MAR 3 1933

FEWER LYNCHINGS

In its annual report on lynchings in the United States, the department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches strikes a distinct note of encouragement. Apparently, this blot on American civilization is fast disappearing.

The council's body of inquiry has found that, during 1932, theer occurred just eight of these mob murders. Six of the victims were Negroes and two of them white men. There was no geographical significance in the report.

This . . . number . . . is to be compared with thirteen for the year preceding and thirty-one for the year before that. . . .

The reason for this lies largely in massed public opinion. Lynching; for any cause, has become decidedly unpopular in this country. It is an affront to the courts which are set up to do even justice as between man and man. It reveals weakness in government, which should be prepared at all times to deal effectively with mobs.

In this work the newspapers have rendered yeoman service. In season and out, they have preached against mob murders. Several years ago a Virginia editor won the Pulitzer prize for such a series of articles. No right-thinking man can do other than denounce this practice. Never-ceasing crusades against it at last are bearing magnificent fruit.—Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch.

DAYTON, O.

NEWS

MAR 17 1933

TRENDS OF THE TIMES..

There is the form of mob law known as lynching. Lynching mobs represent a rising from the deeps of human nature of a savagery ordinarily outgrown. This recrudescence of the tiger in men sweeps them together in tides of resistless ferocity.

Manhood is for the moment lost. The beast assumes full sway. To keep men from flaming up in murderous moves is a long, slow process of education in independent thinking and self-controlled act.

There is another form of mob mind which is based on gripping fear. A herd of buffalo on the pioneer plains would be grazing peacefully when some great fear swept through the herd. A shadow of a hunter, a rustle as of a wolf in the grass, and they were off in a mad race. If a precipice lay in their path, over the precipice they went.

Men, too, have their epidemics of reason-quelling fear. There was a year or two, not long ago, when one word, bolshevik, would set us all a-shiver. Then there is a sweeping fear of loss, based often on no fact at all, which sends folks running in panicky hordes to take their money from a bank.

The lynching of men accused of crime is getting under control. Salutary applications of hydrant water, of tear gas, of sheriffs not afraid to shoot avail to check the lynching mob not yet amenable to reason's sway. Some headway has been made at laughing away the epidemic fears of popes on the Potomac, of radicals under every bed. A Hamilton Fish, red-hunting the country around, gets laughed at for his fears.

Our savings banks we protect from that action of the mob known as a run. We authorize them, when the mob appears, to take a stay of execution while the mob cools off. Building and loan associations have the same protection. But for that there would be few such institutions on their feet today. Their right of "notice" inflicts hardship; lack of that right would have inflicted ruin.

Our commercial banks were till recently subject to the wild and senseless run. The moratorium was radical action, but when a mob is abroad, only radical action serves. The action serves notice that the day of the lynching of banks, like the day of the lynching of men, is about over.

This from President Nich[illegible] utler of Col[illegible]

BALTIMORE, MD.

MORNING SUN

FEB 20 1933

More Precedents Cited For An Anti-Lynching Law

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* I am taking this method of thanking Mr. Newton Aiken, of the editorial staff of your paper, for his timely article which appeared in *The Sunday Sun* February 12, under the caption "Precedent for Law Against Mob Cited."

It was fitting and proper that such an article be chronicled to the citizens of Maryland on the birthday of the great

Emancipator. I am truly sorry that Mr. Aiken did not refer in his article to the decision handed down by Judge Arthur P. Hudson in Kanawha county, West Virginia, Monday, January 30, in which the judge gave $5,000 each to the estates of Tom Jackson and George Banks, who were taken from the jail in Lewisburg, W. Va., and lynched on the morning of December 10, 1931.

On Page 9 of the Tuesday edition of the *Afro-American* for February 7 you will find full details of the trial, and also note that the Supreme Court of West Virginia held that, under West Virginia's law, lynchers can be tried in any county in the State. You will see that the Governor of West Virginia personally got behind the case and saw to it that the laws of West Virginia were carried out to the letter.

If the Legislature of Maryland is in need of precedent for an anti-lynching law with teeth in it and one which will cause Maryland's authorities to act when the mob goes on the rampage, West Virginia furnishes the precedent. The striking thing about the West Virginia case is that the decision was rendered against Greenbrier county for refusing to prosecute the lynchers. If these precedents are not sufficient for Maryland Solons to act upon, I am pleased to call their attention to the lawmakers of Kentucky, who have enacted a strict anti-lynching law that gives their citizens protection.

HENRY F. ARNOLD.

Baltimore, Feb. 15, 1933.

READING MASS. CHRONICLE
MARCH 24, 1933

LYNCHINGS IN 1932

According to the records compiled in the Department of Records and Research of the Tuskegee Institute, there were 8 persons lynched in 1932. This is 5 less than the number 13 for 1931; 13 less than the number 21 for 1930; 2 less than the number 10 for 1929; 3 less than the number 11 for 1928 and 8 less than the number 16 for 1927. 7 of the persons lynched were in the hands of the law; 4 were taken from jails and 3 from officers of the law outside of jails; the bodies of 2 of the victims were burned.

There were 31 instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings. 4 of these were in Northern and Western States and 27 in Southern States. In 24 of the instances the prisoners were removed or the guards augmented or other precautions taken. In the 7 other instances, armed forces was used to repel the would be lynchers. A total of 42 persons, 7 white men and 35 Negroes. 33 men and 2 women, were thus saved from death at the hands of mobs.

Of the 8 persons lynched, 2 were white and 6 were Negro. The offenses charged were: murder, 1; attempted murder, 1; rape, 1; attempted rape, 1; wounding officer of the law, 1; dynamiting store 1; Insulting women, 1; threatening men with a knife, 1.

The States in which lynchings occurred and the number in each State are as follows: Arkansas, 1; Florida, 1; Kansas, 1; Kentucky, 1; Louisiana, 1; Ohio, 1; Texas, 1; and Virginia, 1.

DES MOINES, IA.
REGISTER
MAR 26 1933

No Lynchings In 40 States

FROM FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES BULLETIN.

Forty states of the union passed through 1932 without a recorded lynching, as shown by the honor roll of states free from the evil, announced by the federal council's department of race relations. This is an increase of one state over 1930 and over 1931; it is three fewer than 1929. The total number of lynchings during 1932 was eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept. Five states—Arkansas, Kansas, Kentucky, Ohio, and Virginia—formerly on the honor roll, lost their places in 1932. Six other states—Alabama, Maryland, Missouri, North Dakota, Tennessee and West Virginia which had lost their places on the honor roll in preceding years regained them in 1932. The state of Mississippi is on the honor roll this year for the first time. Florida is now the only state that has not at some time been on the roll.

A summary of the lynching situation since 1929 discloses the following:

	1929	1930	1931	1932
Total of states free from lynching	43	39	39	40
Total number of victims of lynching	10	21	13	8
Race of victims—				
White	3	1	1	2
Negro	7	20	12	6

WAUKEGAN, ILL., NEWS-SUN
Thursday, February 23, 1933

FEWER LYNCHINGS
(Chicago American)

A hopeful sign of better race relations in the south is afforded by the decrease in lynchings this year as compared with last.

According to figures from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, there were eleven lynchings in 1932, whereas in 1931 there were fourteen. Two of the persons lynched this year, moreover, were whites.

Lynching is not confined exclusively to the south, one of the 1932 cases being in Ohio. And, considering the north's record for murder and assassination, it is perhaps not too much to conclude that "lynch law," once among the most sinister types of crime, is becoming a relatively minor matter. The impromptu executions of gangsters and of innocent bystanders at the hands of gunmen in the great northern cities make most parts of the south look like Sunday school communities by contrast.

BALTIMORE, MD.
POST
FEB 20 1933

Lynchings on Decline

AT A TIME when encouraging news is relatively scarce, it is worth noticing that the number of lynchings in the United States during 1932 fell to eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept.

This is especially worth comment, since a prolonged economic depression usually intensifies those antagonisms and prejudices which lead to lynch law. The year 1932 might logically have been expected to produce an exceptionally large number of lynchings; that the number actually fell below the lowest total previously recorded indicates that a very genuine and encouraging shift in public sentiment is taking place.

COLUMBUS, O.
CITIZEN
FEB 21 1933

Only Eight Lynchings

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FT. WAYNE, IND.
JOURNAL GAZETTE
FEB 19 1933

DECLINE OF LYNCHINGS
(Kokomo Tribune)

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RECORD
Ridgway Pa
FEB 16 1933

LYNCHINGS ON DECLINE

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HERALD
Marshfield, Wis.
FEB 16 1933

LYNCHINGS ON DECLINE

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MIAMISBURG, O., NEWS
Thursday, February 16, 1933

FEWER LYNCHINGS

New York—The number of lynchings during 1932, 8, was the smallest number in any year since records have been kept, according to the annual report of the executive secretary of the Department on Race Relations, of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

Lynchings 1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3944

TROY, N. Y.
EVE. RECORD

FEB 6 1933

FEWER LYNCHINGS.

The report of the Federal Council of Churches that fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept should be most gratifying to the nation. The fact there were eight is a reflection upon the restraint which should be exercised by an intelligent and law-abiding people. But the decreasing number annually encourages the opinion that the outrages will soon cease entirely in this country.

The commendable record of the last year is owing to the greater vigilance of peace officers and the attitude of the press and church. The sentiment of the people of the various states has also been a restraining factor. There is another element of restraint and this is the growing conviction that the courts will handle felony cases justly and promptly.

While provocations are sometimes intense through the brutality of offenses, lynchings can never be justified. Legal procedure might delay retribution but punishment, commensurate to the crime, is practically certain. The year should not be far distant when not a single lynching will disgrace the civilization of the United States.

HARRISBURG, PA.
NEWS

MAR 17 1933

LYNCHINGS SLUMP

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BRIDGETON, N. J.
NEWS

FEB 8 1933

Lynchings Decrease

Lawlessness may be of wide extent in many directions, but in one at least it is on the decrease, that of lynching.

During the year 1932 there were only eight lynchings in the country as compared with 13 in 1931 and 21 in 1930. This was quite an improvement, but what is of more importance is the increasing sentiment against this form of summary vengeance, and the increased determination of officers of the law to protect prisoners committed to their care. Thus we find that during the past year the officers prevented 31 lynchings and in 1931 saved 57 men fram lawless execution.

A still further encouraging sign, and one of the best reported by the research investigators, is the growing vigilance of the press, the church and the people of the several states to protect their own states from such acts of lawlessness.

These are beyond doubt encouraging omens in the midst of the rackets and gang shootings with which the country is infested.

NEWS
Rhinelander Wis

FEB 15 1933

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INDIANAPOLIS, IND., NEWS
MAR. 27, 1933

Lynching

To the Editor of The News:

According to the papers the United States has protested to Germany against her treatment of the Jews. Similarly a few years ago this government protested to Turkey against her treatment of the Armenians. Uncle Sam will go to the farthest corner of the globe to help a people in distress. It was thus that Uncle Sam has come to be regarded as the paragon of nations. But poor old Sam can't see close at hand. He takes no notice of the poor Negroes that are burned alive at the stake in his own country. He pays no attention to his black citizens who are taken by mobs from the hands of the law and hanged in courthouse yards. He refuses to pass any anti-lynching law.

A. B. WIMBERLEY.
450 North Senate avenue.

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NEWS

MAR 27 1933

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TERRE HAUTE, IND.
Star

FEB 15 1933

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DETROIT MICH. FREE PRESS
MARCH 22, 1933

U. S. Lynching Record Compiled by Arthur Raper, Issued by U. of N. C. Press

Exactly 3,724 people were lynched in the United States from 1889 to 1930, over four-fifths were Negroes, and of the tens of thousands of lynchers in 1930 only 49 were indicted and only four sentenced, according to "The Tragedy of Lynching," compiled by Arthur Raper, research and field secretary of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, just published by the University of North Carolina Press.

"There is no 'one cause' of lynching," writes Raper. "The claim that it is used exclusively to protect Southern women is utterly demolished. The causes are many—ignorance, prejudice, economic competition and jealousy, habitual attitudes of suspicion and hatred, alongside the patronizing attitude of affection toward the 'good niggers'—both inculcated from infancy—and the barbaric notion that the use of violence will teach the Negro to 'keep his place.'"

CAMDEN N. J. COURIER
MARCH 25, 1933

COLORED REPUBLICANS TO INSTALL OFFICERS

Officers of the Third Ward Colored Republican Club, 311 Clinton street, will be installed at ceremonies in the organization's headquarters tomorrow night.

Mayor Stewart, Sheriff Pelouze and Commissioner Hanna have been invited to speak. The installation will be in charge of Attorney Robert ... Johnson of the Camden Board of Education.

HERALD
PR 8 1933

BOOKS and OTHER THINGS

By LEWIS GANNETT

WILL there be a lynching in those northern Alabama counties where the Negro boys are on trial? Opportunely, the University of North Carolina Press publishes a careful case history of a score of lynchings, a study made, mostly in the South, by Southern investigators, working under the direction of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching—"The Tragedy of Lynching," by Dr. Arthur F. Raper.

How Mobs Grow

"Mobs do not come out of the nowhere," Dr. Raper concludes. "Lynchings are not the work of men suddenly possessed of a strange madness; they are the logical issues of prejudice and lack of respect for the law and personality, plus a sadistic desire to participate in the excitement of mob trials and the brutalities of mob torture and murder." And the Southern sponsors of this report go into the roots of that prejudice in a manner that indicates that there is indeed a New South. I doubt if so outspoken a report could have come out of the South before the World War, or even ten years ago.

"Look at the record," these Southerners say, in Al Smith's words. From 1889 to 1930 3,724 persons were lynched in the United States. Four-fifths of them were Negroes. In recent decades lynchings have been fewer; but "lynching is becoming more and more a Southern phenomenon, and a racial one." And these ghastly spectacles are a native-born American phenomenon.

It is on the "belated frontiers" only recently settled, as in parts of Texas and in southeast Georgia, that most lynchings occur. The old cultural centers of the South are not lynching centers. Where the sentiment of local county independence is strongest, where policing is slight, taxes are low and schooling bad, there lynchings are most frequent. Bad times tend to go together; a low price for cotton seems to mean more likelihood of lynchings.

"Protecting Womanhood"

Conventional excuses do not stand the test of the records. Southerners do not, as a rule, lynch to protect white womanhood. In fewer than one-sixth of the lynchings was rape even charged; often the charges were proved false after the victim was dead. Of the twenty-one men lynched in 1930 two were certainly innocent, and eleven cases were doubtful; in five Dr. Raper is not sure even that any crime was committed. A rumor grows; the crowd on the street becomes convinced of its truth; and in the heat of mob excitement suspicion becomes certainty. It is usually the riffraff of a community which forms the mob; steady men with regular work hours do not hang about courthouses or take whole days off for man hunts. But after the job is done even the leaders of the community condone the work of the riffraff.

Lynchers, the investigators report, are almost never punished by local courts. (In 1930, though 10,000 persons must have participated in the twenty lynching mobs, there were indictments in but six cases and convictions in only two. In rural Thomas County, Ga., two men were given life sentences; in Sumner County, Tex., where a mob burned down the courthouse trying to get at a Negro prisoner, two men were convicted—of arson and rioting.) "A lynching is but a product of community standards," Dr. Raper says, "and consequently will not be condemned by that community." Even the local churches tend to condone them; but the regional church bodies have become increasingly outspoken against this medieval barbarism. Country weeklies often defend lynchings; the great Southern newspapers denounce them with ever stronger vigor.

More Myths About Lynching

Are Southern courts lenient to Negro prisoners, as defenders of lynchings sometimes say? The record does not show it. Of eighty-one executions in ten Southern states (in the year and a half ended in mid-1931) thirteen were of whites—all convicted of murder; sixty-eight of Negroes—fifty-seven for murder, eight for rape, three for burglary.

Do lynchings occur most in the "Black Belt," where the few white men feel their racial supremacy endangered? The record says no. The Southern investigators find the fact to be that Negroes are safer from mob deaths in the old Black Belt, where more than half the population is Negro, than anywhere else in the South. The worst lynching counties are those where fewer than a quarter of the people are colored, and those few are held down, unschooled and unsharing in civic responsibilities. . . . (Scottsboro is in Jackson County, only 7 per cent Negro; Decatur, in Morgan County, where those Negro boys are on trial, is 18 per cent Negro. They are in the danger zone.)

Sumter County, Ala., seat of one of the 1930 lynchings most carefully studied, spent $53.75 a year on the schooling of each white child in the county; $2.41 on each black child. White teachers' pay averaged $1,187; black teachers' pay, $217. . . . That is typical of the bad lynching counties. The policy of "keeping the Negro down," this Southern study concludes, reaps a sure harvest in both Negro and white crime.

Twentieth-Century Harpies

One of the most gruesome aspects of the case histories which make up the bulk of "The Tragedy of Lynching" is the regularity with which middle-aged women whet the mob's blood lust. At Sherman, Tex., a woman organized a group of ten-year-old boys to march through the mob, bearing an American flag, and taunting the men with being "yellow"; at Honey Grove one minister's wife roused another to "come see"; some women actually raised their babies above their heads to protect a mob, daring the militia to shoot. . . . Those who hold that Faulkner, Caldwell and other "realists" of the new South have morbid imaginations should read these pages of morbid reality.

Where the state government is alive to its duty, where Sheriffs really care for the law, mobs can be and are crowded, with resultant weakening effects of imminent lynchings successfully prevented. . . . Alabama's eyes are on Decatur today, and the nation's eyes on Alabama. Judge Horton's warning was the new South's defiance of the old. I do not think there will be a lynching to add its stain to the Scottsboro record.

DETROIT, MICH.
FREE PRESS
MAR 31 1933

Relies on Enforcement of Law to Curb Lynching

To the Editor: The United States lynching record shows there were 3,724 people lynched in the United States from 1889 to 1930. Over four-fifths were Negroes. Out of the thousands that became accessories to the crimes only 49 were indicted and only four were sentenced.

That statement is a most terrible indictment against our American justice and white civilization, who have the power in the enforcement of our laws. Mr. Raper says there is no one cause for lynching. In that statement he is absolutely right. But there is a way to stop it. Law enforcement will curb lynching.

Most of us are prone to insist with all the eloquence God has given us that we must have men with integrity and will power to use it. A government of stability, denouncing hypocrisy and chicanery will stop lynchings and cure depression.

J. W. RAWLINS.

ALLENTOWN, PA.
CHRONICLE-NEWS & ITEM
FEB 15 1933

KOKOMO, IND.
TRIBUNE
FEB 14 1933

DECLINE OF LYNCHINGS.

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SHARON, PA.
HERALD
MAR 16 1933

Fewer Lynchings.

Last year only eight lynchings occurred in the United States, the smallest number known since records have been kept. The next lowest was 10 in 1929. Of the eight lynched in 1932, six were negroes and two were white men. In the year 1892 the frightful total of 255 persons were put to death by mobs, 100 of them being white. So, in one respect, at least, we appear to be becoming more civilized.

CHARDON, O., NEWS
31, 1933

ONLY 8 LYNCHINGS

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Lynchings - 1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3945

BALTIMORE, MD.
POST

OCT 25 1933

Insurance Boycott Laid to Lynching

The Armwood lynching on the Eastern Shore is having repercussions in Baltimore. The Negro is obtaining redress. Negroes are boycotting "white" industrial insurance companies. Policies owned by Negroes are being lapsed (dropped) or cashed in for the surrender value. Doors are slammed in the face of the insurance agent soliciting new business or attempting to collect premiums. The highest record for arrears and decrease in new business is expected this week, owing to the indignation of even the lowest elements of the Negro race, hitherto apathetic over matters that deeply concerned them.

A stolid silence or blocked entrance to thresholds of houses is greeting the hundreds of agents for 20 local and national insurance companies.

Such passive opposition is taking its toll of salaries and commissions of "white" debit men. One Negress said Friday to an agent, "You white people don't treat us colored people right. If the Governor here supports Eastern Shore white trash we don't have to support white "society" men and white "societies" (insurance debit carriers and insurance companies). You just better 're-lapse' my insurance because I ain't paying on it any more."

Runners for lawyers are busy locating policies that are more than 10 years' old. These, with or without legal aid, may be cashed in for a certain proportion instead of merely dropped.

The counter-attack is effective. A native Eastern Shoreman, agent for the branch office of a Baltimore insurance company, alleged participant in the lynching, carrying a $100 part-colored debit book already has prospects of a heavy lapse of $10. This will wipe out his commissions for the next six months. And he is much more dependent on his commission than he is on his infinitesimal salary. Explanation: Should lapses become greater than the writing of new policies in direct premium ratio the agent goes what is technically known as "off-draw." This means he is deprived of his commissions until such a time as he writes sufficient new business to cover loss.

I can't think of a better example of what a real boycott can do in the way of partly rectifying an injustice, or at least, returning tit for tat.

I. I. K.

MEADVILLE, PA.
TRIBUNE-REPUBLICAN

OCT 20 1933

A MOB IN MURDERING MOOD.

Shocking as it is to read of the alleged offense for which a Maryland Negro was lynched this week, it is even more distressing to learn the motives and means of the mad mob that shunted aside officers and broke down a jail-house to "get their man."

No brief is maintained here in defense of the alleged crime to which this man, George Armwood, was said to have confessed. He deserved quick justice of the legal variety and the maximum penalty in the event his guilt was definitely established.

But the "justice" he was given by that infuriated, blood-thirsty mob! Never!

It is reported in the news columns that the man was dragged from the jail, pulled by a rope behind an automobile through the streets of Princess Anne,, Md., hanged from an oak tree and later burned at a pyre in the public square. Then, the reports go on to say, the rope used in the hanging was cut into small pieces and tossed to the mob to be kept as souvenirs.

Thus mob "justice," for which there can be no justification, no matter how horrible the crime committed by the lynched victim. Even allowing for the racial prejudice which still honeycombs our Southern States—and many of the Northern ones, too—there should have been enough sane, commanding heads in that Maryland mob to have prevented the blot of the Princess Anne lynching expedition.

Maryland authorities will do well to see to it that the ring-leaders and as many of the participants as possible are brought to legal justice without delay.

HARTFORD, CONN.
COURANT

OCT 23 1933

"MY MARYLAND"

Defense Made of Participants in a Recent Lynching

To the Editor of ~~The Courant~~:—

As a resident for many years of the State of Maryland, now visiting my native New England, will you allow me a word of comment on your editorial today entitled "My Maryland," concerning the lynching at Princess Anne? As a clergyman, I certainly share in that detestation of such an act which animates all good citizens. But this is a sad bit of recent history on which this particular act is based, which explains, if it does not palliate, mob violence.

Two years ago this very month, Euel Lee, a Negro farm hand, committed one of the most atrocious crimes, in a town not far from Princess Anne, ever known in Maryland criminology. He wiped out in the night a family of four people,—a man, his wife and two daughters, keeping the older daughter alive two hours after the others had been slain, finally killing her.

Lee was found within forty-eight hours, apprehended and indicted by the grand jury. Because of the timidity of the court, mishandling of the case by the authorities and the intervention of the International Labor Defense League, he was carried from one jurisdiction to another, condemned and sentenced to death, and then, on a legal technicality, his counsel had the case appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which this week has refused to consider it. And Euel Lee still lives!

The travesty of justice involved here has aroused the feelings of the best of our people to an unprecedented degree. Law must do its work quickly in such a case for a proper impression to be made on the colored people. Such delay leads to contempt for the law and further to the exciting of a menacing unrest among the Negroes. This was evident while Lee was being tried in one court after another. One thing the Southerners will not stand for—crimes against women by Negroes. If such crimes are unpunished by the law, the danger of lynching has to be reckoned with. A covert sneer at the "chivalry" of the South is quite beside the mark. Finer people than those of Maryland are not to be found with the deep underlying courtesy and kindness for which the State has ever been famous. When members of such a social structure take the law into their own hands, it is for one crime only, and only when they have come to realize that otherwise that crime will be unpunished. Had Euel Lee been executed within a month of his crime, the deplorable action at Princess Anne would never have taken place.

R. B. MATHEWS.

Middletown, Oct. 20, 1933.

JUDGE DENOUNCES LYNCHING NEGLECT

Scores Maryland Troopers as He Issues 'Shoot to Kill' Order for Negro's Funeral.

Times

STATE BURIES HANGED MAN

10-29-33

Labor Defense Loses Plea for Body—Mob Inquiry Lags on Eastern Shore.

New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BALTIMORE, Md., Oct. 28.—State police were scored by Judge Eugene O'Dunne today as he issued an injunction forbidding interference with the burial by the State prison warden of Euel Lee, the Negro murdered who was hanged early Friday morning after a two-year legal contest by attorneys of the Communistic International Labor Defense.

The judge, instructing Sheriff Joseph Deegan and his deputies to "shoot to kill" in the event of rioting, said:

"It may be necessary for you not only to serve this restraining order but to see that it is literally respected and obeyed. I know from your past faithful and conscientious performance of the duties of your office that no directions from this court are necessary in the execution of its mandates.

"However, in view of the recent exhibition of the failure of the State constabulary, armed as they were, to understand the object of their creation and the purpose for which they are sent out for the enforcement of la wand order against mob violence if interposed, I need hardly remind of the right of the Sheriff, in case of need, to summon the entire citizenship of the community as the posse comitatus and compel them to act for all intents and purposes as deputy sheriffs in case of need in the preservation of law and order, and that sidearms are made to shoot with and not intended as mere official ornament and decoration."

Sheriff Deegan served notice of the injunction on Bernard Ades, Labor Defense lawyer, who was seeking possession of the body for burial in New York, and then went with Warden Patrick Brady and a group of deputies to a funeral establishment where Lee's body had been viewed by 6,000 Negroes since the hanging. A guard of Sheriff's deputies and police accompanied the body to the cemetery and tonight State troopers were guarding the grave.

Meanwhile, according to State's Attorney John Robins of Somerset County, the investigation into the recent lynching of a Negro at Princess Anne for attacking an aged white woman may never go to the grand jury unless more evidence is brought out.

"The investigation, so far, has not turned up a bit of evidence which implicates any one in the actual lynching, in the overt act," Mr. Robins said.

"Frankly, I don't feel like spending the county's money in having the grand jury recalled if we haven't any more evidence than we have now. If the coroner's inquest does uncover any evidence against any one, why then it would be my duty to have the judges reconvene the jury."

Against Lynch Conspiracy

Daily Worker

THE irrefutable proof presented by the "Daily Worker" exposure of the fiendish preparations of the Alabama ruling-class for a gang-lynching of the Scottsboro Boys must arouse the Negro masses and the whole working class to increased vigilance and thunderous protests against this new threat to the lives of the nine innocent, framed-up victims of capitalist justice and its lynch courts.

11-11-33

The brutal rulers of Alabama, robbed of their victims four times in succession by the world-wide mass fight for the Scottsboro Boys are now preparing to add another damnable crime to the bloody record of violent repression of the Negro people, of vicious attacks against Negro and poor white toilers uniting in struggle against starvation and fascist terror.

Since last April, when the Negro and white toilers rejected the monstrous verdict brought in by a grinning all-white jury against Hayward Patterson, first of the boys to be retried under the decision wrested from the U. S. Supreme Court by the mass fight, the Alabama rulers have carefully prepared the ground for this lynch conspiracy.

Through a series of "rape" frame-ups and lynchings of Negroes in and around Decatur, the double lynching of Dan Pippen, Jr., and A. T. Harden in Tuscaloosa, a lynch atmosphere has been created against the Scottsboro Boys and the entire Negro people.

In this, the ruling class of Alabama has been aided by the ruling class throughout the country, as attested by the more than forty reported lynchings this year. The hideous lynching of George Armwood in Maryland, the legal murder of Euel Lee, the refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court to review the appeal filed by the International Labor Defense attorneys for Euel Lee; Roosevelt's refusal to intervene to stop the legal murder, the action of Gov. Ritchie of Maryland in rushing this innocent worker to the gallows, were all by way of preparation for the Scottsboro trials and the

lynch orgy planned by the Alabama ruling class.

• • •

THE Scottsboro Case has become not only a symbol of the oppression of the Negro people, but a symbol of the growing unity of white and Negro toilers, and the rising resentment of the Negro masses to their oppression. It is this unity of white and black toilers, this growing resistance of the Negro masses, that the white ruling class of the whole country have joined hands to crush.

Not only the Scottsboro Boys, but their defenders are threatened by the present lynch conspiracy between Alabama officials and Ku Klux Klan lynch gangs. The "Daily Worker" presents unanswerable proof of the plans to lynch the boys and the defense attorneys and witnesses.

Only immediate action by the Negro and white workers and sympathetic elements can stay the murderous hands of the lynchers and smash the officially inspired preparations for a lynch orgy when the boys are taken to Decatur for the new "trials." This action must take the form of vigorous protests by mass organizations, Negro and white, of protest mass meetings throughout the country to expose the plans of the lynchers before the masses and of the fullest support to the Anti-Lynching Conference to be held in Baltimore, Md., on Nov. 18 and 19. Elect delegates from your organizations and mass meetings to the Baltimore Conference.

Rush protest telegrams to Gov. B. M. Miller, Montgomery, Ala., and to President Roosevelt, demanding the immediate, unconditional and safe release of the nine innocent Scottsboro Boys!

The boys are innocent! Judge Horton, chief lyncher at the Decatur trial, has been forced to admit their innocence.

Demand their immediate release and at the same time support the demand of the International Labor Defense for a change of venue from Decatur for the new trials demanded by the State of Alabama.

GOVERNOR RITCHIE ANSWERS CRITICISM

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
RECORD

OCT 31 1933

Editor of The Record:

Sir:—My attention has just been called to the editorial in your issue of October 20, referring to the deplorable lynching which occurred in Maryland last week. I am taking the liberty of calling your attention to one statement in the editorial which was erroneous, and I am doing this simply because I would not want your paper to think that I made the mistake in judgment you indicate.

You say that I was faced with the alternative of believing the assurances of the Judge and the State's Attorney of Somerset county or of heeding the opinion of the head of the State police force as to the safety of the Negro in the local jail, and you say that the head of the police force was of opinion that the Negro would be in grave danger were he permitted to remain there.

This is not correct. After I had received the assurances of the Judge and the State's Attorney that the Negro would be perfectly safe in the Princess Anne jail, I communicated with the captain of the State police force to find out the result of the investigation which, at my request, he had made that afternoon. The captain told me that while he thought that morning there might be danger in leaving the Negro there, yet he had now, as the result of his investigation, reached a different conclusion. He not only thought that the Negro would be safe, but believed that it would be a mistake to remove him. I told the captain that no matter what the Judge and the State's Attorney thought, I was going to rely on his judgment, and if, in his judgment, there was any risk at all, I would ask the Judge and the State's Attorney for permission (which under our law they alone could give) to take the Negro to Baltimore. The captain replied that in his judgment there was no risk of any kind and that he thought the Negro should remain where he was, and further said that if any totally unexpected trouble did arise, the force at his command was completely able to handle it and prevent any molestation of the Negro.

Consequently, I did secure the opinion of the very man whose advice your editorial states I should have followed, and I accepted it. I did not, as your editorial states, follow any counsel which was influenced, or could have been influenced, by local feeling. I accepted the opinion of the man whom you described as the unbiased outsider who was on the scene as my representative.

With kindest regards, I am,
Very truly yours,
ALBERT C. RITCHIE,
Governor

Annapolis, Md.

ST. PAUL, MINN.
DISPATCH

OCT 20 1933

Not Only in the South.

The Maryland mob which lynched a Negro properly deserves the indignant reproach of the entire country. These lapses to barbarism are an outrage against justice and order that must be universally condemned. Righteous indignation in the North might well be tempered, however, by sober reflection that the North is not free from racial prejudices either.

In many a Northern state where the protests against such abuse of the Negroes is the most impatient and devastating, the colored citizen is deprived of rights which, after all, may be only second to the right to life itself.

Some spokesmen of Negro organizations claim that there are more doors closed against colored workers in the North than in the South. With more regret than bitterness they contend that practically no skilled employment is available for the Northern colored man regardless of his proficiency. As a result the Negro is reduced to the status of a casual worker at the most menial employments.

Northern critics of the South's lynch law might do well to remember that there is more than one form of racial oppression and cruelty.

LINCOLN, NEB.
STATE JOURNAL

OCT 20 1933

A MOB IN MARYLAND.

The enlightened state of Maryland has just treated the country to a spectacle which cannot be quickly forgotten—the spectacle of a mob made up of men, women and children taking the life of a Negro without benefit of trial and then fighting over such grewsome souvenirs as bits of the rope by which he was hanged, his clothing and even portions of his anatomy.

The Negro, facing a statutory charge, was taken from the jail and pulled about the town behind an automobile at the end of a rope. The mob stripped him of his clothing and struck him repeatedly. When the scene of the lynching was reached the victim was apparently dead. "One boy, about 18, slashed the Negro's ear almost off with a knife," reads the report. Other mobsters indulged in other horrible exhibitions.

After the hanging the body was cut down and burned. The mob then dispersed.

Governor Ritchie was concerned for the victim's safety from the beginning. The man had been removed to Baltimore for safe keeping. Local authorities assured the governor there was no danger and the prisoner was taken back to Princess Anne. As late as Wednesday afternoon the governor talked to the local judge and state's attorney and was assured that there was no mob menace.

Local police authorities did make an attempt to defend the jail. Tear gas was used and hand-to-hand combat indulged in. The outer door was crushed in but the inner door was opened from the inside apparently.

The affair is one of the saddest bits of exhibitionism the people of the United States have engaged in for a long time. And there was no excuse. Local authorities brought the prisoner back within reach of the mob in the face of information that a mob was forming.

Governor Ritchie has placed the blame. There is no question concerning his stand in this matter. He will see that punishment is dispensed. The responsibility of public officials toward their prisoners must be impressed upon the minds of all.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

OCT 24 1933

One Gain, At Least

In the interesting summary of opinion on the Eastern Shore, presented in *The Evening Sun* yesterday, appeared this comment by a prominent Eastern Shoreman, Senator Milton L. Veasey, of Worcester county:

> It will be necessary to impress upon laymen in the counties who are not familiar with legal procedure that the points that delayed the Lee case have been settled and cannot be raised again.

This is true and very important. This troublesome case has at least benefited us to the extent of removing a dangerous weakness in criminal court procedure in Maryland. This was the immemorial practice of the courts in ignoring the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution as covering the right of Negroes to serve on juries and to be tried by juries drawn from panels that include Negroes. As long as the Fourteenth Amendment was ignored, it now becomes plain all criminal proceedings involving Negroes were to some extent suspect, and might be overthrown at any time by the Supreme Court of the United States.

But when the Lee case put this point squarely up to the Court of Appeals, the matter was decided in a way that henceforth leaves the Federal courts no excuse for intervening on this ground. So much the lawyer Bernard Ades has accomplished for us. What his motives were has no bearing on the matter. The Federal court yesterday expelled him from its presence on a matter of professional ethics; but his ethics have no bearing on this matter. By reason of his fight in the Lee case, criminal proceedings in Maryland are now safer from attack in the Federal courts than they were before. And justice in the future can be swifter and surer.

NEW YORK MIRROR

OCT 25 1933

CRUSHING LYNCH LAW.

Brooklyn: I think it would be a splendid idea if we don't have too much to say about the brutalities of other nations until we can honestly say that lynching has been completely eliminated from our own. It is hard to believe that large numbers of ordinary American citizens can became a bestial mob. The fact remains, however, that [illegible] can and do. Let us keep quiet about [illegible] deeds of other nations until our [illegible] are clean. G. V. CLARKE.

Lynchings-1933
~~Discussions~~.

White Press, Northern.

3946

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN
OCT 25 1933

Further Comment On The Lynching

This Letter Would Be More Impressive If It Paid Some Attention To The Error Of The Eastern Shore Judges In Transferring The Lee Case To Dorchester County — That Error Opened The Door To Long Litigation

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* I have read your front-page editorial in *The Sun* of October 19. To put it mildly I think you missed a wonderful opportunity to point out a few facts concerning the enforcement of the laws and the proper administering of justice.

I would like to point out a few things concerning the Euel Lee case which your paper has not seen fit to mention. You will no doubt recall that competent counsel was appointed for Lee; that a change of venue was granted and that although he committed his crime in October, 1931, yet in December, 1931, two months after, he still had not been tried before a jury.

The judges and other court officials who are paid on yearly wage couldn't possibly have called an extra session of court in Towson to try him in order to satisfy the demands of the Eastern Shore for justice. When the trial was held in Towson and an appeal was to be heard before the Court of Appeals, those learned men who also receive yearly salaries had to have their summer recess and the people of the Eastern Shore had to wait three or four more months for justice. Then, of course, a new trial could certainly never take place in a special session of court. It had to await its place in line wh[illegible] bootleggers and such as that were t[illegible] in regular session. And, of course, the United States Supreme Court could never read a petition written on a typewriter. They had to have a printed one and a summer recess while awaiting for the printing to be done. Two years have passed and Euel Lee is yet alive.

In your editorial you have asked several questions. I should like to ask a few:

Couldn't the Governor have intimated (without commanding) to the judges of the Baltimore County Court that he would like to have Lee tried without delay if at the expense of a special session? Couldn't the Governor have used a little influence and asked the Court of Appeals to postpone their summer recess until the Lee case was disposed of?

The trial of Lee has been from beginning to end so full of delays that it is no wonder the people of the Eastern Shore have thought it better to twice resort to lynching rather than put up with such apparent indifference on the part of our Governor and our judges. Mob violence should not be necessary, but when such examples as the courts of the State of Maryland have set before the people in the Lee case, it then becomes time for the people to take the law in their own hands and see that all guilty persons are dealt with immediately without chafing under the load of a cumbersome, antiquated legal procedure.

A. J. N.

Ocean City, Md., Oct. 20, 1933.

Lynching Editorial Appreciated

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* All decent citizens of Maryland are grateful to you for the editorial in Friday morning's *Sun* on the Princess Anne orgy. When high officials are "passing the buck" in the matter of responsibility and condoning criminal cowardice in sworn police officers, it is tonic and heartening to have your paper speak the language of sanity and courage.

J. W. HAYWOOD.

Morgan College, Oct. 20, 1933.

What Is Law Worth?

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:*—In all of the hullabaloo and storms of indignation over the lynching, one point seems to have been completely forgotten. Which was the greater crime—the offense which the Negro committed or the hanging of its perpetrator?

Mob rule is a terrible thing, of course. It should be stamped out; it must be stamped out if our vaunted civilization is to survive. But the way to stamp it out is to go to the root of the evil itself. No anti-lynch law, no matter how stringent nor how just, can correct the trouble. This lynching was not staged by a degenerate populace who glory in such deeds, nor did it have its beginning in race hatred. It was an outburst of an indignant citizenry taking the law into their own hands when they felt that official law had failed them.

The fault lies squarely on the shoulders of the laws themselves. Law is primarily an organized effort at justice; and punishment of an offender has two basic purposes—to remove the criminal from society, to prevent a repetition of the crime, and to set an example to other criminally minded. As long as the laws remain the playthings of shysters who can prolong a trial for years on all kinds of subterfuges, so long will the laws be held in contempt by both the criminal and the normally law-abiding.

The city man, with a policeman always within call, does not realize the position of those in sparsely populated sections. Neither do urban dwellers, who may not know their own neighbors, understand the close bond between country people. Any criminal offense toward one will strike them all as members of one family. And there is always present the fear for the safety of their own flesh and blood. If official law would be strong enough, sure enough and swift enough there would be less criminal offenses and no inclination on the part of respectable citizens to take the law into their own hands.

All of the hysterical excesses of the lynching had one primary object; not to "keep the black man in bondage," as one contributor puts it, but to warn other criminally minded to beware. The cry of racial prejudice is ridiculous. A large percentage of the population of the Shore is black, yet we get along well, barring some malcontents on both sides. Had Armwood been a white man, the lynching might still have occurred.

The Sun's position on the State police's conduct at the time does not stand the light of reason. It sounds very well to "uphold the honor and sovereignty of the State," but was the life of this confessed criminal worth the possible death of numerous officers and citizens?

FRANK H. KESSLER.

Ridgely, Md., Oct. 24, 1933

Mobs And Firearms

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* I am in fullest agreement with your position on the use of firearms at the disgraceful Princess Anne affair last week. If there was ever a time when the dignity of the law needed upholding, it was then, but the police failed to exhibit that same fearless attitude of stern devotion to duty that they always show toward desperate speeders and passers of traffic lights.

The police themselves cannot be blamed, as they were, of course, to wait orders from Captain Johnson, but Johnson should have known that the very nature of a mob of savages is so cowardly that one or two shots would have scared the rest into running for cover and avoided the whole mess.

Fear of bloodshed has never before been shown by our State police force, for which I have so much admiration, and, therefore, I am disappointed to see them developing it now. A mob bent on murder and savage orgies must not be considered as a group of humans because it is not. It must be treated as any other ravaging pack of savages and must be stopped at any cost, even the cost of danger to the police.

JOHN M. WHITMORE.

Reisterstown, Md., Oct. 21, 1933.

Lynching As A Civic "Duty"

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* Reading the reaction to the late lynching, every one seems to be a lot more concerned in punishing some men who righted their own wrongs than they are in trying to have laws formulated which will insure an immediate trial and conviction of the wrongdoer, if found guilty, and also the appointment of men who will see that such laws are put into effect at once, thus making lynching unnecessary.

The yellow and bleary sheets of the papers of New York reach us with a lot to say about the determination of our affairs. Perhaps they had better look to the mote in their own eye first. I have been told, and believe, there are more crimes go unpunished every year in New York than are committed in Maryland during the same period. Anyway, we don't have gangs riding our streets, spraying little children with machine guns from speeding automobiles as has been done in the streets of New York. The papers in New York should propound embarrassing questions.

Almost the only grain of common sense on the sheet was the article by Mr. Robert F. Stewart over which the editor placed this caption: "Is Lawlessness the Way to Improve the Administration of Law?" In answer one might say, "Decidedly it is, in this case at least." It did not take Governor Ritchie long to sign the death warrant of Euel Lee after the recent said lawlessness took place, and it may make for a quicker trial and punishment when the next case comes to hand.

It should be understood that this lynching was not so much in the nature of vengeance as a lot of writers would like to have us think, but it was men doing the duty which the higher officers and courts had failed to do after more than two years in the case of Euel Lee. Justice, up to October 18, 1933, had not been satisfied in Lee's case and the men of Princess Anne did not care to have another ravisher of their homes carted around for a couple of years with a chance of his being turned loose at the end of that time, so they did to Armwood what justice should have done in the former case more than two years ago.

W. E. MEPHAM.

Baltimore, Oct. 22, 1933.

Apology For Lynching

To THE EDITOR OF ~~THE SUN~~—*Sir:* Folk of America seem to be all "het-up" about the recent lynching in Princess Anne, but here is one "Galvanized Marylander" that applauds those lynchers heartily, and would join another similar party under like circumstances, or any number of such parties.

I am not a bloodthirsty fanatic, but if such occurrences continue and the guilty person doesn't get any swifter punishment than that one, I will be. We that live in the "counties" can easily visionize our own family as the victims of the next "breach of justice." And these times I think it a very good policy for Maryland to let the world know that if you don't want to be lynched, to do your murdering elsewhere.

CHARLES P. MICHENER,

Anne Arundel, Md., Oct. 23, 1933.

POTTSVILLE, PA.
JOURNAL
NOV 3 1933

ANTI-LYNCHING LAWS.

As a result of the recent lynching in Maryland, Governor Ritchie has announced that the special session of the legislature called for this month will be asked to consider the enactment of an anti-lynching statute.

A great many of the states have enacted laws aimed at lynchings, but statistics indicate that lynchings still occur in states with such laws. Opinions differ as to how much effect the laws have had in reducing the number of lynchings.

Some of the laws merely provide that a sheriff or jailer responsible for the custody of a prisoner who is lynched may be removed from office by the governor on proof of negligence or cowardice. Several of the laws subject a sheriff or jailer to fine or imprisonment in such cases.

A number of the state laws attempt to forestall lynchings by providing by a special and speedy trial for a prisoner against whom threats of violence have become serious. However, lynchings occur of persons already under sentence of death.

Many of the laws provide fines and jail sentences for those convicted of unlawful personal violence against an individual. Where the violence results fatally, the guilty persons may be sentenced to death or life imprisonment. Most of the laws of this type differentiate between an active participant in the lynching and a mere spectator, but several laws provide that mere presence in a lynching mob justifies an indictment for murder.

Some state laws levy a fine against a county or municipality in which a lynching occurs. The dependents or heirs are generally the recipients of the fine. Several of the laws merely authorize the dependent or heirs of the victim to sue the county or municipality of the lynching. Attempts are made to relieve a county or city of unfair financial punishment by providing that the amount of the fine may be recovered by the city or county from the guilty individuals. A city or county fined for being the seat of a lynching is allowed by several laws to recover the fine from another county if the lynching mob originated in the latter.

Several states authorize a sheriff to organize a posse of citizens to protect a prisoner in danger of lynching, and provide punishment for those who refuse to join the posse. Others fine or jail those who refuse to be witnesses in a trial for lynching, and several disqualify from sitting on a jury in a lynching trial all who have shown sympathy with the lynchers.

Despite this mass of legislation, punishment is seldom meted out for lynching when local public opinion supports the lynchers.

In recent years, the Dyer anti-lynching bill has been regularly introduced in Congress. It passed the House in 1922 by a 2 to 1 vote, but was prevented by a filibuster from coming to a vote in the Senate. The bill provided federal punishment for state or local officers neglecting to provide proper protection for prisoners threatened with lynching, fined counties in which lynchings occurred, and subjected to fine and imprisonment individuals found guilty of lynching. There was considerable doubt of the constitutionality of the act even among those in sympathy with its aims.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN

OCT 28 1933

Still The Letters On Lynching Come

A Parallel—Forty Years Ago

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* It was with a grim mixture of indignation and recognition that, on the editorial page of *The Sun* of June 9, 1894, I happened upon a notice peculiarly pertinent at this time. The first words are: "The lynching at Princess Anne, Md." That tells the whole story.

It seems that Princess Anne has a tradition. The deed of which she is now so proud is evidently a manifestation of her intrinsic culture. Lynchings are as native to Princess Anne as Southern food is to Baltimore. What will interest you is that the origins of these two atrocities, separated by almost forty years, are identical.

You wrote in 1894: "The lynching is a reflection upon the administration of justice by our courts." You remember the remark of last Wednesday night's lynchers, "We don't want another Euel Lee case." Also your just indignation took the same form then and now. The heading of the old editorial was "Lynch Law Not Maryland Law."

My opinions correspond with yours. I believe that all the State police involved should be discharged. Obviously, they neglected their duty. But I can't help feeling that if we hope to prevent a recurrence of this (and it won't take forty years) we must get at the actual lynchers, perhaps hang a couple. A State Legislature grand jury or trial up toward Baltimore would do the right thing.

ARTHUR E. GUTMAN.

Baltimore, Oct. 26, 1933.

Does Our Correspondent Suggest That The People Of The Shore Can't Be Trusted With Facts About The Orders Of Their Own Courts?

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* Just where do you stand? When you get what you want, you don't want it.

On Wednesday last in the morning *Sun* there appeared the large headlines "State Police Go to Shore as Negro Leaves," and a lengthy article followed. It would seeem to me that this was the best advertisement for a lynching and that you must have had this in mind for the reason that you saw fit to have one of your correspondents down on the scene. If you were sincere as your editorials would indicate, and you really didn't want this terrible thing to happen, you would not have published the fact that Armwood had been taken back to Princess Anne.

If I were you, I would crawl in my shell and stay in it, as I think the blame for this ghastly crime should rest on your shoulders.

C. H. PALMER.

Cambridge, Md., Oct. 24, 1933.

The Rights Of The Accused

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* Considering the percentage of confessions that are obtained in criminal cases throughout this nation, it certainly seems strange that so many suspects should voluntarily make them. According to the public conception of criminal procedure, the uneducated and illiterate person is first told by the prosecuting officials that he or she does not have to talk, and anything they say will be used against them.

Is this always done? In case the prisoner exercises his constitutional right and decides not to talk, do the police respect his decision and leave him alone, or do they use violent means to make his talk, and get a confession from him under duress? Under the present system there is no check on the police, and if they want to they can easily send anyone to his death. If the police and prosecuting officials are so sure that they always respect the constitutional rights of the prisoner, could they object to the presence of a third silent, disinterested spectator of the proceedings who could testify in court that the police respected the prisoner's rights?

Courts and juries should be very careful about convicting persons on circumstantial evidence, as the law distinctly says that the prisoner should be given the benefit of any reasonable doubt. In spite of the cries of mobs for immediate justice, it is perfectly right that time would be given every prisoner to not only go into every detail of the crime but also time to have the acts of officials reviewed when they go beyond their authority and violate the prisoner's constitutional rights.

Why such haste about seeing that the poor man gets his punishment? Rich men employ brilliant counsel and sometimes take up weeks of the court's time, costing the people plenty of money. And some of them escape with light sentences after they relieve the public of millions of dollars.

JUSTICE.

Baltimore, Oct. 25, 1933.

A Former Baltimorean Speaks

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* Your position in regard to the Princess Anne atrocity is admirable, your protest against the naming of Judge Duer as investigator is unanswerable. The pity of it is that unanswerable arguments sometimes meet impenetrable skulls, and it is much to be feared that this will turn out to be such an occasion. Nevertheless the fact remains that you have done your part and have done it well. You are not responsible for the ignorance, bigotry, cowardice and barbarism of those in high places who will sidestep the facts you present to avoid the displeasure of the sadistic mobsters.

SAMUEL DANZIGER.

Detroit, Mich., Oct. 22, 1933.

The Cost Of The Lee Case Was $10,000

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* I notice *The Sun*, in its accounts of the recent lynching in Somerset county, has taken every opportunity to place the blame of this unfortunate happening on Governor Ritchie as well as Judge Robert F. Duer, State's Attorney John B. Robins, Sheriff Luther Daugherty and the Maryland State police.

In my opinion, this misrepresentation to the public is extremely unfair, for it is clearly evident that their efforts to prevent the lynching would be unavailing before the power of a mob of 5,000 people.

I would say the Euel Lee case caused this recent lynching, for here is an example of court justice which has delayed punishment nearly two years to the confessed murderer of an entire family, and the taxpayers have paid for this case alone some $25,000. If the courts of Maryland prolong such cases as these and hideous crimes are repeated without due punishment being given, it is little wonder the people lose patience and confidence in our courts and resort to lynching in an endeavor to decrease crime.

I believe that the judge, State's Attorney and Sheriff of Somerset county, and the State police acquitted themselves in the best possible manner at the lynching of George Armwood. Had they attempted to hold back by force and gun play this mob of 5,000 outraged citizens the results would have been frightful in deaths and casualties to hundreds of innocent people, whereas as it was only speedy justice was meted out to the confessed attacker of an aged woman.

WILLIAM J. GROVE.

Lime Kiln, Md., Oct. 23, 1933.

"Respectable And Honest Citizens Bent On Administering Much-Needed Justice"

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* The day after and the days that have followed the lynching of Armwood, the pages of *The Sun* have resembled a kaleidoscope of adjectives insinuating the brutality, ignorance and backwardness of the people of the Eastern Shore. In your columns you demanded an explanation for the officers not firing into the mob, made up of respectable and honest citizens of the State of Maryland who were bent on administering much-needed justice.

The Sun and several persons who have expressed themselves in your columns are of the opinion that they should have been shot down, massacred in cold blood by the officers who were defending the lowest imaginable type of criminal—the assailant of an aged woman. This, in my opinion, would have been a far greater crime and an instance of backwardness that would have overshadowed the lynching of a criminal.

I have also noticed that most of the criticism is coming from *The Sun* and residents of Baltimore. I think that you Baltimore critics fail to realize that your city is harboring the main cause of this recent lynching and of the lynching two years ago in the person of the Labor Defense League. It was through the hands of their lawyers that the laws of the State of Maryland were juggled to get Lee trial after trial at a cost of $25,000 to the taxpayers. These same lawyers might also have attempted to juggle the laws in order to interrupt the normal course of justice in the case of Armwood. Hence, you people of Baltimore should look to your own city for a part of the blame in this affair.

WILMER S. NOBLE, JR.

Federalsburg, Md., Oct. 24.

What Are Normal Circumstances?

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* In a letter published in your paper Sunday in regard to the Eastern Shore lynching, the statement was made that the reason for the Negro being carried to Princess Anne was that the officials had confidence the people would let justice take its course and that the people violated that trust.

Two years ago the people did have confidence in justice, but the State violated their trust and the perpetrator of one of the most fiendish murders in the State is still living. Can people who have any regard for their welfare put any trust in a State that will violate their trust in that manner? And would the man who wrote that letter still feel the same if he were a resident of that community or if the crime Armwood committed had been done to a member of his family? I think not.

Under normal circumstances I do not believe in lynching, but when a Government procrastinates as was done in the Lee case, I think the act was justified.

JOHN E. WISE, JR.

Havre de Grace, Md., Oct. 25, 1933.

Encomium

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* I wish to extend to you my sincere appreciation for the courageous stand your paper has taken in the recent outrageous crime committed in the State. I refer to the lynching on the Eastern Shore. I have been reading the Sunpapers for many years, though I was severely criticized because of the political affiliation. However, I stuck to the Sunpapers, and I am justified in my stand. Long may we be enlightened by *The Sun!*

J. NELSON FORTUNE.

Baltimore, Oct. 25, 1933.

Peonage

Lynchings-1933

Discussion.

White Press, Northern.

3947

Tuscaloosa Grand Jury Ready to White-Wash Lynch Leaders

Sham Investigation Is "Unable to Discover Any Evidence"

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Aug. 18.—In an atmosphere polluted with the most vicious and open lynch-incitement ever seen even in Alabama with the lynch-papers openly calling for the lynching of International Labor Defense representatives in editorials unmatched for viciousness and slander by the notorious Black Hundred newspapers of old Tsarist Russia, an "investigation" is being conducted in Tuscaloosa by the Grand Jury into the murder of Dan Pippen, Jr., and A. T. Harden, lynched by a gang with the connivance of the responsible Judge and Sheriff.

The master of ceremonies for this white-wash is Thomas E. Knight Jr., attorney-general of Alabama who has led the attempt over the past two and a half years to lynch the Scottsboro boys.

The Grand Jury was called by Judge Henry B. Foster, who refused to permit I.L.D. lawyers to defend the victims of this lynching in court on August 1, and organized an attempt to lynch them.

Chief witnesses are Sheriff R. L. Shamblin, directly responsible for the lynchings, and Private Detective W. L. Huff, and deputies Murray Pate and H. W. Holeman, in charge of the Negro boys when they were murdered.

Elmore Clarke, accidental survivor of the lynching, badly wounded, terrorized, and forced to tell a story to conform to the yarn cooked up by the Sheriff's office, was called as witness also.

The foreman of the Grand Jury is Seaborn E. Deal, wealthy lumberman of Tuscaloosa. The other members, all business and professional white men, are from among the white rulers who engineered the lynching.

Sheriff Shamblin has announced he will protect his deputies to the limit in the investigation. "Of course we are and will be condemned for the regrettable occurrence," he told newspapermen.

Solicitor Edward De Graffenreid who "presented the evidence" to the Grand Jury, said in regard to clues as to who were the lynchers that there was "nothing exactly definite." Earlier he "admitted that he had little hope of an indictment."

The private detective and two deputies said they "were unable to recognize any members of the band," nor could they tell the plate numbers of the cars containing the lynchers.

Sheriff Shamblin announced, although the Grand Jury visited the spot where the two were murdered, that "throngs of spectators obliterated footprints or other possible marks of identification."

Judge Foster explained the lynching with the public statement that "Tuscaloosa County was willing to see the Negroes tried and was willing to give them a fair trial, but some were not willing to have us go through another Scottsboro case." He explained this unwillingness by citing the raising by the International Labor Defense of the question of the civil rights of Negroes, at Decatur.

For the purpose of giving them a "fair trial," he organized lynch-spirit against the boy's defenders, announced personally in the courtroom he would "kill the son-of-a-bitch" who sent him a telegram protesting against his barring of the I.L.D. attorneys, and appointed the most prominent lynch-lawyers to be found in the community to "defend" the boys, "as a sad duty to the state."

He did not want another Scottsboro defense, which has saved the lives of nine boys four times.

His first announcement, Sunday, after the lynchings, was that he had not ordered the three taken out of Tuscaloosa jail. Sheriff Shamblin, however, said the Judge had given the order, the next day Foster admitted that he had.

On Sunday, after the murder of Pippen and Harden, Deputies Pate and Holeman, apparently drunk with blood, shot to death Jim Pruitt, a Tuscaloosa Negro tenant-farmer who had dared to resist an attack upon him by his white landlord, H. R. Bambarger.

No mention of this "incident which stirred the quiet of Tuscaloosa following the lynchings" (quotation from the Birmingham Post, Aug. 14) was made before the Grand Jury.

After Allan Taub, Irving Schwab and Frank B. Irwin, I.L.D. attorneys, had been driven out of Tuscaloosa August 1, by the Judge, a group of prominent white citizens, "best people" of this "center of Alabama culture," and the National Guard, Major Torrey Jemison, in charge of the Guardsmen, said:

"I have no doubt but that the mob would have attacked within a few minutes. They were crowding around us. I tried to reason with them, but they would not listen."

He ordered his troops to fix bayonets. Tear gas was thrown.

"It was the first time I had cocked my pistol and made ready to fire since I left the Mexican border," he told Chief of police McDuff of Birmingham.

"I would have had to shoot the best friend I had in Tuscaloosa. He was the leader of the mob. I called to him and told him that it would mean trouble if the mob attacked. He wouldn't listen. I was prepared to fire at him, although we were raised together. I told him that the mob might get these men but that he would not. It was fortunate that the train arrived almost immediately."

Later, Major Jemison, having conferred with his boss, said the mob was "very gentlemanly and cooperative."

Has this "leader" of the small group of leading citizens of Tuscaloosa, bent on lynching, been called to the Grand Jury to testify? It is not recorded.

According to the sheriff's story, a decoy car was sent down the main road to Birmingham, ahead of the car carrying the three prisoners. It came back and later, the car with the three prisoners handcuffed in the back seat, and a private detective and two deputies sitting in front, trailed by another car loaded with deputies, was sent down another road, an unfrequented back road. Twenty miles out of Tuscaloosa, the convoy was sent back. Twenty miles further down, they said, their road was blocked by two cars. Twelve masked men jumped out and demanded the prisoners. They were turned over, the sheriff's deputies said, without resistance. Ten hours later, the bodies of two of them were found, riddled with bullets, by the roadside a few miles away.

This "abduction," if there was one, occurred in Jefferson county. But the local solicitor announced there would be no Grand Jury investigation there.

The murder occured in Bibb county. There is no Grand Jury investigation there.

In Tuscaloosa county, it is easier to control the investigation, to prevent embarrassing testimony from cropping up.

Now behind the barbed-wire entanglements, guarded by 100 Tuscaloosa national guardsmen, a lily-white Grand Jury is conducting a farcical "investigation" into a lynching, under the personal direction of the lynchers.

THE LYNCHERS DO THEIR DUTY

ALABAMA CONDEMNS LYNCHING OF NEGROES

Blood on the Great Seal of the State' Through Killing of Two Men.

BETTER ELEMENT SHOCKED

Disposition Seen to Place the Blame on International Labor Defense as 'Instigators.'

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES.

Editorial Correspondence, THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Aug. 16.—The lawyer whose own witness testifies unexpectedly against him in court is in a position not half so unhappy as that in which Alabama finds itself this week as a result of the lynching by a group of masked men last Sunday morning of two Negroes accused of the rape and murder of a white girl near Tuscaloosa.

Alabamians who have hotly defended the State against hostile criticism resulting from the Scottsboro case are tongue-tied at this indefensible turn and those who have contemplated the Scottsboro case with unpatriotic misgivings are saddened beyond words. The civilized majority here is joined in utter condemnation of the crime and of the shame that has been visited upon this State. Since 1892, when, there were twenty-four lynchings in Alabama, mob murders here have declined. In the last ten and a half years there have been only four, and in six of those years there were none at all. The lynching last Sunday was the first since Aug. 5, 1931.

Press Condemns Act.

Reaction to this outrage against Alabama's name and law is bitter in all the press comment that has come to this writer's eye. "There is blood on the great seal of Alabama," declares The Montgomery Advertiser. "Because this group of armed zealots, inflamed with hatred and fear—hatred of influences which invited hate, fear that the machinery of justice was to be clogged by sinister efforts—seized the three prisoners and shot two of them to death, Alabama must suffer shamefully in the eyes of the world." "It is an afront to the better citizenship of Alabama," says The Birmingham Post. "We commend Governor Miller and Judge Foster for their promptness in be-

ginning the investigation of the crime and urge that it be prosecuted relentlessly until the guilty persons are properly punished. Doubtless the activities of the international labor defense attorneys and agitators influenced the lynching, but that fact cannot condone the crime nor serve to absolve the officers whose duty is was to protect the prisoners. Lynching will not solve the problem which Alabama faces."

"A State Disgraced."

The Birmingham News believes that "Alabama stands disgraced in the eyes of the civilized world. Shame of the blackest dye has been brought on this State. * * * People elsewhere will not understand that the atrocity was the act of a few hotheads, a small band of barbarians. Most Alabamians doubt that this crime would have taken place had it not been for the unwarranted interference in the case on the part of the International Labor Defense. To say that is not to condone it in the least. On the contrary, the crime deserves to be condemned only the more strongly on that ground. But the I. L. D. did encourage a few hotheads to the point of violence. To that extent the blood of the victims be on the hands of the I. I. D."

"A stain has been placed upon the records of Alabama," says The Anniston Star. "This newspaper," says The Tuscaloosa News, "in common with all thoughtful people, deplores the spirit of mob violence. We thought it had gone from our midst forever. May God forgive the carpetbaggers of today who have returned this foul thing to our midst—human hearts cannot."

I. L. D. Is Blamed.

The indicated tendency to blame the International Labor Defense arises from the attempt last month of attorneys for this organization to act as counsel for the accused Negroes. The Negroes refused their services, and when the attorneys left Tuscaloosa there were demonstrations against them hostile enough to require National Guardsmen for their protection. The hostility derives largely from the Scottsboro case and from the conviction of nearly all Alabamians that the I. L. D. is exploiting the case for communistic propaganda among the Negroes. But, inasmuch as the Negroes at Tuscaloosa had refused to accept I. L. D. lawyers for their counsel, the crime of the lynchers was as stupid and impolitic as it was vicious. It may be that it would not have been committed if the radical troublemakers had not attempted to interfere, but the disgrace that Alabama feels today is not covered by any alibi, and there are some who feel that those who stress the excuse while scoring the crime are robbing the State of the left-handed dignity that can go with unamended shame. The Huntsville Times think the "excuse that the I. L. D. lawyers caused the lynching is just a screen to cover up cowardice and official delinquency."

The same day that brought to Alabama news of this lynching brought reports of the State's exceptionally fine record in "doing its part" for the NRA appeal. With more Blue Eagles than any other Southern State save Texas, Alabama is forced now to blush before each eagle and to find a very particular and important part woefully undone by a little group of hidden-faced men.

NEW YORK WORLD — Telegram

AUG 15 1933

It Seems to Me
by
HEYWOOD BROUN

AMERICAN destroyers are speeding to Havana "to protect, if necessary, the lives of American citizens, pending the restoration of normal conditions of law and order by the Cuban authorities."

And on a lonely road near Tuscaloosa an armed mob took two prisoners from a sheriff and shot them to death. Since this comes hard upon the heels of the Scottsboro case, I am wondering just who is to protect the rights and the lives of American citizens in the State of Alabama.

The Sheriff R. L. Shamblin, advances a curious explanation for the outrage. He blamed "the interference of the International Labor Defense" as being "directly responsible" for the lynching.

Lynched if You Do; Lynched if You Don't.

IN the Scottsboro case it was frequently said not only in the South but in many of the Northern papers as well that the strange verdict could be attributed to local anger against lawyers hired by the Communist party. There was a disposition to add that, even if the verdict had been a wee bit monstrous, one must expect rancor and retaliation against the presence of outside agitators. Why didn't these men go back to New York, where they came from? After all, the South knew how to handle this problem, with which it had wrestled so long and so earnestly. "We love our darkies, and we understand them."

But in the present case International Labor Defense attorneys offered their services, but the prisoners and the relatives of the prisoners refused to accept them. At least, that was the interpretation set upon the situation by Judge Foster. It seems difficult to understand just how the great and unterrified Commonwealth of Alabama aims to deter Negro defendants from accepting the aid of Communist lawyers when a mob promptly kills two men who rejected I. L. D. counsel.

And the story of Shamblin, the Sheriff, is curious throughout. Indeed, it is being extremely charitable to the forces of law and order in the sovereign State of Alabama to refer to the killers as "a mob."

Mr. Shamblin says that he decided to move his prisoners from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham "for safe keeping." He chose to take them in an automobile along an unfrequented road late at night. For protection he included two deputies in the party.

Making It Very Safe.

TO make it even safer other deputies in another car trailed along behind. But when a very lonely point in the road was reached the trailing car was ordered to go back home. And, by a strange coincidence, very soon after that "two machines filled with armed men closed in on the car and demanded the prisoners."

Shamblin, the Sheriff, and his two deputies carried guns. Moreover, they were triply armed, for they wore badges which identified them as the representatives and guardians of the fair name of the sovereign State of Alabama. They were sworn to defend its well-known reputation for fair play and even-handed justice to all.

It would be fine to record the fact that in the veins of Shamblin and his deputies there flowed the blood which was shed almost three-quarters of a century ago in defense of the romantic and glamorous doctrine of State's rights. A saga could be written of the manner in which they shot it out, although outnumbered, with the thugs who were minded to rape the reputation of the great and sovereign State of Alabama.

But It Didn't Happen.

UNFORTUNATELY it can't be written because nothing of the sort happened. Nothing remotely resembling it happened. The members of the "mob" demanded the prisoners, and the sworn guardians of law and order surrendered them. If any of the blood of the old Confederacy was in the veins of Shamblin and his gallant deputies it flowed sluggishly or it had turned to dishwater. Stonewall Jackson wasn't riding the roads that night.

There is no record that a single shot was fired or that the Sheriff made any fight whatsoever in defense of Alabama. He simply turned over his prisoners and went home to Tuscaloosa to get a good night's rest. I trust he had the courtesy to say to the members of the "mob" before he left, "I hope I didn't keep you boys waiting."

There is probably good reason for sending destroyers to Cuba. Law and order are in a sad way there at present.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
TIMES

OCT 23 1933

PASTOR SCORES LYNCHINGS

Lynching and NRA were among the subjects discussed in sermons by ministers in Washington churches yesterday.

Lack of adherence to moral principles was blamed by Rev. Frank S. Niles for the lynching of a negro by a mob in southern Maryland last week. Dr. Niles spoke at Georgetown Presbyterian Church.

Preaching on "What Shall We Read," the Rev. Dr. Henry H. Ranck, pastor of Grace Reformed Church, said:

"There is no excuse for anybody not reading good books. The moral effect of reading is very great. In Washington especially there is an abundance of good books."

Rev. Edward G. Latch, preaching at Chevy Chase M. E. Church cited the NRA as an illustration of how we should be faithful in little things as well as big. American people must emphasize spirit rather than matter, the minister said.

Rev. Irving W. Ketchum preaching at the Peck Memorial Church, emphasized the need for faith, stating that Christ, because of faith, did things which other people though impossible.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
TIMES

OCT 24 1933

Baptist Ministers To Protest Lynching

Resolutions scoring the lynching of a colored man at Princess Anne, Md., were adopted by the Baptist Ministers' Conference of Washington and vicinity yesterday at the Florida Avenue Baptist Church.

The resolutions will be sent to Presendent Roosevelt, Governor Albert Ritchie and civil and equal rights associations. The Rev. J. P. Nichols was named chairman of the resolution committee.

Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3950

ANNAPOLIS, MD.
CAPITAL

OCT 19 1933

Editorial

Twice in less than two years has the Eastern Shore brought disgrace upon itself and upon the State of Maryland by drastic mob action. The lynching of George Armwood, Negro, has perpetrated upon the State a crime similar to those evidenced during the tragic era in the South following the Civil War. The psychology of the mob, however, is not so easily understood. In this particular instance we feel that the State rather than the people of the Eastern Shore must assume the major blame.

There are two specific causes for the instance: first, the unwarranted delay in the Euel Lee case and the slovenly manner in which justice has, in this case, been administered; second, the unwillingness of Governor Ritchie to heed the advice of Captain Johnson of the State police.

In the case of Euel Lee, Eastern Shoremen are more than disappointed at the manner in which the "Communistic" element entered into the case in the defense of the accused. Postponement of hearing and other delays brought about by the use of legal technicalities have, in a sense, shaken their faith in immediate prosecution. Even today, in Baltimore, there is a hearing on this very case, and many months have elapsed since the perpetration of the crime.

In the second instance it is to be noted that Captain Johnson notified Governor Ritchie about 4 o'clock in the afternoon that everything was not right in the vicinity of Princess Anne. The nature of this report was such that it leads us to think that, had there not been an instance of mistaken judgment on the part of the State's administrator, the lynching could have been prevented. Had Governor Ritchie cared to take the advice of the State's Attorney and of Judge Duer, instruments of the court, rather than the advice of Captain Johnson, who was at the very time mingling with the people and sensing the impending trouble.

The advice of those delegated to enforce the law went unheeded; the opinion of those delegated to punish law-breakers was taken. Practically the entire newspaper staff of the State was aware that trouble was brewing on the lower Eastern Shore, and as early as 5:30 or 6 o'clock in the evening grave warnings were coming over news wires. Had Governor Ritchie but remembered that on December 4, 1931, a nearby town on the Eastern Shore was the scene of just such mob action, and had he but remembered that on the lower Eastern Shore, action by mob violence has not as yet been erased, he would have taken immediate steps for the prevention of a recurrence of the horrible deed which has brought disgrace upon the citizenry and those engaged in the administration of justice in this Free State of Maryland.

"A civilian was hurt; eight State police were taken to the hospital." There is a feeling that Captain Johnson should have used more deadly weapons in his defense of the accused Negro. It is our belief that this should not have been done, as the killing of a number of Eastern Shoremen in this attempt at lynching might well have caused a miniature war and led to the death of many more. Return of the Negro to Baltimore in the early afternoon was the only way out.

We do not blame the State police for being unable to cope with the mob; we do blame the courts and the State administration for permitting such an occasion to arise where drastic mob action was made possible.

As to punishing those who were responsible for the crime we do not believe it will be done. A review of the case at Salisbury gives us this opinion. If, however, the State wishes to proceed with it, there is little to hinder, as Judge Duer, in his appeal to the mob, made one unmistakable statement when he said, "I know nearly all of you."

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

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frequently witness its orgies (Princess Anne, please take notice) and particularly the youth who are conspicuous participants.

We therefore call upon all our public officials to use every power at their disposal to protect from mob anarchy the laws they are sworn to defend; upon our religious leaders to cry aloud against it, and upon parents and teachers to train up a generation incapable of such relapses into barbarism.

DANIEL LYMAN RIDOUT.

St. Michaels, Oct. 20.

Please be brief. As a rule 200 words should be enough. Your name and address must accompany each communication as an evidence of good faith. Your name will not be published unless you wish it, but signed letters will be given the preference.

A Question To The Governor

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir*:

An interesting question to ask our esteemed Governor would be: "Do you still think after the latest lynching that the best governed people are the least governed?"

J. R. GILBERT.

Catonsville, Md., Oct. 19.

That "Loftier Conception Of Womanhood" As A Defense For Lynching

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir*:

The letter of C. W. Marsh in the Forum of October 19 was premature. The night before its publication the Pincess Anne mob formed and did its horrible work.

This letter is to call attention chiefly to Mr. Marsh's statement: ". . . Eastern Shoremen know they are not different from those people who dwell in other sections of Maryland, except in that they have a loftier conception of womanhood than is generally entertained elsewhere."

Such an assertion is plainly absurd.

If Mr. Marsh is deluded by the ancient "justification" of lynching that it guards the "chastity of womanhood," he needs to be referred to the statement broadcast in November, 1930, by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. It follows, in part:

> We are profoundly convinced that lynching is not a defense of womanhood or of anything else, but rather a menace to private and public safety and a deadly blow to our most sacred institution. Instead of deterring irresponsible and criminal classes from further crime, lynching tends inevitably to destroy all respect for law and order. It brutalizes children who

An Eastern Shoreman Hangs His Head In Shame

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir*:

I quote from the Sunpaper: "A young boy darted about wildly waving a severed ear of the lynch victim." What more apt comment could one make on the utter savagery and lack of decency on the Eastern Shore?

Can the most dubious any longer believe any Negro can get a fair trial on the Shore? Let the Governor show his courage now and remove from office the man Robins, who boasted so blatantly of the law-abiding Shore folk. Mr. Robins took the Negro's life into his hands when he ordered him back. I knew the Negro would not be safe there. Mr. Robins should have known it.

What is Mr. Ritchie going to do about it? They have assaulted and injured State officers gallantly performing their duty. They have insulted and defied the sovereignty of the State. They have flagrantly flung the defi into the faces of the law-abiding element. Is Mr. Ritchie going to let them get away with it again?

I am from the Eastern Shore. How long, I ask, must I be compelled to to hang my head in shame for the conduct of the folks back home?

JOSEPH BARRETT.

Baltimore, Oct. 19.

"When The Law Fails"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir*:

It is all very well for *The Sun* to write editorials on lynchings that take place and they well say "Again a Mob has been permitted to disgrace the Eastern Shore of Maryland." Permitted by whom? The primary intention of the law is to protect the persons of the people and their property. When this cannot be done, its recourse is to punish offenders. When the law fails in this, it then permits these disgraces. It is the fault of those who administer the law and not the mob who have been made to feel they must act as a last defense.

The people on the Eastern Shore are generally high-spirited and clean-living folks. They love their women and venerate all womankind. When, in case their women are assaulted, they expect the law to render speedy justice and when such is not the case they feel an insult has been put upon them which they must wipe out. Please understand I carry no brief for a display of brutality such as evidently took place at Princess Anne last night, but when those in authority who are elected to take care of the wrongs of the people fail in their duty, then those whom you characterize as "the lowest elements of Somerset county" feel that they themselves must do the duty which those whom they elected failed to do.

If you think of Jack Hart, Duker, who shot the milkman in Roland Park, and the notorious Euel Lee, you will find the reason and excuse for these lynchings. The stench of the Lee farce will remain, I think, as long as that of the lynching. It appears that the mob did not use firearms. Had they done so, we would have been favored by harangues by silly asses on the suppression of the manufacture and sale of arms. Always remember that the crook and yeggman will have arms and to keep them out of the hands of honest men is to make them helpless in the face of danger.

W. E. MEPHAM.

"Breakage" At The Race Tracks

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir*:

It is my desire to clear up a point that is somewhat hazy in my mind in reference to "breakage" deducted by tracks in Maryland, particularly Laurel.

As an illustration, tracks deduct 6 per cent. plus breakage. A horse pays $6.79. The breakage is 9 cents, leaving the amount of $6.70 which the horse should pay. But at Laurel this amount apparently would be $6.60, as there seems to be no 30, 50, 70 or 90 cents paid there. As there are as many even numbers as odd, this would hardly check out day after day. Apparently, in the case cited above, Laurel would take not 9 cents breakage but 19. If this is so, is it not unfair to the betting public to have this additional amount of breakage taken out of each $2 bet, plus 6 per cent.?

If I am correct in my understanding such a practice is manifestly unfair to the betting public. If I am incorrect, I will appreciate enlightenment.

Baltimore, Oct. 20.

R. A. WHITTIER.

Would Give The Eastern Shore To Delaware

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir*:

Down where the white ribboners flourish, where Christianity has its biggest stronghold, they lynched a Negro—presumed to be innocent until he is proven guilty. It seems almost incredible that such a death should be meted out in the Free State of Maryland, ballyhooed by the Governor as the leading commonwealth of the nation.

Some of Maryland's lynchings have been justifiable. Last night's lynching might have been less horrible had the Negro been put to death instantly, and not dragged over the streets and maimed to a slow and painless end.

It's about time to start a movement to sever the Eastern Shore from the rest of

the State. We advocate giving it, free of charge, to some other State, probably Delaware, and then pass resolutions of commendation for their kind consideration. But, then, Delaware is a decent State. At least, the morons of the Shore should be wiped off the map. It has at least 1,500 of them, but their names, as usual, will never be known. J. MOODY HARP.

Hagerstown, Oct. 19.

Why Was The Viola Woman Made The Goat Among Many Of Her Class? He Asks

To THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir:* There is a danger that Eastern Shore will, for the time being, shove Baltimore off the map and distract the attention of our reputable citizens away from what ought to give them serious pause.

Granting that the Viola woman conducted a disorderly house, why was she singled out to be the goat, rather than the hundred of other matrons et al. who are doing precisely the same thing? Answer this question and you will move a step forward in solving the problem of prostitution.

Secondly, when Commissioner Gaither received official notice of the use of a callow youth—though a convicted burglar—in assembling evidence in the case, why did he not at once release a hearty condemnation of the practice?

Third, do the police select young men at random, without knowing who they are, where they come from, what their previous career has been, and overnight transform them into *agents provocateurs,* just to furnish them with proof that a certain person is violating the laws? In the Viola case the young man in question was in danger of ruining himself for life in his efforts to gather evidence against a female, who, if convicted, would receive a nominal fine and a short sentence in City Jail. Did the police give that a thought when they "hooked" Vernon into his job? I hope not.

And, finally, what kind of creature is the young man? Put on probation by the court, after being convicted of a very serious charge, he falls for the police and for a consideration. I wonder what "reward" was offered him! He tries his level best to throw a fellow-criminal into the hoosegow, where he himself most assuredly deserved to be.

The Viola case deserves serious thought and immediate action. Let us have done with stool pigeons and their ilk, and let us go about ridding Baltimore of commercialized vice in a decent and law-abiding manner. MARCUS AURELIUS.

Baltimore, Oct. 19.

Pylons On The York Road

To THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir:* The question of removing the safety zone pylons on the York road has been the subject of considerable public agitation.

In the early part of 1932 a special study was made by the Safety Council to reach all residents on York road between Cold Spring Lane and the city line to determine the opinion of those residents as to the desirability of the pylons.

Questionnaires were sent to 293 persons residing on York road. One hundred forty-eight residents replied. Of this number, seventy per cent. expressed the opinion that the pylons were necessary to the safety of pedestrians and car riders. More than eighty per cent. of those who returned the questionnaire affirmatively stated that automobiles were owned and operated by their families.

From January 1 to September 1, 1933, there have been twenty-five reported collisions of automobiles with safety zones along this thoroughfare. Of this number, sixteen occurred between midnight and 6 A. M. Of the eleven persons injured in safety zone accidents, ten were occupants of vehicles in collision with zones during the hours from midnight and 6 A. M.

Is it not peculiar that sixteen such collisions occurred between midnight and 6 A. M. on a thoroughfare which is certainly free of any great amount of traffic during the period indicated? The thought presents itself that certainly the presence of the pylons is not the cause of the collisions that occur.

JOHN P. ROSTMEYER, Director,
Baltimore Safety Council.

Nudists Should Be Granted Land In Northern Alaska For Their Practices, He Thinks

To THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir:* I have noticed considerable discussion of late regarding the nudists. I see that a chapter, as it were, is being formed in Baltimore.

These people, who appear to exist with the commenable idea of forwarding the health and morals of mankind, should be recognized by the Government. Why not allocate to them a section of Northern Alaska, for instance, where they could fully enjoy the breezes of that delightful country?

It might tend, of course, to cool their ardor somewhat, but then as they are supposed to possess an over supply of that commodity, they should not be deterred in the pursuance of their noble work.

Baltimore, Oct. 14. J. A. GILPIN.

BALTIMORE, MD.
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Plans To Put Down Lynching

By H. L. MENCKEN

IF, as the newspapers allege, Governor Ritchie is actually hatching an anti-lynching act, then it can only be a sign that he is tired of public life at last, and is preparing to retire to Labrador or the South Seas. All the other politicians of the Free State keep off the subject very sedulously, for they know that it is full of dynamite. Down in the Bible swamps of the lower Shore it would be as dangerous for one of them to favor such an act as it would be for him to deny that Jonah swallowed the whale, and even in the city it would be a poor way to pump up popularity. To be sure, it might round up some votes among the colored brethren, but they forget quickly and would not stick. Among the ofays only the Communists could be counted on to respond heartily—and Communists, on election day, either vote for Moscow or are in jail.

The truth is that it is idle to talk of anti-lynching acts at this time. It would be next to impossible, as the Legislature is now constituted, to get any such statute, however inadequate, through the two Houses, and it would be impossible altogether to put through a really effective one. Before anything of the sort is attempted there must be a long campaign of education, and so far no teachers fit to operate it have appeared. The actual pedagogues of the State nearly all seem to be on the other side. Writing in this place last Monday I called attention to the case of Dr. Joseph S. Ames, president of the Johns Hopkins, who joyously aligned both himself and the university on the lynchers' side on February 10, 1932, two months after the Salisbury pageant. Nor was he the only gogue who came out flatly for the Trans-Choptankian *Kultur* at that time. So early as December 12, 1931, Dr. William J. Holloway, principal of the State Normal School at Salisbury, did his bit in the eminent *Democratic Messenger* of Snow Hill, and on December 22 Dr. E. Clarke Fontaine, supervisor of high-schools under the State Board of Education, followed heroically in the *Evening Sunpaper*.

I do not forget, of course, the colored gogues who have spoken out against the Christian folkways of the lower Shore, but I submit that it would be suicide for them to attempt any missionary work down there, and probably more or less risky even in Baltimore. Nor do I forget Dr. Broadus Mitchell and Dr. Arthur O. Lovejoy of the Johns Hopkins faculty but neither do I forget that Dr. Mitchell has been formally repudiated by his chief Dr. Ames, and that Dr. Lovejoy is both a Liberal and a metaphysician, and hence a double-barreled suspicious character. Certainly it would be an indecorum to let such dubious fellows speak for a noble profession.

II

IT is commonly argued by proponents of an anti-lynching act that such statutes have accomplished a great deal of good where they have been tried, but I suspect that the evidence for this is very shaky. They look fine on paper, but they seldom stop actual lynchings. When that is achieved it is always by sheriffs who take their oaths seriously and are not afraid to fight. No imaginable legislation will ever put an end to lynching on the lower Shore so long as the local officials are ready to surrender to any mob that comes along, and the State Cossacks are encouraged by their commander to do the same. The lynchers are well aware that they face no risks. One round of ball would bolt the largest mob of them ever heard of, but they know by experience that it will not be fired.

Most anti-lynching acts embody two principles. The first is the compulsory change of venue, and the second is the penalizing of the whole county for the act of the lynchers. The change of venue in practice, actually accomplishes very little. The same witnesses who lately told a local coroner's jury that they couldn't recognize anyone in the Princess Anne mob would say precisely the same thing if they were haled to Baltimore. If they told the truth then they would stick to it anywhere, and if they lied then they would stick to it in the same way. I know of no case in which an anti-lynching act has really served to detect a mob leader, and put him in jail. At most, the crime is fastened on some town half-wit, and he is sent up for a few years, to emerge in the end as a town notable.

The penalizing of the county is also mainly claptrap. In at least half of the cases the victims leave no heirs to collect upon their assassination, and in most of the remaining cases the heirs are afraid to press their claims. In the rare event that damages are awarded the penalty falls chiefly upon the decentest people of the county, who are the largest taxpayers and do not commonly engage in any of its rustic sports. The mob is usually made up of riffraff, and its leaders, quite as likely as not, are local politicians, who are taxeaters, not taxpayers. On the lower Shore a money penalty would strike heaviest at the minority which disapproves of lynching, but is powerless to stop it.

III

WHAT, then, is possible? Probably very little. What would work? Probably nothing—so long as such backwaters as Trans-Choptankia remain in their present stage of culture. In most of them some good blood is to be found, but it runs too thin to be effective. There is no reason why a bright young man, coming to maturity in a region so lacking in stimulation and opportunity, should stay at home, and so he commonly moves away. On October 23 a distinguished ecclesiastic of the lower Shore, the Rev. John J. Bunting, D. D., consumed a column in the *Sunpaper* to sing its glories and call the roll of its eminent sons. He mentioned three by name—and all three had cleared out early in life. He might have added many more—but all would have been missing.

This continual depletion leaves the conduct of affairs to inferior men, and when they come into control of all the agencies of public opinion a vicious circle is formed, and all rational progress becomes impossible. Certainly that blocking is visible in the First Judicial Circuit. Whatever may be said for the provocation animating its lynchers, it must be manifest that they act in open defiance of all reasonable law and order, as of all the canons of common decency, and that the local officers, from judges down to constables, are either unwilling or unable to halt them. Moreover, it must be equally manifest that their anarchy is generally approved locally, and that there is every indication that it will be repeated anon. The difficulty lying upon Dr. Bunting, and upon all other such apologists, is that they must depict this anarchy as venial, and even laudable. Obviously, they can do it only by denying what every civilized man holds to be true.

I commend Dr. Bunting's statement to all persons who are interested seriously in the sociological pathology of Trans-Choptankia. It is the careful pronunciamento of an earnest man, but scarcely a value that it sets forth would be accepted as valid anywhere else, save perhaps in the remoter backwaters of the South and Middle West. To be sure it adumbrates a culture of a sort, but it is a culture in which a naïve and barbaric theology has a high place, and a Clarence True Wilson is solemnly accepted as a great man, and there is condonation if not approval of savages who butcher a fellow human being with horrible cruelties and gloatings, and then tear off pieces of his carcass as badges of their valor.

IV

IF the statesmen of Maryland really want to clean out this forlorn area let them begin by trying to reduce its present astonishing and scandalous excess of power in the affairs of the State. Somerset county now has one delegate in the lower House of the Legislature for every 7,794 inhabitants; Baltimore has one for every 22,357. Somerset has one State Senator for its 22,382 people; Baltimore has six for its 804,874, or one for every 134,145. Why should this difference be tolerated? Is it because the lynchers of Princess Anne are more intelligent, more patriotic, more virtuous than the people of Baltimore? Is it because they go to nobler lengths in defense of menaced womanhood, as their apologists are so fond of maintaining? Then how are we to account for the fact, set forth in the last annual report of the State Board of Health, that the illegitimacy rate in Somerset, for the year 1931, was 2.12 times that of Baltimore city, and 1.85 times that of all the counties of the State taken together?

Somerset is densely populated for a rural county, but it is poor and has lost population since 1920. Its taxable basis was only $13,218,783 a couple of years ago, and is probably less now. In 1930 the State collected but $28,368.99 from it in taxes—1/135th of the amount paid by Baltimore. It used to pay more, but has been going downhill. Why this remote and backward county should have three times the representation in the House of Delegates, relatively speaking, that Baltimore has, and more than five times the representation in the State Senate—here is something that is hard to understand. Perhaps Dr. Bunting will be able to supply some reasons.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3951

ALBANY, N. Y.
KNICKERBOCKER PRESS

OCT 28 1933

LYNCHERS AND THE LAW

ONE good purpose, at least, was served by the recent lynching of a Negro at Princess Anne, Md. It has stirred up more public clamor in Maryland and nearby regions than any similar event of recent years. Baltimore newspapers are printing columns of letters from citizens who are sickened by this outrage against the good name of their state. Demands for punishment of the guilty are louder and more insistent than ever. All shades of opinion and all racial groups are a unit in denouncing this shameful exhibition of mob fury within two hours distance of the capitol of the United States.

The Women's International League has appealed to President Roosevelt for his help in "initiating and supporting federal anti-lynching legislation upon the reconvening of the Congress." It points with satisfaction to the success of government efforts in combating the crime of kidnaping, and points out that it faces an equally pressing obligation to take up arms against the lynching evil.

Just what kind of anti-lynching legislation should be invoked is not stated. There is plenty of law now, we believe, to cover all the legal aspects of this crime against society. However, if there is anything more the government can do to cage the mob impulse which leads to lynching, Congress will doubtless be ready to do its part. It would seem that the chief responsibility in these cases must always rest upon local authorities and that there is no law so effective in dealing with the lynching mania as the law of the gun and the club.

Farmers' strike out Nebraska way comes just at the time huskies are needed for the football teams. What do you make out of that?

TIMES
Ellicott City, Md

OCT 19 1933

The Princess Anne Lynching

(An Editorial)

Condemnation of the mob spirit will never check the inclination to "string up" a Negro whose guilt of an atrocious crime is unquestioned. The Baltimore Sun points out that there were probably five thousand men, women and children present at the lynching of George Armwood, at Princess Anne on Wednesday night of this week. The Sun dubs this "mob" as being made up of "the lowest elements of Somerset County." Is it possible to get that many people together in a small community without having in the group some of the better citizens? We doubt it. Then why not look to the cause of the lynching and let this, together with a similar incident at Salisbury less than two years ago, serve as a background for a complete, comprehensive and exhaustive study of our administration of justice. Is there a fair-minded man or woman in Maryland who, deep down in their hearts, truly condemn the lynching of this Negro when they have the Euel Lee case still hanging fire? We make no pretense at fixing guilt for delay in meting out punishment to Euel Lee but it is apparent that something can and should be done toward re-vamping our court system so that a man can be given a speedy and, at the same time, a fair trial. Would not speedy justice be the greatest deterrent of mob law?

MILWAUKEE, WIS.
LEADER

OCT 21 1933

Maryland's Disgrace

A Maryland mob lynched a Negro who had been arrested and would have been tried in due time. He may have been guilty. He may have been innocent. The mob did not know whether he was innocent or guilty. It beat him and hanged him and burned the body. It cut the rope in pieces for souvenirs.

This is the work of beasts. No person who took part in it deserves to be called a human being. It was cowardly to the last degree. It should give joy and comfort to the hearts of the Nazi persecutors. They can point to this fiendish act and say that citizens of the United States have as hideous race prejudice as themselves.

The governor and other officials of Maryland are confronted with the duty to bring the fiends to justice. Also to make unequivocal denunciation of the fact of race prejudice. The prejudice against the Negro is a base, ignoble sentiment. Anyone who harbors it should be thoroughly ashamed of himself and should banish it from his mind as quickly as possible.

It is also the duty of President Roosevelt to speak out plainly to the same effect. Maryland is a Democratic party state. It is safe to say that many, if not most of those perpetrating this horrible act voted for him. It is likewise safe to say that not a single one of them voted for the Socialist candidate for president. Socialists are civilized.

DAYTON, O.
JOURNAL

OCT 21 1933

THE MARYLAND LYNCHING.

GOVERNOR ALBERT C. RITCHIE apparently has done the proper thing in publicly reproving two officials whose poor judgment was the primary cause of a lynching that could and should have been prevented.

The judge, who ordered the return of a murder suspect, and the prosecuting attorney, who was over-zealous in the performance of his duties, cannot be too strongly condemned for inviting the crime that has stained the name of a great state. Their hasty judgment not only cost the life of an

individual without his constitutional right of a day in court, but brought shame to the state and local police who endeavored to protect the prisoner from an infuriated mob. The members of this mob deserve that "immediate action to set in motion the legal machinery for the apprehension of those who were responsible for or who participated in this lynching" the governor has ordered, but even if punishment is meted out, the criminal expression of brute force cannot be made good.

The tragic experience again goes to show that the utmost judgment and keenest discrimination must be employed in enforcing the law. Persons who do not have or who fail to employ these qualities have no proper place in the public service.

HAVERHILL, MASS.
EVE. GAZETTE
OCT 30 1933

Grim Reminders

The dark and horrible depths which human nature can contain never are revealed more frightfully than in stories of lynchings.

The latest—the affair in Maryland, where a mob broke into a jail dragged out an accused Negro, and hanged him—is a case in point.

After the Negro had been hanged and the body burned, news dispatches relate, "the rope was cut into small pieces and distributed as souvenirs among members of the mob."

Just what kind of a person is it, do you suppose, who would enjoy having a souvenir of that kind?

For a glimpse of human nature at its lowest, that paragraph about the distribution of those bits of rope is about as horrifying as anything the newspapers have printed in a long time.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
TIMES UNION
OCT 25 1933

The Shame of Maryland.

Twenty-one colored men have been lynched in Southern States since January 1. The record had been higher in previous years, but it is still high enough to bring the blush of shame to every right-thinking American who intelligently reflects on the basis and foundation of the country's institutions, and the ideals of freedom on which these institutions rest. The latest exhibition of this character was in Maryland, a Negro charged with assaulting a white woman being strung up by a mob of the "best citizens of the Eastern shore." As a further emphasis on their good citizenship, they burned the body after murdering the man.

Governor Ritchie of Maryland is recognized throughout the country as an executive of high distinction and fine capacity. It is hardly believable that the State cherishing the ideals that have been exemplified by Governor Ritchie's repeated successes at the polls, could have sunk so low as to resort to a practise that has brought ignominy and the contempt of the world to communities further South.

The Governor's course is plain. It is not necessary for him to disavow sympathy with the lynchers. He is too intelligent, too fair-minded and too forward-looking for any such imputation to rest on him. But the country, while appreciating these admirable qualities, looks to Governor Ritchie to see to it that the local officials, through whose connivance or neglect the lynching was done, are removed from office, and that the men who actually led in the criminal action are tried for murder.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN
OCT 29 1933

SENTIMENTS OR WORDS

There were five thousand men, women and children yelling and shouting around the jail at Princess Anne on the night of Wednesday, October 18, when George Armwood was lynched. Yet yesterday John B. Robins, State's Attorney, said he could find no evidence concerning the lynching of sufficient importance to submit to a grand jury.

Judge Robert B. Duer, of the First Circuit, went to the jail while the mob was milling around. He addressed the men who were there and told them he knew nearly all of them. Yet Mr. Robins announced on yesterday that the investigation had not turned up a bit of evidence.

Sheriff Luther Daugherty was in the crowd when the lynching occurred. When the mob got in he went in, too, and talked with the men. Yet on yesterday Mr. Robins said he could get no evidence.

A deputy sheriff was there. He had been warned in advance to get his family out of the jail. The State policemen were there until the very last. They had a few hand-to-hand bouts with the members of the mob at close range. Yet Mr. Robins said on yesterday he could find no evidence.

A consideration of these circumstances recalls the report of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, which found two years ago that "no determined community-wide effort for the conviction of the lynchers was made in any community where a lynching occurred in 1930." One might strike out the words "community-wide" without impairing the validity of this sentence of the commission's report.

Judge Duer said on "the morning after" that he was "deeply grieved." Governor Ritchie said he was "shocked beyond expression." The time would seem to be at hand for these gentlemen to show whether they were uttering real sentiments or mere words.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y.
PRESS
NOV 1 1933

Where Police Failed.

From the Rochester Times-Union

Considerable criticism has been directed at the Maryland state police because 30 of them did not fire on the mob that stormed the jail at Princess Anne and lynched a negro. The officers were beaten and several wounded but they did not fire. They had been directed not to fire unless absolutely necessary.

Well, this was a case where it was necessary. They were sworn to uphold the law and they permitted a mob to take the prisoner away and hang him.

Colonel Baughman, a soldier, now head of the police, explains there were 1,000 men in the mob and the 30 troopers had only 180 bullets and if each bullet had disabled a mobster there would have been 820 left in the mob. Therefore, it would not have been good military tactics. That is military mathematics. But these 30 men were trained and they were against a mob that was not trained and perhaps if the troopers had shown they meant business the mob would have dispersed.

There's a nice question there. The officers are criticized because they did not fire and they would have been severely criticized if they had fired and killed or wounded some of the mobsters. But they had the obvious duty to protect the prisoner, to prevent a murder, for lynching is murder. Besides only a comparative few of the mob entered the jail to get the negro. Certainly those few could have been stopped.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN
OCT 18 1933

WELL DONE

The prompt action of the authorities in bringing to Baltimore for safekeeping a Negro who had attacked an aged white woman in Somerset county deserves emphatic commendation.

It appears quite possible that the State was saved the disgrace of a lynching only by the quick decision in getting the man out of reach of an angry mob. It is regrettable that violence still has to be feared when a community becomes wrought up over crimes of this kind. But it is the duty of the authorities to bear the fact in mind and do what the circumstances demand. The sensible people of Somerset and the Eastern Shore assuredly are gratified that the vengeance of hotheads was averted.

It would do much to avert such outbreaks if crimes which greatly excite the people of any community were followed by demonstrations that, when the perpetrators are left to the courts, justice will be carried out with all the expedition that orderly procedure permits.

ELMIRA, N. Y.
STAR-GAZETTE
OCT 28 1933

LYNCHERS AND THE LAW

ONE good purpose, at least, was served by the recent lynching of a Negro at Princess Anne, Md. It has stirred up more public clamor in Maryland and nearby regions than any similar event of recent years. Baltimore newspapers are printing columns of letters from citizens who are sickened by this outrage against the good name of their state. Demands for punishment of the guilty are louder and more insistent than ever. All shades of opinion and all racial groups are a unit in denouncing this shameful exhibition of mob fury within two hours distance of the capitol of the United States.

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White Press, Northern.

3952

Lynchings-1933.
Discussions.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Eagle
DEC 4 1933

AS WE ARE . .
By John Erskine

IT'S reasuring to know that the conduct of the Scottsboro case is as disturbing to thoughtful people in the South as in our own part of the country. Race prejudice has rarely showed itself more clearly than in certain aspects of each of the successive trials. The question no longer is whether the Negro boys are guilty. The question is whether, if they are innocent, they can be acquitted, and whether, if they are acquitted, they will be permitted to go their way in peace.

Most of us who have followed the reports of the trials, especially of this last trial, where the judge went so far as to omit, in his charge, any instructions as to a possible verdict of not guilty, have concluded that the Negroes are innocent. In that opinion we may be wrong. Nobody involved in the original quarrel on the freight train has disclosed any ability to tell any testimony so that it will sound convincingly like the truth. At some time or other they all have contradicted themselves. But that is natural, in circumstances of fear or of excitement. The juries have had the difficult task of finding out the truth.

* * *

WHAT is distressing is that, with the notable exception of the judge who presided at the second trial, a few of the officers of the law have shown a desire to find out the truth. On the contrary, they have given the impression that what they wanted was a fair chance to hang the accused. No doubt their motives were excellent, but the impression they have given is bad. If we Northerners were the only people who received that impression, there might be reason for supposing that we were the victims of biased reports, or that we lived too far from the scene to weigh the evidence. But Southern newspapers as well as Northern are commenting on the indiscretions and improprieties which have marred the processes of law, and which threaten to make of these trials only a form of persecution, or possibly, a form of legal lynching.

It seems clear that these Negroes are being tried, not as human beings but as Negroes, and that many of the white members of the community intend to give them a special treatment suitable to their color. We all know the condition of race prejudice throughout the land in the North as well as the South, but we don't expect such primitive ignorance to invade the courts and play lightly with a man's life. In the second trial, sounds of laughter were heard from the jury room, as the votes were cast to hang the accused. No wonder that the judge later threw out the verdict. No jury is competent to sit in such a case if to them the death penalty is a joke.

THIS is one of those crucial cases which will refuse to come to an end. If it is to be decided right, the Southern courts must first put their procedure in such shape that the world will be sure the truth was desired by both judge and jury, even if it ran counter to popular clamor. It would help to heal the harm already done if some Negroes were on the jury. If white men joined with black in getting to the bottom of these tangled stories, and if they agreed in any conclusion, we should feel easier. But so long as the Negro is shut out from the jury panels, the white man will have to lean over backwards in his effort to be fair, before he can convince anybody that the case was not prejudged.

I become quite emotional myself whenever I hear of the Southerner's chivalrous attitude toward women. Because of this chivalry of his, he is ready to lynch any Negro who is even accused of touching a white woman. Whether the white woman was complaisant makes no difference to the avenging chivalry.

I could understand this prejudice against mixture of colors if all Southerners who have it were sincere. I could understand the chivalry of the white man if he let the black women alone. But that is just what he doesn't do, and no one is more keenly aware of this inconsistency than the Negro men.

The Scottsboro case would leave ugly wounds even if the accused were proved guilty beyond doubt. It will turn into just so much more social dynamite if the verdict of guilty is brought by what seems a prejudiced procedure.

* * *

IN recent years a school of Southern novelists has sprung up who portray this relation of the races. They pretend to tell the truth about it. They show the cheaper sort of white man, the type that makes up the lynching mobs, pursuing Negro girls, and adding informally to the population. That this account is true, seems likely from the increasing number of Negroes who have light complexions.

If it is a matter of life and death to keep the races apart, why don't the Southern communities put a stop to the amorous adventures of the less responsible whites?

Or if no stop can be put to such activities why should the Negro, when he is charged with imitating the amalgamating propensities of some whites, be handed over to them for punishment? It would be a comfort to know that no member of a lynching mob, and no member of any one of these Spartan juries ever himself committed the fault for which he is ready to hang the black man.

It would pay the South, and the North as well, to be just to the Negro. No matter how many get hanged or lynched, there will be plenty left. We live in the same country with them. They may some day outnumber us. Every wrong we do them will return on our heads.

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HARRISBURG, PA.
PATRIOT
NOV 28 1933

CALIFORNIA LYNCHING

The California lynching of two confessed kidnapers is shocking because it comes from such an unexpected quarter. The avowed crime was a hideous one, the fiendish murder of a business man even before demand for ransom was made of his relatives, but the sequel certainly was as unexpected as it was atrocious.

The world has come to think of American lynchings in terms of the Negro as a victim and the Southland as the tragic stage. Other countries will be as stunned as our own Nation that the victims in this instance were white and California the setting for the gruesome business.

What makes the case even more frightful is the sneaking suspicion that there are circumstances which kill the self-control of people no matter in what part of the globe they may be situated. However regrettable the case is, here was a situation that snapped the judgment and toleration of otherwise law abiding citizens. Instincts and emotion overthrew reason and the mob decided it would avenge a cold-blooded crime by matching another with it.

Perhaps Governor Rolph of California was expressing the sentiments of his people when he virtually condoned the mob's work. More certainly he expressed their thought that "this should be a great lesson for the entire world." Back in other days, California's "vigilantes" gave a series of demonstrations in law enforcement that again stunned the Country but also suppressed the outlaws. A spirit inherited from those old days may explain the latest attempt of the people to show their attitude toward kidnaping and similar crimes.

HARTFORD, CONN.
COURANT
NOV 29 1933

Hands Across the Continent

If the residents on the Eastern Shore of Maryland can bring about the removal of Mr. Albert C. Ritchie as Governor, they doubtless will seek to put themselves under the rule of the Governor of California, Mr. James Rolph, Jr. He is an executive after their own heart, particularly as regards lynching. His declaration that lynchings are lessons much needed by the nation they can subscribe to heartily, for they had one six weeks ago, when a Negro charged with assaulting an elderly woman was seized, hanged and burned by a mob at Princess Anne. Furthermore, his attitude regarding the lynchers is entirely their own. Instead of being punished, lynchers ought to be glorified, hailed as eminent citizens, and if by some mischance they are held by representatives of the law, they ought to be pardoned forthwith.

For the present, however, the residents of the Eastern Shore must suffer under the despotism of an executive of another sort. Although famed beyond the Eastern Shore for his liberalism, Mr. Ritchie is known there for what he is, a tyrant who insists that law and order be maintained. When the local officials at Princess Anne did not show what he regarded as proper zeal in seeking out the leaders of the lynching party, he sent the Attorney General of the State to make the necessary investigations, and when the local authorities declined to arrest the men that he named, the Governor sent the milita to seize them. Worse yet, when a mob assembled

to demand the release of the arrested men, he ordered the militia to stand firm and he probably had something to do with the dastardly trick whereby the accused lynchers were carried off to Baltimore for safe keeping until they are brought to trial.

The entire episode, of course, reveals Mr. Ritchie to be utterly unfit to govern a modern commonwealth. Obviously, he does not have the slightest regard for the fundamental right of a mob to slaughter any individual whom it happens not to like. His belief that justice ought to be administered strictly in accordance with the established processes of the law shows him to be a visionary dreamer with no conception of the practical considerations so ably expounded by the exemplar of modern statesmen, Mr. James Rolph, Jr., whose idea is that if a mob wants to commit murder, it ought to be permitted to do so, its members being assured of pardon in advance. Over thousands of miles of prairie, mountain and desert, the mob on the Eastern Shore of Maryland can grasp hands with the mob in California in support of his enlightened principles.

PORTLAND, ME.
PRESS HERALD

NOV 30 1933

In Yesterday's News

Missouri came across with a lynching on Tuesday, following the action of Gov. Rolph of California in putting the stamp of his approval on mob executions. The victim in Missouri was a negro charged with assault on a white woman. He would have been tried and probably convicted in a short time as is usual in such cases in the Southern states. But the mob, probably inspired by what happened in San Jose, California, took matters into its own hands and breaking into the jail carried the negro out to be hung from the limb of a tree.

We are disposed to believe that Gov. Rolph will live to regret his ill considered commendation of mob action in his state. On the contrary what Gov. Ritchie did the other day in Maryland is receiving the highest commendation from all quarters. Maryland's governor, when the county authorities refused to arrest the leaders of a mob which lynched a negro sometime in October ordered out the National Guard, seized the ringleaders and put them in jail in Baltimore in defiance of the lawless element of the Eastern Shore. That's the kind of spirit which all the states need to have manifested by their chief executives if law and order are to prevail in America.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.
DEMOCRAT & CHRONICLE

NOV 28 1933

Mob Vengeance or Law?

The first reaction to the lynching at San Jose is to say that the two kidnaper-slayers of Brooke Hart got exactly what they deserved. For sheer calloused brutality, the crime of which they stood confessed has had no parallel since the slaying of the Lindbergh baby. Public feeling all over the country has been fanned to fury by the epidemic of kidnapings, against which no home appears safe.

But something much more serious was involved in this lynching than the lives of the two men. If mob justice can be condoned in one case, it must be condoned in all. If the agencies of law and justice are to stand aside once, then our whole theory of civilized order is undermined. There can be no half way point in this matter. Either lynching is right or it is wrong; it cannot be "almost" right in some particular case and all wrong in others, neither can it be half right and half wrong. There is only one position to be taken by Americans who believe the civilization that has been painfully built up is worth preserving at its best.

It is plain that frenzy seized the mob that committed this deed, and that it extended to the thousands of spectators who urged on the perpetrators. Defenses at the jail seem to have been totally inadequate, although an angry crowd began to gather before the doors long before the actual attack. The governor of the state refused to order out National Guardsmen to "protect those guys." Since the crime he has called it "a fine lesson for the whole nation." Legal processes were scrapped by common consent. It was as if California turned back to the lawless days of a century ago.

The whole affair was plain madness. The two men had confessed, their guilt was evident, there is no reason to suppose they could have escaped the death penalty. It is true that justice moves slowly, that too many crimes go unpunished, that public patience has been strained to the cracking point. But in recent months there has been real progress in setting down the crime of kidnaping and in bringing perpetrators to justice. The breakdown of the law is discouraging enough; the breakdown of the human element on which all law must depend is little less than tragic.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Eagle

DEC 4 1933

Lynching Shows Dissatisfaction With Ways of Criminal Justice

Editor Brooklyn Daily Eagle:

I am writing to express my hearty commendation of the views set forth in Monday's issue by Mr. Thomas Rice in respect of the lynching in California of the two self-confessed kidnaping-murderers. We may expect a deluge of comment, editorial and otherwise, upon the wickedness of lynching as opposed to due and orderly administration of criminal justice. Mr. Rice, as usual, has hit the nail on the head and has indicated that such comment is entirely beside the point. We will probably have a revival in Congress of anti-lynching bills. If Northerners discourse at length on the Scottsboro case the Southerners will mention California.

From a purely cold-blooded standpoint, the important issue, as Mr. Rice points out, is the underlying cause of lynching. Unquestionably it is the popular dissatisfaction with the administration of criminal justice. The way to cure lynching is to reform criminal law and procedure so as to make punishment swift and certain. It is almost impossible to conceive of a similar occurrence to this as taking place in England or France.

Mr. Rice has again emphasized the regrettable fact that although crime from the standpoint of dollars and cents is one of the major industries of the country. There is no national organization to watch it and there are only a few local organizations. Probably the legal profession is largely to blame in one way or another. However, the American Bar Association has recently decided to stir various local and State Bar associations into action on the subject of criminal law and its enforcement. With the public temper the way it is, it is probable that the necessary legislation, both State and Federal, can now be procured. Certainly the newspapers, and especially The Eagle, will give hearty support to necessary legislative changes. Even lawyer-legislators, many of whom have a substantial criminal practice and who naturally favor the status quo, may take a larger view of the situation.

Mr. Rice has correctly, I think, diagnosed the lynching as a symptom of the underlying cause and I trust that his article will be given as wide a spread of circulation as possible. Mr. Rice appears to be one of the very few persons who emphasizes the commonsense doctrine that criminals should be tried promptly, put in jail and kept there.

FRANKLIN F. RUSSELL,
Vice Chairman Committee for Repression of Racketeering.

New York, Nov. 29.

JOURNAL
MUSCATINE, IA.
NOV 2 1933

WAR ON LYNCHINGS!

Federal anti-lynching legislation is desired by the Women's International league. In a letter to the president, the league asks that he recommend a federal law on the subject to the next congress.

The recent lynching of a negro at Princess Anne, Md., within two hours' distance of the capital of the United States, is cited by the women as a reason why such legislation should pass to punish members of lynching mobs and protect this country from the blot of citizens' taking the law into their own hands.

Perhaps difficulty may be found in finding a clause in the federal constitution on which to base legislation for murders committed within a state and subject to state prosecution. The cry of states' rights will probably be raised against federal intervention to prevent lynching.

The states themselves should punish this outlawry against orderly government. Lynchings are a blot on all localities in which they are committed. No defense can be raised to justify mob rule that kills persons without trial.

States should move to end lynchings and should have sufficient self respect to summarily punish lynchers and inform the world that the citizens of the localities in which lynchings have occurred have enough regard for a proper public sentiment to punish the participants in these unlawful and outrageous crimes.

Unless officials of the states where lynchings are staged take this stand and are supported by the voters in their attitude, the federal government will eventually have to take jurisdiction to prevent their continuance.

Even if a constitutional amendment is needed to give the federal government power to punish lynchers, jurisdiction should be accorded, if public sentiment in states where lynchings are permitted and the lynchers escape punishment, does not demand that these blots be removed from their commonwealths.

The United States cannot afford to allow a legacy of barbarism to remain as an object of criticism from other nations.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

NOV 14 1933

"Virus Lynchicus" Is In The Blood, He Says

To THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir:*

There has been much discussion of late concerning conditions in trans-Choptankia where *virus lynchicus* roosts cheek by jowl with the potato bug and the Japanese beetle. All these effusions won't lead anywhere.

"The will to lynch" is not based on reasoning processes. It is an emotional urge which craves release whenever a Hamite violates white womanhood. Due process of law will not satisfy that urge. Things must happen quickly.

After obeying that impulse, these amateur judges and juries are apt to feel cheap. They promise to do better next time and, maybe, string up some white man for a change or else go and hang themselves. Unfortunately, their resolutions don't stand the test of time. They are much like those "sawdust trail" conversions or the town drunk's resolve to stand up in front of some squire and have the whisky exorcised out of him.

Soon or late the old Adam will belch forth once more. It's in the blood.

FRED VETTER.

Washington. D. C., Nov. 12.

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White Press, Northern.

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LYNCHING IS AGAIN A NATIONAL ISSUE

Times
New York
12-3-33

Recent Outbreaks Stir Interest in the Laws Designed to Curb Mob Violence

By GEORGE H. COPELAND.

THE lynching problem flared up with startling prominence last week. In San Jose, one of the larger cities of California, with the safeguards a city is supposed to provide, a mob stormed the jail and hanged in a near-by park the two men who had confessed guilt of the kidnapping and brutal murder of Brooke L. Hart. The next day, Monday, James Rolph Jr., the Governor, condoned the lynching, in a statement which said: "This is the best lesson which California has ever given the country. We show the country that the State is not going to tolerate kidnapping."

Dramatically, though there was no trace of any immediate connection with the Governor's statement, there followed mob outbreaks in far separate parts of the country—in Maryland and in Missouri.

Throughout the week the outburst of opinion on Governor Rolph's attitude continued. Most of it was in strong disapproval. On Wednesday a group of prominent Californians, among them ex-President Hoover, in a statement, deplored the action of the Governor in condoning the lynching of the two kidnappers, as undermining "the very foundations upon which the State and all civilized society are built."

A Year of Mob Outbreaks.

The California lynching came as a climax, in its sensational character, to a wave of mob killings that have marked this year. The lynchings of 1933 number twenty-six, already exceeding by one the lynchings of 1930, when there was a similar wave. The number of lynchings last year was ten.

Of the twenty-six lynchings which have taken place this year, Alabama leads the list with five. The other States follow in order: Louisiana, 4; Georgia, 4; South Carolina, 3; Tennessee, 2; Mississippi, 2; California, 2, and Florida, Missouri, North Carolina and Maryland, each 1.

Numerous States have enacted laws aimed at lynching, and from time to time there has been agitation to pass a Federal law to curb this crime.

In six States—Alabama, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Virginia and North Carolina—lynching is defined and made a special crime. The definitions differ, but in general the laws resemble that of Indiana, which defines the act as that of a mob taking life without authority of law. Kentucky goes so far as to say that a mob may consist of as few as three persons. Georgia also says lynching is a special crime but does not define the term. Mob violence is a special crime in four States—Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and West Virginia.

The maximum punishments in the foregoing States for lynching, according to J. H. Chadbourn's "Lynching and the Law," are life imprisonment or death. Records show, however, that while lynchings have occurred in eight of the eleven States mentioned, in only two—Alabama and Georgia—have any perpetrators been punished.

Minnesota's Definition.

In three States—Minnesota, Nebraska and Ohio—the terms "lynching" and "mob violence" are defined, but no new crime is created and no special punishment is provided. Thus Minnesota merely says: "Lynching is the killing of a human being, by the act or procurement of a mob."

Four of the eleven States that make lynching or mob violence a special crime—Alabama, Indiana, Kansas and Kentucky—make accessories liable to punishment.

Eleven States provide for a recovery against the city and/or the county in which a lynching or mob death occurs, ranging from $1,000 in Nebraska to $10,000 in Pennsylvania. They are Connecticut, Kansas, Illinois, Minnesota, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, New Jersey, North Carolina and West Virginia. In six States—Illinois, Kansas, Connecticut, Ohio, Wisconsin and New Jersey—provision is made for such a recovery in cases of mob injury. The dependents or heirs of the lynched person are generally specified as the recipients of such a fine.

Peace Officers Responsible.

Nine States — Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, South Carolina, Tennessee and New Jersey — make provisions for the removal of peace officers who fail to prevent lynchings. Most of them take from the ousted officer the right to hold office in the future; some, in addition to removing him from office, impose a fine upon him. The laws usually state that an officer, to be guilty under this regulation, must have had the custody of the person killed or injured. In four States—Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky and New Jersey—the mere fact that a lynching occurred calls for the immediate and automatic removal of the officer in charge by the Governor.

Several States authorize a Sheriff to organize a posse of citizens to protect a prisoner in danger of lynching and provide punishment for those who refuse to join the posse. Others jail or impose a fine upon those who refuse to act as witnesses in a lynching trial, and some disqualify from sitting on a jury in a lynching trial all who have shown sympathy with the lynchers. Arkansas alone makes specific provision for calling a special term of court to try certain inflammatory offenses likely to incite lynching.

How old is the lynching practice? According to the files of the old Liberator, lynching of Negro slaves occurred early in the nineteenth century. On April 28, 1836, a Negro was burned to death in St. Louis for killing a deputy sheriff. After 1850, there was a tendency for people to take the law into their own hands. Out of forty-six Negroes put to death for the murder of owners and overseers, twenty were legally executed and twenty-six were summarily killed.

Gold-Town Lynchings.

It is to be noted, remarks the Negro Year Book, that lynching "as an institution, developed, apart from slavery, as a frontier tribunal, especially in connection with the establishing of law and order in the gold-mining towns of California and other parts of the Far West. Yet California, where vigilantes once operated, like the Southern State of Maryland, has been for half a century among the States with the smallest number of lynchings—forty-six for the one and thirty for the other. Georgia and Mississippi in the same period had more than 500. The only States whose record was zero were Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont.

The first attempts to curb lynchings by Federal action began in the middle of the nineteenth century. In the post-Civil War period a Federal bill was presented to Congress, but failed. In 1921, at its San Francisco meeting, the American Bar Association resolved "that further legislation be enacted by Congress to punish and prevent lynching by mob violence." The year before, in 1920, Representative Dyer of Missouri introduced in Congress a bill designed to protect both aliens and citizens from lynching. In 1922 it passed the House but was defeated in the Senate by a filibuster of Southern Senators. The Dyer bill would have given Federal courts authority to punish county officers and lynchers, and provided for the forfeiture to the United States of $10,000 by any county which was the scene of a lynching. The measure was re-introduced in 1925 and in 1929.

Other Anti-Lynching Bills.

In 1926 an anti-lynching bill was introduced in the House by Representative Berger of Wisconsin and in the Senate by Senator McKinley of Illinois. Neither bill obtained any action. In 1928 Representative Berger introduced a new bill; this met the same fate. The following year Representative Stone of Oklahoma introduced a joint resolution in Congress providing for a commission to investigate and study the lynching evil. This measure was also defeated.

Those who have followed the subject closely contend that Federal legislation would bring about a reduction in lynching. In this connection it is pointed out that in 1922, when the Dyer bill came before Congress, there were sixty-one lynchings, whereas the next year, in 1923, the number dropped to twenty-eight.

Whether in consequence of specific anti-lynching laws or of the education of public opinion, the fact is that lynchings or "mob murders" have been declining in recent years. Between 1889 and 1900 the average number was 187; for the next decade it was 92, for the next, 61; between 1920 and 1930 it fell to 16; the total number in 1930 was 25, in 1931 it was 14, and last year only 10.

The Record Since 1919.

Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People show that since 1919 mobs have lynched 443 Negroes, six of them women, and forty-four white men. The figures follow:

1919.....83	(5 white)	1927.....21	(3 white)
1920.....65	(8 white)	1928.....11	
1921.....64	(6 white)	1929.....12	(4 white)
1922.....61	(5 white)	1930.....25	(1 white)
1923.....28	(3 white)	1931.....14	
1924.....16		1932.....10	(2 white)
1925.....18		1933.....26	(4 white)
1926.....34	(5 white)		

The decrease in lynchings has been least rapid in the Southern States, according to a study made two years ago by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching. In fourteen States (including the border commonwealths of Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma) the yearly average since 1900 was a little less than half that between 1889 and 1900, while in the remainder of the United States the rate was scarcely one-seventh as high as in the last years of the last century. For the five-year period ending with 1929, 97.4 per cent of all lynchings in the United States were in the fourteen Southen States.

Lately there has been a relative decrease of white mob victims. Between 1889 and 1900, 32.2 per cent of all persons lynched were white, whereas between 1925 and 1930, only 13.2 per cent were white. In 1930 only one, or about 4 per cent, was white. Most of the persons lynched in the South are Negroes, the figure being 90 per cent in the past three decades. If the lynching of Mexicans by mobs in Texas, Arkansas and Oklahoma were excluded, the percentage would be nearly 95 per cent Negro.

More Lynchings in Summer.

More lynchings occur in the Summer months than in Spring, Fall or Winter, according to the commission, showing a relation between the weather and a resort to lynch

law. But "working and living out of doors in warm weather, midsummer unemployment, landlord-tenant relations in Summer, and other factors, greatly modify any all-weather explanation," says the commission. "During the midsummer months, after cultivating is done and before harvesting begins there is little to occupy the time of Negro and white workers on Southern farms, . . and there is a great deal of visiting, loafing, gambling and general carousing about."

The commission also points out in this connection that the idle and unemployed generally make up the bulk of most mobs, and that "man-hunts and lynchings make it possible for obscure people to play the rôles of arresting officers, * * * judges and executioners" and that such activities "afford an avenue of emotional escape from a life so drab and unilluminated that any alternative is welcomed."

Causes of Disorders.

"From the best and most accurate sources of information," says the Negro Year Book. "It is found that in the forty-four years between 1885 and 1930, there were 894 persons, 60 whites and 834 Negroes, put to death by mobs, under the charge of rape or attempted rape. This is 20.8 per cent of the total number of persons, 4,306, who were lynched during that period.

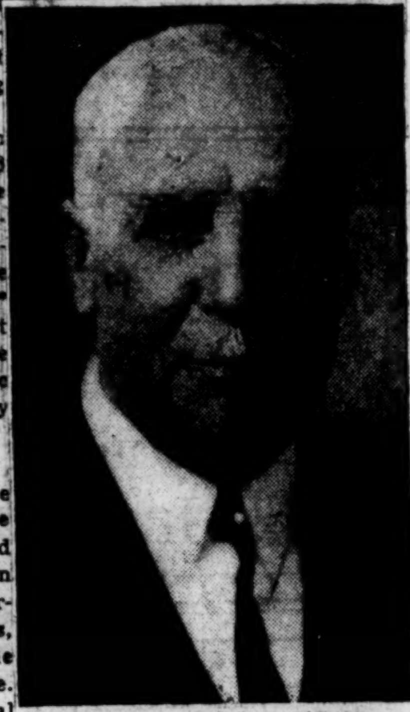
"An investigation into the causes of lynchings made some time ago showed that more than 10 per cent of the Negroes lynched were for such minor offenses as grave robbery, threatened political exposure, slander, self-defense, wife-beating, cutting levees, voodooism, swindling, jilting a girl, gambling, poisoning wells, drunkenness * * * and so forth."

The findings of the Southern Commission bear out these contentions. Of the mob victims between 1890 and 1930, it estimates that 37.7 per cent were accused of murder, 16.7 per cent of rape, 6.7 of attempted rape, 7.1 of theft, 1.8 of insults to white persons and 24.2 per cent of all other offenses.

What is intended to be a model anti-lynching law is now under examination by the deans of various Southern colleges. Its form has not been made public. Meantime the Southern Commission advises (1) compulsory removal of prisoners in special types of cases to another jurisdiction, (2) placing of arbitrary power in State authorities to extend protection, (3) investigation and prosecution in cases of mob violence, (4) change of venue in the trial of lynchers, (5) suspension of officers who yield their prisoners, (6) and thereafter education of public opinion to outlaw the lynching outlawry.

"Fundamentally," concludes the commission, "lynching is an expression of a basic lack of respect both for human beings and for organized society."

LYNCHING DEFENDER



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Governor James Rolph.

N. Y. HERALD

DEC 2 1933

3 Faiths to Join In Protests at U. S. Lynchings

Leading Catholics, Protestants and Jews Speak at Mass Meeting Tomorrow

Called by Charles Tuttle

Bishop McConnell Demands Federal Control of Evil

Eminent Catholic, Protestant and Jewish clergymen and laymen will take part tomorrow afternoon in a mass meeting at the Great Hall of the City of New York, at Convent Avenue and 139th Street, in protest at the California lynchings and the approval expressed by Governor James Rolph jr.

The meeting was called yesterday by Charles H. Tuttle, former United States Attorney and Republican candidate for Governor of New York in 1930. Among the speakers will be Bishop William T. Manning, of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York; Bernard S. Deutsch, President-elect of the Board of Aldermen and president of the American Jewish Congress; Dr. Frederick B. Robinson, president of City College; Alfred J. Talley, a former judge of General Sessions and a leading Roman Catholic layman; Rabbi David de Sola Pool, of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, 100 Central Park West, and vice-chairman of the New York City Interfaith Committee; the Rev. Dr. Charles Trexler, president of the Greater New York Federation of Churches; the Rev. Dr. A. Clayton Powell, pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, at 132 West 138th Street, one of the largest Negro congregations in the world, and the Rev. Dr. George Drew Egbert, president of the Society for the Prevention of Crime and pastor of the First Congregational Church of Flushing.

McConnell Asks U. S. Control

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, one of the sponsors of the meeting tomorrow, speaking last night over a National Broadcasting Company network under the auspices of the American Civil Liberties Union, said that "since what has happened in the last few days a great deal of the point of our criticism concerning situations in Continental Europe has been taken from us."

"If we look abroad and say that some things that have happened in Continental Europe are not quite civilized," the Bishop said, "we ourselves have to meet that criticism that we have not been acting in a civilized way."

Bishop McConnell said that "the time is coming when we have to take this matter of possible lynchings or threats of lynching that soon will go to actual lynching, take that out of the hands of states that have shown themselves notably incompetent to deal with it and put it in the hands of the United States."

"The United States," he said, "brings to bear upon the problem a wider view, a wider experience, a cooler judgment and there ought to be some kind of adjustment of our legislative system so that upon the slightest possibility of a lynching the authorities of the United States take the matter completely in hand."

He said that "when, as it happened in California, if not upon the connivance upon the final sanction of the state authorities, then it becomes clearly a problem for the United States government to step in."

An announcement of the rally will be read tomorrow morning from many pulpits of the city. In calling the meeting Mr. Tuttle said:

"We can have in this country no greater menace and no more sinister demagogy than official condonation or encouragement of mob violence. The mob spirit, like a conflagration, feeds rapidly upon its own success and readily becomes a prelude to anarchy and revolution. Crime cannot be prevented by worse crime. In every lynching the law itself is the chief victim and order and justice as the essential foundation of civilized society are the chief things destroyed."

Sponsoring Committee Named

The members of the committee sponsoring the protest meeting tomorrow follow:

EDWARD P. MULROONEY, chairman of the New York State Alcoholic Beverage Control Board.
DR. HARRY WOODBURN CHASE, Chancellor of New York University.
BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL, of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE, of Free Synagogue.
DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, pastor of the Community Church.
DR. FREDERICK B. ROBINSON, president of City College.
DR. HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, pastor of Riverside Baptist Church.
RABBI ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN, rabbi of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun.
RABBI DAVID DE SOLA POOL, rabbi of Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue.
DR. S. PARKES CADMAN, pastor of the Central Congregational Church, Brooklyn.
CLEVELAND E. DODGE, president of the Near East Foundation and of the Y. M. C. A.
WALTER T. DIACK, general secretary of the Y. M. C. A.
RUSSELL COLGATE, director of the Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Company, president of the Welfare Federation of the Oranges and Maplewood.
GEORGE E. ROOSEVELT, of Roosevelt & Son.
JOSEPH A. BRODERICK, State Superintendent of Banks.
JOHN J. BENNETT JR., Attorney General of New York State.
RICHARD S. CHILDS, president of the City Club.
WILLIAM W. HALL, Y. M. C. A. leader.
DR. SAMUEL McCREA CAVERT, general secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
CARROLL HAYES, president of the Catholic Club.
DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS, pastor of Broadway Tabernacle Congregational Church.
MAURICE P. DAVIDSON, chairman of the central committee of the City Fusion party.
DR. RALPH W. SOCKMAN, pastor of Christ Church (Methodist Episcopal).
GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY, head of department of criminology, New York School of Social Work.
DR. GEORGE DREW EGBERT, president of the Society for the Prevention of Crime and pastor of the First Congregational Church, Flushing.
DR. CHRISTIAN FICHTHORNE REISNER, pastor of Broadway Temple Methodist Episcopal Church.
DR. ALVIN E. MAGARY, pastor of Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn.
GEORGE A. CLARKE, pastor of Emmanuel Baptist Church, Brooklyn.
JOHN B. KETCHAM, of the Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation.
J. HENRY CARPENTER, of the Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation.
M. EUGENE FLIPSE, pastor of the Douglaston (Queens) Community Church.
LESTER LEAKE RILEY, rector of Zion Episcopal Church, Douglaston.
BARCLAY ACHESON, executive secretary of Near East Foundation.
DR. GEORGE E. HAYNES, executive secretary of the Commission on Race Relations of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
DR. WILLIAM JAY SCHIEFFELIN, chairman of the Citizens Union.
EDMUND MELVILLE WYLIE, minister of the Park Avenue Presbyterian Church.
JOSEPH P. DAY, real estate operator.
FRANK C. GOODMAN, executive secretary of the radio commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
WALTER M. HOWLETT, secretary of religious education of the Greater New York Federation of Churches.
DR. THOMAS JESSE JONES, educational director of the Phelps Stokes Fund.
DR. WILLIAM B. MILLAR, general secretary of the Greater New York Federation of Churches.

The meeting will be held from 3 to 4:30 p. m.

London Invents U. S. Race War To Liven Press

'Massacre of Negroes' Makes Page 1, Displacing News of British Child Murder

Public Properly Thrilled

Finds Humbug Better Than Weather as Gossip Theme

By Harold E. Scarborough

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

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LONDON, Dec. 1.—American news has been for some time featured on the front pages in the London press, but today readers of two British newspapers of national circulation—"The Daily Herald" and "The Daily Express"—were given an especial thrill by being presented with a cabled description of a country-wide exodus of Negroes from their homes and of an imminent race war in the United States.

"The Daily Herald," following a reference to "sensational" American newspapers, quoted an unnamed "Southern authority" in Washington as having warned yesterday that "it only needs a spark to set off a new civil war. But this time it would not be a war, but a massacre of unarmed blacks by armed whites mad with blood lust."

"The Daily Express" stated, in a cable from New York: "A great exodus of Negroes from the towns and villages of America's race-prejudiced Southern states began today. Terrified by the outbreak of lynching following the condonation of mob violence by Governor Rolph of California, America's vast population of colored folk are hurriedly leaving their homes and setting off in their second-hand cars and old-fashioned farm wagons for—they know not where. So electric is the atmosphere, so certain is a further outbreak of lynching, that the Negro dare not stay in one place."

Other London newspapers are less alarmist—a fact which is not without interest when it is recalled that it was "The Daily Express" which made a protest against what it considered inaccurate reporting by American newspapers of the unemployment riots in London last autumn. Nevertheless, all papers here have reported the recent lynching incidents to the final gory detail.

Yet, while American lynchings and kidnapings merit columns of cabled dispatches, anything in England remotely similar thereto seems to have less news value. For instance, this week a three-year-old child named Derek Robb was kidnaped and murdered at Leicester, and an attempt was made yesterday, supposedly by the perpetrator of the first crime, to kidnap a seven-year-old schoolboy at Northampton.

"The Daily Herald," which gave two columns on its front page to the American story, devoted a quarter-column on page eleven to the local kidnaping incident; while "The Daily Express" felt the relative importance of the two stories merited nearly a column on page one and a half-column on page eleven, respectively.

It implies no condonation or minimization of the bestiality of American lynchings to point out that, so far as this correspondent is aware, no scare stories based on this incident and describing England's nation-wide kidnaping wave have as yet been cabled to the United States from London.

Pastor Quits State Post As Protest Against Rolph

Governor 'Amused' by Action of Athletic Board Member

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 1 (AP).—The Rev. Leslie E. Kelley, Episcopal clergyman, announced today that he had resigned as a member of the State Athletic Commission, having "lost faith" in Governor James Rolph jr. because of the latter's "un-Christian attitude" toward the San Jose lynchings.

Governor Rolph Amused

SACRAMENTO, Calif., Dec. 1 (AP).—Governor Rolph was amused when informed today that the Rev. Leslie C. Kelley had announced his resignation as a member of the State Athletic Commission. "This is a very strange message," the Governor said. "I haven't received anything from Mr. Kelly, but since the San Jose lynchings he has been in my office begging me to reappoint him."

May Quash Maryland Case

BALTIMORE, Dec. 1 (AP).—The Somerset County Grand Jury will not be called to hear evidence against alleged participants in the Arnwood lynching at Princess Anne before next Wednesday, Judge Robert F. Duer said today. "Mind you, I don't say that it will be called then," the judge added.

Missouri Hunt Futile

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., Dec. 1 (UP).—W. O. Sawyers, Assistant Attorney General, co-operating with county and city authorities in an investigation of the lynching of Lloyd Warner, a Negro, today reported he had been unable to find any of the mob leaders, but would continue the investigation.

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Discussions

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N. Y. HERALD
DEC 3 1933

Parallels to Recent Lynchings In Many of 3,762 Cases Since '89

Records Show Acts of Mob Violence Have Declined Steadily Since the Civil War; 2,954 of Total Were Negroes; 1932 Had Low Record With 8

Although the three recent lynchings in dissimilar communities have widely aroused public opinion throughout the country, the fact remains that lynching, as a typical American way of dispensing with the process of law, has always been with us. Since the Civil War lynchings have markedly declined, but outbreaks of mob violence continue to be frequent.

From 1889, when records of lynching began to be kept, to 1932, 3,745 persons have been killed by mob violence. This excludes several race riots in various Middle Western and Southern cities. Of these 791 were white men and 2,954 were Negroes. In 1889, 176 persons were lynched, while in 1932 eight met death at the hands of the mob. To date this year seventeen persons have been lynched, according to unofficial records, bringing the total since 1889 to 3,762. In 1930 twenty-one were lynched, and in 1931 thirteen.

Statements similar to that of Governor James Rolph of California promising protection to the San Jose lynchers have been made by other State Executives, and Governor Albert C. Ritchie's use of a National Guard battalion to take the Princess Anne lynchers into custody after the local authorities had refused to enforce the law has had precedents.

Sentences Usually Light

Governors and officials have run for election on promises to relax anti-lynching laws. In many cases courts have refused to proceed against leaders of lynching mobs, although it would have been relatively simple for the state to make a case against them. When indictments have been returned, in a comparatively small number of cases, sentences have been usually light. Out of twenty-one lynchings in 1930 only forty-nine persons from the thousands in the mobs and on the sidelines have been indicted. Only four have been sentenced.

Cole Blease, when Governor of South Carolina in 1911, said: "Whenever the Constitution comes between men and the virtue of white women of South Carolina I say 'to hell with the Constitution!'"

Governor Dan Moody of Texas once said to National Guardsmen: "Hold the Negro, if possible, but don't shoot anybody." During the first six months of 1919, after President Wilson's plea to end lynchings, six men were burned. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People demanded an investigation from the various Governors. Four, Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, W. P. Hobby of Texas, Hugh M. Dorsey of Georgia and Charles Brough of Arkansas, refused to answer. One, Sidney J. Catts of Florida, took the association to task and said: "There is no use bringing the lynchers to trial, the citizenship will not stand for it. . . . If any man, white or black, should dishonor one of my family he would meet my pistol square from the shoulder, and every white man in the South, who is a red-blooded American, feels the same as I do."

Alabama Board for Investigation

On the other side was the State Law Enforcement Board of Governor Bibbs Graves in Alabama, which in at least one case invaded the so-called "county rights," removed all the local officers, made a thorough investigation of the lynching and caused the resignation of several local officials. The board was abolished by the Governor's successor.

The scenes of lynching are usually rural places below the general economic and social average or regressive towns. Many surveys have been conducted to determine this fact.

"It is a rural Southern county," writes J. H. Chadbourn in "Lynching and the Law," "characterized in general by social and economic decadence. For example, it is below the state average in per capita tax valuation, bank deposits, income from farm and factory, income tax returns and ownership of automobiles."

Lynchers Usually Young

In such a belated frontier, the shiftless elements of the population, the propertyless younger group, without real jobs and without real responsibility, serve as good raw material for a lynching mob. It is in no way contrary to the usual lynch riot that an eighteen-year-old boy rounded up San Jose's speakeasy guests and organized the mob that lynched Thomas M. Thurmond and John M. Holmes. The average age of the mob, according to Dr. Arthur Raper, of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, in "The Tragedy of Lynching," is from eighteen to twenty-five. Frequently older men lead the group or make suggestions.

The cruelty of mobs has long furnished the students of crowd psychology with their best laboratory material.

"Let him die slowly," is a cry that most observers of a lynching have heard from many throats. Anything to prolong the agony is resorted to.

In addition to its cruelty, the typical lynch mob has a complete disregard for property. Since the majority of the mobs are men without possessions and of a low sense of responsibility, they suffer no sense of personal loss in destruction. In the lynching of a Negro, accused of assaulting a white woman, at Sherman, Tex., in 1930, the mob destroyed the Grayson County Courthouse and then fired the entire Negro business section of the town, valued at between $50,000 and $100,000. It refused to let firemen play their hoses on the burning building, and to enforce its order, the rioters cut up the hoses into little pieces.

Often Hold Mock Trials

According to Dr. Raper, the mob, out of a mistaken desire to convince the world at large of its right to lynch a man, often holds a mock trial or forces a confession out of the victim by a mock third degree. In the lynching of two Negroes at Scooba, Miss., in 1930, the third degree was applied by the nooses which had already been slipped over the heads of the men. When they refused to answer questions, they were snapped off the ground, then lowered so they could answer. One man expired by strangulation, never confessing the robbery of which he was accused, while his partner, to end the agony, blurted out a statement before being swung aloft for the last time.

This tendency of the mob to believe rumors has also been good material for the psychologists. The craving of modern persons for violence, and the fierceness of usually peaceful people when aroused, partly explains their extreme willingness to believe anything which would contribute toward giving them a thrill and a sense of power. The lynching party and the man-hunt, the baying of the dogs in the dead of night, and the entire scene lit by the flaring of pine-knots or fuel-oil torches, affords a good road to emotional escape from drab lives most lynchers usually lead.

The mob is not always of the lower class of the population, Dr. Raper says. In some cases responsible citizens lead the entire affair, plan it and see that everything is done in the proper order, while other respectable persons in the community sell the mob its necessary implements, including rope, gasoline, matches, faggots, ammunition and arms.

Majority for Homicide

One of the most bruited untruths about lynching is the common statement of the lynching-apologists: "We've got to lynch a nigger now and then to protect our women." The records show, however, that 1,406 lynchings since 1889 were for homicide, while only 623 were for rape. At least eighty Negro women have been lynched.

"These assumptions have been kept alive," Dr. Raper says, "by certain types of politicians who keep themselves in office by appeals to racial fear and antagonism."

It is interesting to note here that in no country during peacetime, except the United States, does lynching and mob violence form such an important part in the roster of crimes. Revolutions, whether Fascist or Communist, have their own particular forms of mob violence and choose their victims in their own peculiar way. The American lynch mob batters down the jail door, attacks the sheriff, pours on gasoline and uses the rope.

Another common excuse for lynching is that "the law is too slow." As far back as 1893, according to Dr. Chadbourn, the Georgia Bar Association said that a growing distrust in the promptness and efficiency of the law caused many lynchings. Also the fear that sentence would not be severe enough was responsible for many more. Added to these feelings on the part of lynching mobs was the assurance that no action would be taken against the lynchers by the state. Although six states—Alabama, Indiana, Kentucky, Virginia, Kansas and North Carolina—have laws against lynching, the mobs do not seem to fear them. In other states the victim of a lynch mob, if he survives, or his heirs, can take civil action for damages against the county. Still these precautions do not seem to deter the rioters.

"It would seem that no structural inadequacy of existing judicial agencies for the punishment of crime accounts for the record," Dr. Chadbourn writes. "Our traditional forms of procedure probably need no fundamental change. The problem is to meet the elusive human factor in a system of good laws administered by fallible men."

Here the conflicting attitudes of Governors Ritchie, Guy B. Parks of Missouri, and Rolph are only too apparent. Governor Rolph knew of the attempted lynching several hours before it happened, yet he did not leave his executive chambers for fear that some one would send out the National Guard. Governor Ritchie, after consistently warning the authorities of Somerset County to take the necessary legal action against the lynchers, used the militia in a forceful and efficient fashion. Governor Parks also used the troops to protect Lloyd Warner, and when the mob was successful he ordered a thorough investigation and said that the state would help the local authorities to enforce the law.

Governor Rolph disposed of the lynching by promising to grant executive clemency to the mob. Governor Richie suggested to the state judges to remove the attorney of Somerset County; and when the judges freed the four suspects on grounds of insufficient evidence he lashed out sharply at them.

Regarding the attitudes of sheriffs and peace officers, Dr. Raper quotes a common remark as explanation: "Do you think I'm going to risk my life protecting a nigger?" In most cases sheriffs and deputies act in connivance with the mob. In a Mississippi lynching several years ago the sheriff promised the mob to turn the prisoner over to it at 4 o'clock promptly.

Other times they are in sympathy with the lynching, and simply look the other way. Occasionally sheriffs put up a fight, take the word of their election promises seriously and try to protect the prisoners. But this subject usually depends upon the caliber and personality of the man. Politics, too, plays a part: the lynch mob is usually the sovereign electorate, and the sheriff cannot afford to antagonize it.

The use of the National Guard, while usually effective, has a bad after effect. Bad blood is created, and the town or community usually goes into open rebellion against the state. Salisbury, Md., is a case in point, where the mob battled the troopers with a vengeane, and were dispersed only at the point of fixed bayonets and with tear gas.

New York Times
DEC 4 1933

CHURCHMEN LAUNCH FIGHT ON LYNCHING

Protestants, Catholics, Jews Here Join in Demand for New Federal Curb.

URGE REMOVAL OF ROLPH

Dr. Darlington Retracts His Approval of the Governor for Condoning Mob Violence.

Protestants, Catholics and Jews, clergy and laymen alike, joined here yesterday in demanding the end of lynching in the United States and in condemning Governor Rolph of California at a mass meeting in the Great Hall of City College, 139th Street and Convent Avenue.

The speakers, who included Bishop William T. Manning, Bernard S. Deutsch, president of the American Jewish Congress and President-elect of the Board of Aldermen; Alfred J. Talley, representative of Cardinal Hayes, and Charles H. Tuttle, all vigorously denounced lynching, with particular reference to the lynching at San Jose, Calif.

Resolutions were adopted by the 1,500 present, more than half of whom were Negroes, urging Governor Rolph's removal from office, the passage of Federal anti-lynching statutes and calling upon President Roosevelt and the Governor of Alabama to see to it that the defendants in the Scottsboro case receive a fair trial. The last resolution was introduced from the floor by a Negro. It was adopted unanimously.

Dr. Darlington Recants.

Another development in the anti-lynching movement took place earlier in the day when the Rev. Dr. Henry Darlington, rector of the Chuch of the Heavenly Rest, read a brief statement to his congregation in which he recanted the stand in support of Governor Rolph he had taken just after the Governor had spoken in praise of the lynchers. In his brief statement Dr. Darlington expressed regret that he had sent a telegram to Governor Rolph approving his stand.

While Dr. Darlington was reading the statement a score of students carrying placards denouncing his original lynching stand picketed the front of the church. Three of them became embroiled with a woman member of the congregation with the result that the trio, one of them a young woman, received summonses to appear today in Harlem court to answer to disorderly conduct charges. Informed of Dr. Darlington's change of opinion, the other pickets dispersed.

The mass meeting was enthusiastic. Every sally of the speakers directed at Governor Rolph or urging that an end be put to lynching was applauded. The Rev. Dr. A. Clayton Powell, minister of the Abyssinian Church, was especially enthusiastically received.

Bishop Manning warned that if such an attitude as Governor Rolph assumed should be condoned the nation would be headed for disaster. He contrasted it with the vigorous anti-lynching moves made by Governor Ritchie of Maryland.

"At this great meeting of citizens of New York and all faiths we should, I think, do three things," said the bishop.

"1. Let us send our sympathy to the great State of California in the shame and dishonor that has been brought upon it.

"2. Let us call upon all who hold public office in these United States to do their duty, to meet such situations like men, and in the name of right and justice to suppress such outbreaks with the whole strength and might of the law.

"3. Let us send word to Governor Rolph that, in common with good citizens everywhere, we condemn and denounce the failure in duty, the betrayal in trust, the deliberate incitement to mob violence and lawlessness of which he stands guilty before the American people."

Wire from San Jose Clergy.

The bishop read a telegram he received from the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Gould, president of the Ministers Association of San Jose. The telegram stated that the members of the association have publicly denounced mob violence and lynching and closed with a request that it be read. With the approval of the meeting Bishop Manning sent the following telegram in reply to Dr. Gould:

"Your message received and read at mass meeting now assembled in New York representing all faiths. We who are here assembled send our congratulations to you and the ministers of San Jose and vicinity upon your faithful and courageous stand in behalf of law and justice. We join with you in your condemnation of mob violence, we call upon public officials everywhere to put down lynching with the whole strength of the law and we unqualifiedly condemn Governor Rolph for the betrayal of trust and the incitement to mob lawlessness of which he stands guilty before the State of California and the people of the United States."

There was only one discordant note at the meeting. It was furnished by a young woman who would not give her name, but who took vigorous issue with Mr. Tuttle, the chairman, as to the propriety of the resolutions which were passed. Rising from her seat and walking to the front of the hall, she stood before Mr. Tuttle, white with rage, and shouted that New York City should "wash its dirty linen" before attempting to interfere with the actions of other sections of the country. At one point in her harangue she addressed Mr. Tuttle as "you filthy thing."

She turned and walked out of the meeting, however, after another woman in the audience had shouted, "We have no lynchings here anyway."

Rolph's Removal Urged.

The principal resolution, introduced by Dr. Wilbur Clemens, associate general secretary of the Greater New York Federation of Churches, read:

Resolved, that the recent lynchings and the laudation thereof by Governor Rolph of California are a reproach to our nation, treason to our institutions, a blow at the principles of our Christian and Jewish faiths and an encouragement to crime and the criminal elements through stimulating the spirit of lawlessness; and it is further

Resolved, that this meeting expresses its complete sympathy with the efforts of citizens of California to force the resignation or removal of Governor Rolph; and it is further

Resolved, that the head of the nation be urged to use the power and prestige of his high office to rally the forces of order and decency against this reversion to primitive and cruel barbarism, to remind all public officials of the sanctity and obligation of their oaths and to lay before Congress specific recommendations for anti-lynching legislation in fulfillment of its constitutional power and duty to guarantee in all States the republican form of government and the civil rights of all citizens; and it is further

Resolved, that we commend to Legislatures, the judiciary and the bar the urgent need of making the administration of the criminal law more certain and speedy and of removing from it all artificial restrictions upon the ascertainment of truth; and it is further

Resolved, that copies of these resolutions be appropriately forwarded to the President of the United States, the presiding officers of both houses of Congress, the Governor of this State, the president of the American Bar Association and such other public officials as to the chairman may seem proper.

Talley Attacks Rolph.

"I came here today," said Mr. Talley, "to denounce not the crime of San José, but the crime of Sacramento, because it was there that one who stood for authority and for law and order made the most disgraceful and un-American pronouncement that ever came from the lips of a public officer."

Mr. Deutsch urged the need of preventing similar happenings in the future. When the American people recently protested against Jewish persecutions in Germany their case was weakened, he said, by the ability of the Europeans to point to the lynchings in the United States.

A warning was given by Dr. Powell that unless lynching were outlawed and suppressed, whites as well as Negroes were bound to suffer.

"About 95 per cent of those lynched are negroes," he said. "But you can't confine lynching to Negroes. If lynching is not stopped the mobs will lynch not only Negroes, but white men and not only white men, but Governors and newspaper reporters and photographers. If we don't put a stop to the situation we will have mob rule right here in our city."

Dr. Frederick B. Robinson, president of City College, denounced political pleas to the mob, terming such overtures demagogy of the worst sort. Rabbi David de Sola Pool of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, suggested the abolition of the death penalty as a possible cure for lynching.

Another mass meeting to protest against lynchings was held yesterday afternoon under the auspices of the International Labor Defense and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights at 415 Lenox Avenue. Several resolutions condemning mob violence and demanding fair trials for all accused of crimes were adopted.

CLERGY DENOUNCE ROLPH.

Stand on Lynching Called Crime Against Church and State.

The stand taken by Governor Rolph of California on the San José lynching was condemned yesterday in sermons throughout the city.

The Rev. Dr. Howard Chandler Robbins declared in a sermon at the Church of the Incarnation, Madison Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street, that Governor Rolph betrayed his trust to the country by condoning the lynching. He said:

"Once give countenance to the authority of maddened mobs and it will not be kidnappers only, or persons guilty of criminal assault, whom they will burn and batter and hang, but any against whom their rage happens to be directed, for a mob bent on violence is a tiger which has tasted blood. The terrorism of the French and Russian Revolutions made that plain."

At the Park Avenue Presbyterian Church, Park Avenue and Eighty-fifth Street, the Rev. Edmund Melville Wylie assailed both Governor Rolph and the conduct of the trial of Heywood Patterson, Negro defendant in teh Scottsboro case.

"A proud American is made to bow his head in shame when a judge draws the color line and in order that a Negro may go to his death prefers to take the word of a wanton woman because she is white to that of an accused boy because he is black," he said.

"In another State at virtually the same time a mob breaks into a jail and in a spirit of fury bangs to death two imprisoned men. It was shame enough, but when the Governor of California praises the mob and gloats of its dastardly deed, then passion topples reason. We who claimed reason as our own cannot today even boast that we possess civilization."

In his sermon at Congregation Ohab Zedek, 118 West Ninety-fifth Street, Rabbi William Margolis pictured the mob as composed of 5,000 "rapacious animals," and said:

"We must destroy this tendency to substitute the will of the mob for the will of the people. And the unfortunate example of a purblind official cannot escape censure for having seduced by silence his constituent hordes."

At the Manhattan Congregational Church, Broadway and Seventy-sixth Street, the Rev. Dr. C. Rexford Raymond characterized Governor Rolph's action as an "awful failure."

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.
PRESS
NOV 9 1933

One Sheriff Shows A Way To Foil Lynchers

While column upon column has been written on the prevention of lynchings, the psychological and material factors which enter into the mob spirit and its operation, no more effective commentary has come under our eye than a bit of action, which speaks infinitely louder than words, currently reported from Thibodaux, La., with Sheriff Thomas Stark and two deputies in the principal roles and a motley crowd of seventy-five marshaled at the jail gates for the mob scene.

When a crowd began to gather about the jail, the Sheriff took his rifle and went to meet them. He opened the jail yard gate and dared the crowd to enter.

"You will have to kill me to get in here," he told them. Two deputies stood behind the Sheriff. The mob hesitated and soon dispersed.

That, it seems to this fireside journal, calls for no comment. How to prevent lynchings? The recipe so successfully used by Sheriff Stark is broadcast with the hope that it will be clipped and pasted beneath the hat band of every other sheriff and law enforcement officer, particularly in the South, to whom prisoners are intrusted for safekeeping and protection. —Greensboro (N. C.) News.

Lynchings-1933 & Discussions. White Press, Northern. 3955

BOXING CHAPLAIN DENOUNCES ROLPH

Lynching Incident 'Too Much to Stand,' Says Preacher as He Quits State Board.

Times 12-2-33

GOVERNOR RIDICULES HIM

Refers to the Rev. L. C. Kelley as 'Prizefight Commissioner Criticizing Me.'

New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif., Dec. 1.—Denouncing Governor James Rolph for his attitude in the San Jose lynching controversy, the Rev. Leslie C. Kelley, a San Francisco minister, resigned today from the State Athletic Commission and bitterly arraigned the State administration.

"It's just too much for a decent man to stand," Mr. Kelley said, "when the Governor of the State upholds lynching and engages in an absurd controversy with the former President of the United States, Mr. Hoover."

Mr. Kelley's resignation had two effects on Governor Rolph. When he first heard the news, according to reports, he laughed and said:

"I haven't heard any word from Mr. Kelley, but since the San Jose lynchings he has twice been in my office, begging me to reappoint him."

Later, after thinking over Mr. Kelley's charges the Governor retorted:

"Can you beat that—when a prize fight commissioner takes to criticizing me?"

"It's a fine thing when a minister of the church which I attend condemns me when he has begged me to reappoint him.

"All the fakers are not gone yet. The whole boxing fraternity has been on my path urging me not to reappoint the Rev. Mr. Kelley. He has been in trouble ever since he has been on the commission."

Rolph Administration Assailed.

Mr. Kelley said that his resignation was inevitable and that he had no regrets for it. Explaining that, in his opinion, Governor Rolph was a "changed man," Mr. Kelley cited what he termed the Governor's "unchristlike" attitude following the lynching of Jack Holmes and Harold Thurmond, Brooke Hart's kidnappers, as the principal reason for his resignation.

"Governor Rolph's approval of the San Jose lynchings, I believe, was a desperate bid for votes in the next election," the preacher said.

"I don't know if it was his own idea, but it was certainly ill-advised. I have been a stanch supporter of Governor Rolph since he was elected, even though he did things of which I did not approve.

"As a Rolph appointee, I would be expected to go from one part of the State to the other supporting his policies. But I cannot do that any longer, and there is no alternative but to resign. I've had a lot of fun, but now I've lost faith in the Governor.

"All over the State I heard the word going around that the Rolph administration is falling apart. The whole thing is rotten and drenched with politics. Rolph is surrounded by an incapable, selfish group."

Boxing Official Voices Regret.

Chaplain Kelley credited the State administration with one thing—"that boxing in California has been on the level, without scandal."

One of the first to visit Mr. Kelley at his offices today was Willie Ritchie, chief inspector of the Boxing Commission, who expressed regret over the resignation.

Chaplain Kelley denied that his resignation was suggested by Bishop Edward Lambe Parsons of the Episcopal Diocese of Northern California, who was one of twenty-five prominent men and women signing the protest against Governor Rolph's action in the lynchings.

"As a matter of fact, the Bishop told me to go on with the work," he said. He added that he would return to his work of organizing boys' clubs and social service work.

"Good Work," Says Governor Rolph, Praising Lynchers

Daily Worker 11-28-33

SACRAMENTO, Nov. 27.—"They did a good job," said [illegible] Rolph of California as he reviewed the brutal lynching of two accused kidnappers who were lynched by a mob last night.

The two men who were murdered were accused of kidnaping and killing Brooke Hart, son of a millionaire merchant. The prisoners, Thomas H Thurmond and John M. Holmes were dragged from the jail by less than a hundred men. It took but a few minutes to [illegible] past the 50 armed guards, who laid aside their guns as the mob approached, seized the keys and opened the [illegible]. The prisoners were beaten and kicked, pulled outside and strung up from a tree. Then their bodies were saturated with gasoline and burned while hysterical men, women and children looked on.

"I don't think anyone will be arrested, but if they are I'll pardon them," said Governor Rolph, citing the lynching as a fine lesson to the nation.

Refused to Send Troops

Local officials had requested troops to defend the prisoners. Rolph refused to send any. He had planned to leave for Idaho last night, but decided to stay in Sacramento to make sure that no troops were sent.

"I didn't dare to leave the state because someone might have called out the troops," he said. "As it was, there was no loss of life with the exception of the two men hanged. I am thinking of paroling any kidnapers to those fine, patriotic citizens of San Jose who know how to handle the situation."

The International Labor Defense demanded the death penalty for the lynchers in a message to Governor Rolph today. A wire was sent to President Roosevelt demanding "the repudiation of this official incitement to mob violence, especially calculated to bring about" a spirit of lynching in this country.

Ritchie Apologizes For "Using" Troops Against Lynchers

Daily Worker 11-30-33 New York

Mob Violates Grave of Armwood, Lynch Victim

SALISBURY, Md., Nov. 29. — The grave of George Armwood, Negro worker lynched on Nov. 18, was violated yesterday by the lynch mob which fought 300 militiamen, supplemented by State police, in an attempt ot release four of the arrested leaders of the mob which took Armwood out of the Princess Anne jail, dragged him leisurely through the streets, hanged him to a tree before Judge Duer's home, and then cast his body on a blazing pyre. It is reported that Armwood's head has been decapitated from the body and mailed to Governor Ritchie of Maryland, who under pressure of mass indignation ordered the arrest of seven known lynch leaders.

Ritchie Apologizes for Use of Troops

Ritchie today issued an apologetic defense for the use of troops against the Eastern Shore lynchers. He intimated that his intention in ordering the arrests was actually aimed at whitewashing the lynchers. According to his plans, the arrested men were to be taken before a Somerset County court in the knowledge that the court would have refused to indict them, just as State's Attorney Robins had refused to arrest them. Ritchie could then have claimed that he had fulfilled his duty in attempting to prosecute the lynchers. This dastardly plan was temporarily defeated by the actions of the lynchers themselves in attacking the troops. Ritchie declares:

"It was General Rockford's intention to take the men before a magistrate in Somerset County at once, and the witnesses were on hand to testify. Each of the men would have had an immediate hearing. But the temper of the crowd was such that General Rockford considered this action unwise, and, for that reason, the men were brought to Baltimore and not given a hearing [illegible] county."

Judge Duer of the Eastern Shore today signed warrants demanding the return of the [illegible] lynchers to the Eastern Shore. [illegible] warrants were served on Warden Harry C. Martin of the Baltimore jail by Sheriff Luther Daugherty, named [illegible] Judge Duer in Capt. Frank Spencer's affidavit as among the inciters of the mob which lynched Armwood.

Legislators Threaten to Indict Ritchie

The Wicomico County delegation of the General Assembly yesterday threatened to initiate a legislative inquiry [illegible] against the lynchers, and considered a proposal for the impeachment of Ritchie who, by the micarriage of [illegible] plan has suddenly lost favor with the "best citizens" of the Eastern Shore. Many of these citizens telegraphed protest to Ritchie and Roosevelt and a demand for the release of the lynchers.

Rolph Restates His Attitude; Sees 'Criminals' Day at an End'

He Declares People Have Served Notice on the Underworld—Hart Murder 'Broke Patience' of Public, Which Felt Criminals No Longer Feared Law.

Times 12-1-33 New York, N.Y.

SACRAMENTO, Nov. 29.—Kidnappings, murder, gangsterism and racketeering have grown up in this country to terrible proportions. There is no security of property. There is no security of life. Mothers even fear to permit their children long out of their sight. The livid head of [illegible] rears itself in every corner of our nation. And when we view the terrible fate that befell Brooke Hart, unobtrusively and [illegible] about his daily [illegible] the Lindbergh baby asleep in his crib, we realize there is not one of us safe from these fiends.

How, we ask ourselves, has this deplorable condition grown up in this, a most civilized and highly enlightened Christian nation? The answer is simple. These criminals no longer fear the law.

If they are arrested, the processes of punishment are slow and cumbersome. Many escape by technicalities; others are subjected to punishment that is farcically inadequate compared with the heinous atrociousness of their crimes.

The one thing which the cowardly criminals fear is an aroused citizenry. They thrived on the laissez-faire attitude of our people during the past decade. But they have overstepped themselves. The Lindbergh kidnapping struck terror and bitter resentment to the hearts of every mother and father. They resolved then that kidnapping and gangsterism must end.

"Criminals' Day at an End."

The lynching in San José is a manifestation of public sentiment aroused. The murder of Brooke Hart was the straw that broke the patience of a long-suffering people. The lynching was something that had to happen sooner or later. If it hadn't happened in California, it would have happened somewhere else.

The San José lynching is the people's way of serving notice on criminals their day is at an end. Kidnappings will not be tolerated in California nor anywhere else, and I am quite certain there will be no more for a long, long time. The San José lesson long will be re-

membered.

Lynchings are not pleasant, and as a matter of policy I do not either personally or officially condone them. But crime is an infection in our national system. Medicine is never pleasant to take, but if it effects a cure it is always worth the momentary unpleasantness.

No price is too high to pay if we can drive these fiendish kidnappers out of our State and nation. Naturally, we revolt at the thought of lynching contrary to law. But that is softened when we consider the agony to which Brooke Hart, a fine sample of American manhood, was subjected, and when we think of the innocent Lindbergh baby wrested from the security of his very bed and murdered, can we blame the people for becoming aroused?

No longer can we permit these criminals to stand back and smirk. No longer can we permit them to say: "If they do catch me, I'll get out of it." An aroused people will put a definite and permanent end to such blatant disregard for law as we have witnessed in this country far too long.

Lynchings Held Unavoidable.

The San Jose lynchings were unavoidable. Had I called out troops to beat down the crowd, terrible consequences would have resulted. Should good citizens be shot down to protect a couple of fiends for whom there are no words adequate to describe? No troops were called to protect Brooke Hart from Thurmond and Holmes. He was given no chance to plead his case.

The philosophy which causes kidnappers to cringe is that those who live by the sword and those who live by force and violence must expect to take their chances of dying the same way.

It is ridiculous to say that my attitude toward the California lynchings has inspired the lynching in Missouri and the attempted lynching in Maryland. The cases are not at all parallel. The San Jose lynching was a revolt against the wave of kidnappings. It was public display of determination to regain security of their homes, their property, their lives. The first thought of a mother is to protect her children, and the mothers of America are going to protect their young and I am going to protect them in doing so.

Many have attempted to bring up the Mooney case in condemning my statements. Let me say to them that there have been no bombings in California since Mooney was put in the penitentiary and no dynamiting since the McNamaras were speedily imprisoned.

California "Feels Safer."

Public sentiment will remain aroused until this crime wave is put down. And if this is the only way that kidnappings, murders and gangsterism can be stopped, public sentiment should remain aroused until it is.

It is indeed a sleeping nation that forever will tolerate what America has tolerated from these fiends for a decade. The problem is very real in California. There are twenty-seven kidnappers now in San Quentin and two in Folsom. Back of every one is a story of terror and heartaches of parents.

Today all California except the criminals themselves feel safer. There is a greater security of home and family. Let us hope there is no more occasion for lynching in this country, and if there are no more occasions for lynching, there will be no lynchings.

The first duty of government is to protect its law-abiding citizens—no matter what the methods or the cost. The criminals have armed themselves. They have made it war, and so have we.

The answer to the question of whether it was right or wrong can be found by each one asking himself: "How would I feel if my own son were done to death and demand for ransom made upon me after he had been fiendishly murdered?"

Gov. Rolph's Indignation

A WELL ORGANIZED mob of respectable citizens yesterday broke through the doors of a jail in San Jose, California, and brutally lynched the kidnappers and murderers of a wealthy young man.

Immediately upon the receipt of this joyous news, the Governor of California, James Rolph, Jr., issued the following statement:

"This is the best lesson that California has ever given the country . . . we show that the state is not going to tolerate kidnapping."

The criminals who kidnapped and murdered the young vice-president of a large California department store are not isolated, unexplainable, social phenomena. They are the product and expression of certain phases of capitalist society, especially American capitalist society.

The desire to get rich, the greed for easy money, the criminal individualism, the ruthless battle for wealth, all the insane, "success" dope with which American capitalism feeds its youth, certainly played their part in motivating the crimes of the lynch victims.

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Certainly, it is significant that in the Soviet Union where the social cause of property greed, and the socal roots of the insane struggle for riches at the expense of others, has been destroyed, the phenomenon of kidnapping for ransom is non-existent.

Today, organized criminal kidnapping for profit is part and parcel of the corrupt political machinery and the underworld in every large American city. It is notorious that dozens of prominent capitalist politicians were approached to arrange the ransom in the recent Lindbergh kidnapping.

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WHY does Governor Rolph condone the lynching of the two kidnappers? Is it because of his righteous indignation against kidnapping?

To say so would be fantastic, for Governor Rolph himself is part and parcel of one of the most criminally corrupt political machines in the world. Governor Rolph is one of the organizers and maintainers of one of the most notorious criminal frame-ups in history, the Tom Mooney case. Governor Rolph recently gave tacit approval and support to criminal attacks and kidnappings of striking agricultural laborers in the San Joaquin Valley in California.

It is not moral fervor that inspires Governor Rolph. It is a deliberate attempt to sanction lynching, and with a particular eye on the rising struggles of the toiling masses in California and throughout the country.

The Cops Mingle With the Lynch Mob

This is part of the well-dressed crowd that lynched the two kidnappers of the 21-year old son of a wealthy department store owner in San Jose, California. Notice the presence of many uniformed fully-armed policemen mingling with the crowd. It is significant that none of the printed photos of the scene show any indication of the alleged police resistance that was reported in the press.

Rolph's Lynch Program Is Aimed at Negro and White Toilers

AN EDITORIAL

THE bestial, organized lynching of two kidnappers in San Jose, California, and the subsequent indorsement of this lynching by Governor Rolph calling it a "fine lesson to the nation" has called forth the highest praise from many capitalist newspapers. The lynching has been made a platform, directed not against the degenerate crime of kidnapping, but to openly justify, encourage and extend the lynching of Negroes and lynch attacks on the working class.

The lynching was fostered by Governor Rolph, and praised as a good job after it took place.

Governor Rolph's stand in favor of the lynching lies far deeper than the wiping out of two men. As is clearly seen from the statements of government officials, and the capitalist press, his stand is a call to lynch law, particularly against the Negro toilers, against whom lynching is mainly and most often directed, and against workers who are struggling for better conditions.

"The time has come when states should do away with parole boards and tolerate lynching," says former Judge H. G. Kyle of Kansas City. Could any plainer call be made to the mill owners' mobs and cotton ranchers, gangs of the South to increase lynching of oppressed Southern Negroes in order to keep them in industrial, political and social slavery.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3956

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
RECORD

NOV 28 1933

California Adopts Lynch Law

An angry mob storms the jail at San Jose, California. Two confessed murderers are dragged from their cells, hauled through the streets, and hanged.

In defiance of all law and authority, murder is committed. Merely to satisfy blood lust, civilized Californians descend to the level of their victims. All without excuse—for the two were certain to be convicted and legally executed in short order.

In California there is one man sworn to protect the laws of the State, bound by solemn oath to see that no man's right to a trial—even a confessed murderer's—is taken away. That man is Governor James Rolph.

Before the lynching Governor Rolph refused to furnish National Guardsmen to protect the men and the law of the State.

After the lynching he said:

"This is the best lesson that California has ever given the country. We show the country that the State is not going to tolerate kidnaping. . . . A good job. If anybody is arrested, I'LL PARDON THEM."

Governor Rolph is right in saying that California has given a lesson to the country.

A lesson in the truth that brutality and lawlessness on the part of governing officials lead to brutality and lawlessness on the part of the governed.

Rolph is the Governor who shocked the country in April of 1932 by REFUSING TO PARDON Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. As every literate American knows, these men were convicted of bombing a Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco in 1916 on perjured testimony, and are in jail because they are radicals.

That they were radicals was enough for Rolph. He defied all basic law and justice, and denied pardons. The State cheered.

On Sunday thousands of Californians defied all basic law and justice, and committed murder. **Rolph cheers.**

* * *

California can draw any moral it wants from what happened. It can applaud the spectacle of a lawless Governor cheering a lawless mob.

Or—if it is wise enough to see the peril to all law and security in the Mooney case and the San Jose lynchings—it can initiate a reform reaching to the Governor's chair.

The choice is up to California. Other States will watch to see if it remains the Anarchist Commonwealth, or makes gestures toward civilization.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
INQUIRER

DEC 3 1933

——The most regrettable events of the week are the outbreaks of the mob spirit in four different States. The Governor of California committed the glaring folly of commending the lynching in that State, and has received a greater degree of approval in some quarters than could have been anticipated. He has been rebuked, however, by some distinguished Californians headed by Mr. Hoover. In a subsequent controversy between the former President and the Governor, in which Mr. Rolph taunted Mr. Hoover for his dealing with the one-time "bonus army," the latter at once pointed out that the Governor has shown a gross ignorance of the facts. Indeed, the Governor's case is so bad that anything he may now say is likely to make it worse. The intervention of Governor Ritchie of Maryland in sending State troops to arrest the ringleaders of the mob at Princess Anne has elicited from the bench a statement that a Grand Jury will be convened "in due course."

TRENTON, N. J
TIMES

NOV 29 1933

ANTI-LYNCHING LAW NEEDED

Senator Hamilton Fish Kean demands in the wake of mob violence in Maryland and California, that Congress enact an anti-lynching law. He implies that this is the only way to eliminate Judge Lynch as a factor in American jurisprudence.

The Senator is right. Congress may well strike while the iron is hot by passing the Dyer anti-lynching bill which has been turned down on numerous past occasions.

Lynching is a disgrace to the entire nation. And it is a crime that never will be effectively curbed until the full force of the Federal Government is brought to bear against it.

Nothing but political cowardice and provincial bias have prevented enactment of the Dyer bill. The moment has arrived for our national lawmakers to clamp down without fear or favor upon all lawless methods of enforcing the law.

CLEVELAND, O.
PLAIN DEALER

DEC 1 1933

"HUMILIATION AND SHAME."

The "humiliation and shame" of California's lynching "is intensified by laudation of the mob and its acts. . . . Such laudation, particularly when coming from the chief executive of the state, undermines the very foundations upon which the state and all civilized society is built."

To this statement of vigorous protest is signed the name of former President Herbert Hoover, along with other eminent Californians. Sensing the unfortunate publicity their state gets through their governor's refusal to take steps to prevent the San Jose outbreak and, later, through his public commendation of the mob's bloody work, these advocates of order make haste to disavow Rolph's espousal of lawlessness.

Meanwhile, fruits of the mob spirit, encouraged by the words of the California governor, are gathered in other states.

The San Jose outrage occurred Sunday. The early hours of Wednesday morning saw a mob at St. Joseph, Mo., drag a young Negro from his cell to be tortured, hanged and consumed by fire in the street.

Thursday saw at least a temporary frustration of the purpose of Gov. Albert C. Ritchie of Maryland to bring to trial the leaders in the Princess Anne lynching. Local authority, unwilling to visit justice on the leaders of the mob, succeed for the moment in keeping the hand of the state off them.

The governor of Maryland sent troops to arrest mobsters whom local law-enforcment officials refused to touch. The governor of Missouri, apprised of the fact that a threatening situation was developing at St. Joseph, ordered troopers to protect the prisoner, but they got there too late.

Both these state executives, in contrast with the governor of California, acted with a vigorous sense of duty to uphold the law.

Denunciation of mob violence implies neither sympathy for the mob's victims nor the slightest extenuation of their crime where crime is proved. The two men murdered by the California lynchers deserved their end. The one killed by the Missouri mob had confessed a crime which called for the severest penalty.

But in the words of protest which Herbert Hoover and other Californians sign, "lynching is unjustifiable and subversive of all government."

Mob violence is no worse in one state than in another, and no better. If mob murder is extolled in one part of the country, it is certain to find many unthinking defenders in other parts. Honest sheriffs who find themselves custodians of prisoners accused of atrocious crime have their job made immeasurably more difficult by whatever influence encourage leaders in lawlessness to assume the garments of civic virtue.

Neither in California, Missouri nor Maryland can the incident be considered closed till the law has asserted itself; in spite of the governor in one case and in spite of distorted local opinion in the others. Mob murder will be checked and lynching made so unpopular it will cease only when law-enforcement officers are shown that their obligation to the state is more important than the temporary favor of people enflamed with the passion for revenge.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
TIMES UNION

DEC 6 1933

LYNCHING ALWAYS WRONG

Editor, Brooklyn Times Union.

Sir—Mob rule is never justifiable! Every man in these United States has a right to protection by law. Is there anyone who believes that the youth of 18 who led that frenzied, drunken band and hung the two confessed kidnapers was actuated by any high ideals? No, in reality that youth is a dangerous criminal himself! It could very easily have happened that the wrong prisoner could have been selected. The young man admitted that he was intoxicated—he even boasted of it. It was a frenzied mob—sodden with liquor—who undertook to "avenge" a wrong! That band of men was not fit to mete out justice. Lynching is never right—one wrong does not right another wrong. The self-appointed dispensers of justice in the South will ever be a disgrace to this country. Why have laws if we are going to permit mob rule?

It would be well to shoot down anyone who attempts to interfere with the course of justice. Our country is well able to administer justice. We need no drunken mob to assist the law of the land.

A man who commends mob rule is not fit to govern any State. The laws of our country must be upheld.

BESSIE D. FLEMING.
164 Montague st.,
Brooklyn, Dec. 2, 1933.

NEW YORK WORLD Telegram

DEC 6 1933

It Seems to Me by HEYWOOD BROUN

AND then they add "but."

I am speaking of many eminent and intellectual citizens who begin with a swinging denunciation of Governor Rolph and then supplement it with a paragraph, "Yet it must be admitted that the administration of criminal law in this country has broken down."

This statement has been made so frequently that it is accepted as a matter of course. And yet it will bear a little scrutiny. When people say that law has broken down they mean, as far as I can gather, that too many safeguards are placed around the defendant. They generally mean that trials should be far more expeditious and punishments more severe.

It is admitted that there is a high incidence of crime in this country, and it is generally assumed that the courts and the law must be wholly at fault. I think this theory is probably untrue. I certainly think it should be subject to rigid examination. It is distinctly possible that the prevalence of crime is only remotely connected with our present court procedure.

Scorpions for Whips.

FIRST of all, there is no convincing evidence that an increase in the severity of sentences meted out necessarily results in an accompanying decrease in crime. In fact, there is a great mass of evidence on the other side. England many years ago found it necessary to limit the offenses punishable by death. When a man who stole a sheep was liable to hanging very few convictions were found against sheep stealers.

In America today it is generally difficult to get a verdict of guilty when the death penalty is involved, because the jury has a sneaking fear that it may be wrong and that there will be no chance of righting the wrong if later evidence turns up.

If the proponents of more severe punishment were wholly logical they would of necessity go even beyond the electric chair and the gallows and urge a restoration of such penalties as the rack and boiling in oil. Such savage punishments have been discarded not because of a growing humanitarian feeling but because of a realization of the fact that the devices are not effective.

As a matter of fact, we do still burn suspected criminals by mob action, and quite obviously this type of lynching has not availed to quell the crimes which it was professedly designed to prevent.

Not Always So Hard.

NOR can it be said that convictions in court are universally difficult. A learned judge in Alabama has just ruled that when a white woman testifies against a Negro her word should be accepted regardless of the character of [redacted] or the lack of corroboration. And it is in the very sections of the country where convictions may be obtained almost for the asking that lynching is most prevalent.

I see no justification for the assertion that mob violence arises largely because of the inadequacy of legal procedure. Not very long before the San Jose incident the State of California caught, tried and executed a young criminal guilty of a most atrocious murder and kidnaping. The trial was expeditious.

If the American community is sincerely desirous of limiting crime it must give its major attention to the causes of crime. These causes do not lie primarily in court practice. Nobody wants to see corrupt justice or inexact justice, and so I say that too great a severity, too arbitrary a riding down of the rights of the defense, are just as bad and, for that matter, just about as common as unwarranted acquittals.

The One Great Cause.

THE one great cause of crime is poverty. Look into the case history of all criminals and in a large majority of the cases you will find that you are dealing with a human being who was undernourished, undereducated, warped and ruined by his inability to cope with a fiercely competitive world for which he was wholly unfitted.

Anybody who raises these considerations is called a sentimentalist. The realist is the man who says:—"Let 'em live in slums; let 'em go hungry; let 'em go cold, and when they become prostitutes or killers that's the time to step in and give 'em whacking good jail sentences and expeditious electric chairs. That'll teach 'em a lesson."

But it will not teach any lesson to the child who is now growing up under precisely the same environment and heading in precisely the same direction. I can take anybody to certain blocks in large American cities and point to crowded sidewalks and dark doorways swarming with boys and girls just learning to walk. And I can say with complete truthfulness:—"Here is your kindergarten for San Quentin. Meet some members of the freshman class of 1950 at Sing Sing. Here is abject, grinding poverty, and here, as sure as poppies grow in Flanders, are the seeds of crime."

Are we to be fools all our lives and talk of restoring the whipping post and abolishing juries and quitting the parole system and taking the law into our own hands and all that nonsense?

Why don't we take the slums and poverty itself into our hands and tear down these things? There's the rope on which to put your hand and pull with all your back and soul and shoulders.

ST. PAUL, MINN. DISPATCH

DEC 1 1933

ROLPH THINKS AGAIN.

It did not take Governor Rolph long to discover that his advocacy of lynch law was a mistake. After listening to what the country as a whole thinks on the subject and after a short controversy with former President Hoover, Governor Rolph has now amended his views. He says that he does not advocate lynch law. He believes that the law should have been allowed to take its course but that the San Jose mob served notice that public opinion in California is aroused against kidnaping.

It must have given Governor Rolph food for reflection to learn that the leaders of the mob were led by drunken hoodlums recruited from the speakeasies of San Jose by an immature youth, to realize how closely the mob came to lynching the wrong man, and to see how quickly after the San Jose affair the lynch law spirit broke out in Missouri.

The amendment works a great improvement in Governor Rolph's position. Let it be hoped that it undoes at least some of the damage to the law abiding spirit that his earlier praise of the mob caused.

BOSTON, MASS. TRAVELER

DEC 1 1933

Three Governors

In California, two men kidnaped and killed a young man. A mob killed the kidnapers.

In Maryland, a man assaulted an old woman. A mob killed him.

In Missouri, a man ravished a girl. A mob hanged him.

Gov. Rolph of California applauded the mob. Gov. Ritchie of Maryland sent troops to arrest the mob, when local officials had failed to do so. Gov. Park of Missouri is using every state power to round up the mob there.

Herbert Clark Hoover of California, former President of the United States, signed a statement issued by Californians who deplored the lynching and the words of Gov. Rolph. The statement asks the world to believe that the great majority of the citizens of California deplores the episode.

The world does believe so. The world knows that mobs usually are made up of the outscourings of the gutter, and by that we do not refer to their degree of wealth, rather to their mentality and morals. The California mob was enlisted by a lout who scoured the speakeasies for recruits. To him would some of our theorists give the right of interpretation of law.

Gov. Rolph remained at the capital "so nobody could call out the militia to stop the proposed lynching!" What did he do when there were demonstrations against the imprisonment of Mooney and Billings? Gov. Rolph would do well to retire to private life on a California prune farm or lemon grove. As a chief executive he has disgraced his position, if not violated his solemn oath of office.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions

White Press, Northern.

3957

SCHENECTADY, N. Y.
UNION STAR

NOV 29 1933

The Governor of Maryland!

A GOVERNOR OF different temper rules in Maryland from the complacent Rolph of California who tells the boys to "go ahead and tend to kidnapers" for he won't "let the law interfere."

The mob spirit broke out in Salisbury, Maryland, following the California lynching, when the mob demanded the delivery of four men accused of being among the leaders in the recent lynching of a negro prisoner at Princess Anne. The four had been arrested at dawn. State troops were ordered out to meet the anticipated riot, and by force of arms carried the accused men away to Baltimore in army trucks under heavy fusilade of missiles hurled by an angered mob.

No greater contrast could be drawn on the real meaning of liberty than the contrast between Governor Ritchie of Maryland and Governor Rolph of California. Liberty degenerated into license in California which now wants the country to forget its surrender to mob violence. "We'll show 'em the state is not going to tolerate kidnaping," proclaimed Governor Rolph. "The foolish remark of a cheap politician," comments the New York Herald Tribune; and the day after its orgy of blood, California and San Jose were "anxious to forget" the stain upon their names, the affront to free government.

Braving personal unpopularity, Governor Ritchie summoned all the force at his command to preserve orderly government and to keep enthroned the power of law in the ancient State of Maryland whose Carroll of Carrolton was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and whose Lord Baltimore set up the colony in the first place as a refuge for the oppressed. Governor Ritchie's liberal views, coinciding so closely with the liberalism of the founder, are yet based upon government by law. He was deeply chagrined that under his administration a person awaiting trial should be deprived of trial and suffer death without recourse to his constitutional rights. It was in restoring the majesty of law in Maryland that he incurred the slurs of the mob.

Governor Ritchie proposes that those responsible for the lynching in his state shall be brought to justice. In contrast, the San Jose atrocity—horrifying in the first place—was made doubly terrible by the wild excesses of the mob, and still more awful by the loose utterance of the Governor of the state whose act, in contravention to his oath of office, may easily lead to serious consequences.

What becomes of government when those whose sworn duty it is to enforce law openly and blatently aid and abet violators of the law?

DETROIT, MICH.
NEWS

DEC 1 1933

LYNCHINGS ARRAIGN THE LAWYERS.

A few weeks ago a Maryland mob took a Negro out of jail and lynched him; an angry populace is resisting the attempts of Gov. Ritchie to bring to trial the alleged leaders. In San Jose, Calif., a mob took two confessed kidnapers from the jail and hanged them. In Buchanan County, Mo., a mob broke into the jail, seized a Negro who is said to have confessed to attacks on white women, and lynched him.

These summary and illegal community acts seem to indicate an exasperation of public sentiment in three widely separated places, one on the Atlantic Coast, one on the Pacific, and one in the middle of the country. It would not be at all surprising if there were similar outbreaks elsewhere, in communities which, like those mentioned, have heretofore been free from lynch law and the rough justice of the mob; especially as one of these acts, at least, has been condoned by the highest civil official of the state.

That exasperation is directed not only at outbreaks of particular crime, kidnaping, and attacks on white women by Negroes, both held in special abhorrence. It is motivated also by the notorious failure of the constituted process of law, all over the country, not only to check the more heinous forms of crime, but to convict and punish its perpetrators. That failure demonstrates such a break-down of the legal and judicial processes as to make the peaceful, law-abiding citizen despair of justice, so that when the perpetrator of some particularly atrocious crime is caught, that citizen sees red, goes berserk, and with his equally infuriated and desperate neighbors, takes justice into his own hands.

The law's delay; continued postponement of trial on trivial grounds; the disappearance of witnesses; the attention paid by trial judges to technicalities; permission to appeal, granted as a matter of course; the absurd and irrational finding of higher courts, relied on by defense attorneys to secure a new trial; finally, the possibility, nay, the probability, that a sentence less than death will mean, in a comparatively short time, the release of the criminal, with his evil tendencies strengthened by his term in prison—these are the things that have brought a large section of the people of this country to such disgust with the processes of law that at times they are tempted beyond their strength.

The people are well aware that something is terribly wrong with our criminal procedure. They know that in England an accused man comes to trial within a few days; that a jury is obtained immediately; that the trial judge permits no evasions of any sort; that a trial is exceptional that runs beyond two or three days; that unless some extraordinary error is found, the appeal (which is usually taken as a matter of principle, to make justice doubly exact) will be denied; and that sentence and its execution in full are assured. They know that the same system prevails in our neighbor, Canada. They know that these countries, which speak the same language we do, and adhere to the same controlling principles of law, are comparatively free from crime. They ask why the United States does not follow the examples set by these similar communities.

The answer lies with the legal profession. Its members know what is wrong. They hold meetings and discuss and debate and suggest, and appoint investigating and advisory committees, and occasionally tinker cautiously and fastidiously with the codes of procedure. But everything they do shows a basic unwillingness to face the realities of the problem. One would think that they were foot ball authorities, trying to settle whether the goal posts ought to be five yards or six yards behind the zero line, instead of men dealing with a question vital to our existence as an orderly, law-abiding nation. Meanwhile the situation goes from bad to worse, until presently we may be threatened with vigilante law and wholesale community executions without trial.

When the governor of a great state can condone lynching, and be applauded by thinking citizens all over the land, it is a sign that those responsible for the law's delays and defeats—the lawyers themselves—must take action, even if only in self-defense. For if the case continues to come home to the lawyers because they hinder and stifle the justice they are sworn to defend, some of them conceivably might hang from the same trees as the criminals they use the law's loopholes and ambiguities to save.

CANTON, O.
REPOSITORY

NOV 29 1933

Ritchie Replies

Circumstances in Maryland have been anything but comfortable for Governor Ritchie the last few weeks. The lynching of George Armwood, Negro, the middle of last October brought all kinds of pressure on the honorable gentleman. From one side came charges that he was negligent in providing protection for Armwood—charges accompanied by vociferous demands that he bring the lynchers to justice.

From the other side was exerted the heavy resistance of a certain type of Maryland citizenry to any investigation of the case. Where the level of intelligence is low enough to make lynching the logical recourse of a community, it usually blocks effectively any move to punish leaders of a lynching mob. It is for such a reason that lynching laws never have proved practical. Governor Ritchie, however, seems intent on proving that lynchers can be brought to justice.

If there is one person in the United States with cause to be grateful to California's Governor Rolfe, therefore, it is Governor Ritchie. By praising the lynchers of San Jose, Governor Rolfe gave his fellow official in the Free State a made-to-order opportunity to show his critics how sincere he was in his stand against mob murder. He wasted not a minute.

By Tuesday the nation knew that Maryland's governor would not let mobsters take over the functions of the courts without protest. In striking contrast to the attitude of Governor Rolfe, who called the mob murderers of San Jose "patriotic citizens," the attitude of Governor Ritchie was aggressively hostile to the Somerset county people who took the life of George Armwood. It was at the same time a challenge to the governor of California and to Governor Ritchie's critics in Maryland.

Perhaps it will make an impression on Governor Rolfe. When he considers that, henceforth, his state will be notable chiefly for toleration of mob rule, as it has been notable for years as the jailer of Tom Mooney, it may occur to him that California is piling up a distasteful reputation for itself.

COLUMBUS, O.
OHIO STATE JOURNAL

NOV 29 1933

Two Governors.

THE nation is being supplied with a clear-cut picture of what a governor ought to be and what he ought not to be in the current actions of Governors Ritchie of Maryland and Rolph of California. While the latter not only condones the infamous spectacle in San Jose when a mob lynched two confessed kidnapers, Governor Ritchie sends his troops into a section of Maryland where a similar incident occurred recently and already has behind the bars suspected mob members. Moreover, he clothed his soldiers with full authority to act

as necessary in bringing the mob murderers to justice.

Solid thought will swing unitedly behind Governor Ritchie. While admitting that a few hot-heads will applaud the unethical conduct of Governor Rolph, the country in general will condemn his open indorsement of mob rule and his wish that he could turn all California kidnap suspects over to the mob of San Jose.

The courts of the United States were created to try and judge such matters. If Governor Rolph's stand were to meet with general support the legal forces of the country might as well be abolished and the old vigilante days of the early west restored.

It is not fitting that the governor of a great state should so unqualifiedly indorse mob rule, mob murder and treason against the law. How much more dignified and ethical is the spirit with which the Maryland executive pursues his plan to punish those who took matters into their own hands in his state and committed an atrocious lynching. The courage of Ritchie in moving in the face of mob opposition in Maryland is in pleasing contrast to the air Rolph takes in the face of the same sort of rule. At best it suggests the cringer rather than the courageous law enforcer.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y.
MORNING POST

NOV 3 0 1933

GOVERNOR RITCHIE'S DISTINCTION.

Governor Ritchie of Maryland has demonstrated that he possesses the courage to take whatever extraordinary steps are needful to assert the dominance of law over mob rule. Evidently, his procedure is not popular with many of the people of the state, but he has the satisfaction that he did the right thing regardless of the opposition it may have aroused.

The regularly constituted officers of Somerset County were besought to proceed against the leaders of the mob which lynched a Negro in Princess Anne. They refused to perform their duty. It fell to the Attorney General of the state to procure evidence of the identity of a few of the offenders. Even then the District Attorney refused to act. It became evident that there was an organized effort to prevent the lynchers from being brought to justice.

Then it was that Governor Ritchie determined to give an illustration of the power of the state government in the matter. The assignment of a battalion of the state troops to proceed to Somerset County and arrest the accused men was an unusual proceeding, but it provided the only adequate force for the purpose. Warning had evidently been given, since not all the men sought were seized, but enough of them were taken and carried to Baltimore to illustrate the power of the state when exerted by a determined Governor. The opposition quickly assembled when the presence of the troops was discovered was tantamount to insurrection though it was ineffective to thwart the purpose of the troops.

What will be the outcome of the matter is yet to be demonstrated. It may prove impossible to secure a jury which will convict the accused men. It is clear that the lynchers command a great deal of popular sympathy. That may not be surprising in view of the fact that Maryland is a border state of the South. Governor Ritchie may lose some support that he has hitherto enjoyed, but he has the satisfaction of having stood for the supremacy of law over mob action. His is the enviable distinction of having done what duty demanded. He can well afford to be unpopular in such a cause.

What a contrast Governor Ritchie presents to Governor Rolph of California!

AMSTERDAM, N. Y.
Eve. Recorder & Daily Democrat

DEC 1 1933

Lynching, Cause, Effect and Cure

Governor Rolph of California remained in his capital to make sure that no troops were sent to prevent the San Jose lynching; he promised afterward that he would pardon any of the lynchers brought before him, and announced in effect that if any California mob wanted to take alleged criminals out of jail and hang them it was free to do so. Governor Ritchie of Maryland, after earnest but unsuccessful efforts to secure action by the local authorities against those who perpetrated the recent lynching at Princess Anne, sent a battalion of the National Guard into the area, arrested four men suspected of the crime and brought them away under fixed bayonets in the face of the infuriated local mob. Those who wish to know which of these methods produces the better effects in the long run are again referred to the travesty against all justice, decency and common sense still dragging out its miserable course at Decatur, Ala. In Alabama they have too seldom called out the National Guard.

California, Alabama and Maryland—they supply a complete study of lynching, its cause, its effect and its cure, all in one morning's newspaper. What about the evils which lynching is supposed to combat? That is a less simple question, but one can pick up a few clews on this subject also. Princess Anne is in one of those territories where the prevalence of the lynching spirit does not appear to prevent occasions for its expression. If the threat of lynching were a sound method of law enforcement it would follow that fewer actual lynchings would occur in those communities which were the readiest to resort to mob action, but this does not appear to be the case.

And there is a point about the California episode which has escaped comment. In the effort to meet the kidnap evil the state only recently altered its law to provide for the death penalty in the discretion of the jury, for kidnaping where the victim suffered injury. In this case the kidnapers deliberately murdered their victim as soon as they captured him, thinking it the easiest way of carrying out the crime. Did the new death penalty have anything to do with their plan? It seems not improbable; if the effect of the new law, moreover, was thus to insure the murder of the victim, what would be the effect of an established lynching tradition? It would make the murder only more necessary, with the added safeguard that if the mob got hold of almost any innocent suspect (as it frequently does, and almost did in California) and lynched him, the case would be closed and the real criminals left in perfect safety.—New York Herald Tribune.

PORTLAND, ME.
PRESS HERALD

NOV 29 1933

A Contrast

Gov. Rolph of California has declared he would pardon any person who was arrested and convicted of participating in the lynching of two kidnap-slayers at San Jose on Sunday.

Yesterday Gov. Ritchie of Maryland, having attempted in vain to persuade the authorities of the county in Maryland where a mob broke into a jail and lynched a Negro charged with rape, took it upon himself to bring to justice the leaders of that mob.

He dispatched National Guardsmen to Salisbury to arrest four men who were known to have been among the leaders of the mob which lynched the Negro. The troops were accompanied by the attorney general and the adjutant general of the state. They got their men, held them in an armory in Salisbury for a time and were then obliged to remove them to Baltimore because of the gathering of another mob bent on rescue. Tear gas was used in liberal quantities to prevent the Salisbury mob from attacking the armory.

Finally the National Guardsmen placed their prisoners in trucks and forced their way through the streets, being stoned and threatened until they got out of town.

Gov. Ritchie believes in law and order. He considers that his state has been disgraced because of the lawless execution of a suspected Negro.

Gov. Rolph says he would like to release all the kidnapers now in prison in California and let the mob hang them.

Which one of these two governors do you think is entitled to be entrusted with high office?

Which one is living up to the oath he took when he was inducted into office?

Which one of these governors do you believe is serving his state and Country best, the one who plays to the galleries and fans the embers of lawlessness or the one who defies the few lawbreakers and insists that all who violate the law shall suffer the penalties of the law?

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In Yesterday's News

This is a crazy world.

The chief executive of a sovereign state emphatically commends a mob which smashed its way into a jail, overpowered a sheriff, his deputies and members of the state police and lynched two prisoners who had confessed to being kidnapers and murderers.

This governor is widely quoted as saying he would pardon any person or persons who might be arrested charged with having formed a part of this mob and says he would like to see all the kidnapers now held in prison in California turned over to mobs to be hung.

Strange to say the governor is highly commended by many people for the statements he has made, and the encouragement he has given to similar lawless acts.

BALTIMORE, MD.
POST

NOV 28 1933

CONTRAST

ON THE WEST COAST, Governor Rolph upholds lynching and applauds lynchers.

On the ~~East Coast,~~ Governor Ritchie sends state militia to arrest lynchers when county authority has broken down.

The contrast is vivid. The nation and the state cannot but applaud the Maryland Governor's action; cannot but applaud the help given him by Attorney General Lane. The lethargy and the helplessness which characterized them after the Matthew Williams lynching are gone now, obviously. They have reasserted the supremacy of the state over the mob; of law over anarchy.

Furthermore, they have taken a step which should go far toward soothing any lynching urges which may arise, from time to time, around the state. And they have set an example for other states. Realization that the full power of the state will "crack down" on lynchers will assuage the major part of the zeal toward lynching which animates most mobs.

To the nation, this action, especially when contrasted with California's bestial complaisance, helps destroy the widespread impression that Maryland law is a mockery and Maryland government a weakling.

Governor Ritchie should push this prosecution through to the limit.

And there is also another thing which must be done. He and the legislators and all other state agencies should spare no effort toward building up such a strong judiciary and such a strong system of law enforcement; should improve criminal procedure, so that the one most frequent alibi of the lyncher should be removed—the alibi of slow justice.

Meanwhile, the state should be grateful that its Governor and its attorney general have recognized the mistakes they made two years ago, and have had the courage to adopt an entirely different course.

Lynchings—1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3958

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
RECORD

NOV 29 1933

TWO LYNCHINGS AND TWO GOVERNORS

It ought to be easy for anyone above the grade of moron to reach a conclusion that a lynching in a civilized community is a monstrosity, and that condoning lynching is an invitation to anarchy.

But apparently it isn't easy. Intelligent and respectable men and women are found defending mob murder on the ground that some criminals escape the courts or on the ground that the man lynched committed a crime so heinous that he deserved no protection from the law.

They don't see that the lynch victim committed one ghastly crime and that the lynchers committed another which is legally and ethically distinct from the first. And that the law must, for the protection of the State, deal with the second crime as firmly as the first.

* * *

No illustration could more effectively clear away this confusion than a comparison of the courses Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, and Governor Rolph, of California, are pursuing toward mobs in their respective States.

The crimes that set off the two lynchings were equally revolting, equally calculated to arouse mob passion. The race element that exists in Maryland is balanced by the fear of kidnaping that exists in California.

In neither case did the mob stop at merely executing the victims. Both mobs displayed fiendish delight as the bodies dangled in the air. Both fought over the corpses for souvenirs. Both gave evidence that the "sporting element" was conspicuously present.

So far the cases parallel. Now they diverge.

The Governor of California praises the lynchers as patriots and offers to pardon anyone who is arrested. He says the lynching will be a "lesson" to kidnapers.

The Governor of Maryland, after trying in vain for five weeks to get some action from local authorities afraid of their political skins, finally sends troops to arrest the suspected ringleaders of the mob.

Four of them are arrested and the troops use their weapons to keep the prisoners when another mob makes an attempt to release them by violence. Governor Ritchie wants to cite these prisoners as a "lesson" to future lynchers.

Governor Rolph, by his stand, prefers the rule of the mob to the processes of law established by the people. He prefers judgment by drunken men, sportive boys and sadistic women to judgment by the courts of the State he governs. He sweeps away the results of centuries of struggle for the establishment of orderly justice. He praises an action that the most primitive of tribes is quite as capable of executing as the "patriotic" San Jose lynchers.

His attitude makes his own official position ridiculous. Why pay the Judges and the Governor of California if a mob can administer California justice better?

And if he is in favor of lynching these criminals, why not all criminals? Where is he going to draw the line? Or is the mob going to draw it? And if the mob got men who were guilty this time, is the Governor sure that the next gang of "patriots" out for an evening's excitement won't get innocent men?

* * *

Governor Rolph's way is the easy way. The way a man like Rolph would consider the politically popular way.

Ritchie's way is the difficult way, the way that takes courage. **Sending troops against an aroused community in the hands of an outlaw element requires a respect for the fundamental duties of the Governorship that Rolph hasn't and Ritchie has.**

The Maryland Governor shows how seriously he considers lynch law when he uses the most drastic means at his command to suppress and punish it.

Perhaps it is too much to hope that the ringleaders of the Princess Anne mob will ever be convicted and punished. But at least Ritchie's action has the educational effect of making it clear to his fellow Marylanders that he and his advisers consider lynching in a class with treason against the State.

If Ritchie reduces lynching in Maryland and Rolph extends mob law in California, nobody need be surprised.

SUN
SPRINGFIELD, O.

NOV 30 1933

CONTAGIOUS

There was a lynching in Maryland recently. Probably most members of the mob which engaged in the lynching of the California kidnapers had read about that Maryland lynching. Perhaps they had read about it with sympathy, perhaps with disapproval, perhaps largely with indifference. But their knowledge of that lynching and of others had infected their minds so that when certain circumstances arose they were ready to participate in this type of crime.

Following the California lynching and its approval by the governor of California, there has been a Missouri lynching. Whatever part the Maryland and California affairs may have played in this Missouri case it is highly probable that another, similar case of mob violence in the same state nearly three years ago was a factor. It is reported that some who took part in the latest affair were recognized as having participated in the earlier one.

At that time, while the governor of Missouri gave no indorsement to the violence, the then governor of Louisiana, following the assault which led to the lynching of the alleged perpetrator, but before that had taken place, issued a statement to the effect that if the incident had occurred in his state, Louisiana citizens would have known how to deal with the attacker.

There is plenty of evidence that all kinds of crimes are more or less contagious, but mass crimes are, probably, more contagious than any other. One factor in a good many crimes is the desire of the criminal to increase his feeling of self-importance. In the minds of the low grade type of people who participate in lynchings and in other forms of mob violence there is always the feeling that it is something noteworthy to have been a member of a mob and to have taken part in a lynching.

Such persons may, in some cases, indulge in other crimes for the same motive. There are usually persons with criminal records in every mob. But there are a good many others who would not indulge in independent criminality because of the risk involved and who feel in a mob they can let themselves go, get the satisfaction of participating in a crime which will attract the attention of the world and run no risk of punishment.

When a lynching has recently taken place there is always more risk of other lynchings when circumstances suggesting them arise, because the contagion of this sort of violence is at work in the susceptible minds of the type of persons indicated.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
MORNING PUBLIC LEDGER

NOV 28 1933

DOUBLY DISGRACED

A LYNCHING is a crime, an offense against society and an insult to the law, no matter what other crime may provoke it. The mob which hanged the two confessed kidnappers of Brooke Hart in San Jose, Calif., cannot be excused because its victims had perpetrated a cruel crime for which death was the fitting penalty. Vengeance belongs to the law, not to an irresponsible and bloodthirsty crowd of self-appointed executioners. If blame can be fixed for this outbreak of mob violence its ringleaders must be brought to justice, or else the local and State authorities responsible for maintaining order will stand disgraced as accessories to a dreadful crime.

The decent citizens of California will recognize this lynching as an outrage and scandal. And they will share the widespread indignation of the American people against the statement of their Governor, who professes to believe that by defiant lawlessness California has set a good example to the rest of the Nation. "This," he said, "is the best lesson California has ever given the country. We show the country that the State is not going to tolerate kidnapping."

Such a statement might properly have been made if the capture of these kidnappers had been followed by swift trial and conviction according to law. But in extenuation of a lynching it is abominable, a reversion to the crude code and practice of the past, when corrupt and ineffectual government sometimes left the citizens little alternative than to take the law into their own hands. Does Governor Rolph mean by his pompous statement that his own office and authority and the police and courts of California have abdicated to the mob? Does he willfully insult the American people by inviting them to follow this disgraceful example?

Many law-abiding citizens are impatient of the law's delays and the evasions whereby criminals may escape the consequences of their offenses. But Governor Rolph, by virtue of his office, represents law and order in California and is sworn to uphold them. His statements add a second scandal to the lynching. The Governor of California has made braggart excuses for a crime which defies his own authority and disgraces the Commonwealth in which it occurred.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN

DEC 4 1933

Does Our Correspondent Want To Defend Lynching?

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* A reflective mind cannot help but wonder at the turmoil over the effacing of a couple of bad Negroes. What is the underlying cause?

If as much zeal had been displayed in enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment one could think that respect for law was the underlying cause, but, as it is, one wonders. Lynching may have slain its thousands, but alcohol has slain its tens of thousands. DRY SAGE.

College Park, Md., Nov. 30, 1933.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.
DEMOCRAT & CHRONICLE
NOV 30 1933

More 'Lessons' in Mob Law

The lynching at San Jose, according to Governor Rolph of California, was "a fine lesson to the whole nation." Since then St. Joseph, Mo., and Salisbury, Md., have provided two more lessons, similar in spirit if not in detail. The theory behind all these lessons is that when the law is too slow to suit any particular group, mob justice should be substituted for it. Governor Rolph has intimated that so far as he is concerned any mob that decides a particular prisoner ought to be hanged can go ahead and hang him, with no molestation from him.

An example was promptly given at St. Joseph, Mo., of this theory in practical operation. There a mob broke into the county jail, dragged out a 19-year-old Negro, hanged him to a tree and burned his body. Then the crowd made public holiday, nobody caring apparently whether the victim was guilty or innocent of the crime charged. In Maryland, the mob temper was shown in a different but no less striking way when state militia tried to carry out the law by arresting participants in the Princess Anne lynching of a few weeks ago.

Once started, the lynching frenzy spreads like a prairie fire. To substitute lynch law for court law is to substitute insanity for reason, idiocy for intellect. It has absolutely no place in our American system unless we wish to throw overboard all law, all order and replace it with anarchy and chaos.

Any public official who encourages or excuses mob law must bear a share of responsibility for the excesses to which mob law leads. The country has had a vivid illustration of such excesses. It takes only a spark to set loose the mob mania. Just now, with the public temper on edge everywhere, the dreadful possibilities are all too apparent.

MARION, O.
STAR
NOV 28 1933

California's Best Lesson.

James Rolph Jr., governor of California, declares the hanging of Jack Holmes and Thomas H. Thurmond, confessed kidnapers and murderers of Brooke Hart, "is the best lesson California has ever given the nation."

"We have shown the country that California will not tolerate kidnapers," the governor reasons. As the state's chief administrative officer, he would do better to keep on reasoning.

Holmes and Thurmond, brutal murderers of a young man in whom their only interest was the possibility of extortion from members of his family, deserved nothing but contempt. In that Americans agree with Governor Rolph. Had their offense been committed in Ohio, it would have been just as easy to assemble a lynching mob.

Ohio hopes, however, that if such a situation ever should develop within its boundaries, its governor will not give lynching the approval of his praise. No matter how great the crime nor how strong the resentment of the people, lynching is not justified. Not even certainty of guilt is enough to justify it.

Dependence upon the processes of justice imposes the obligation to permit those processes to run their course. No community which, in anger, sets aside due processes of law by mob action has a clear claim to a state of civilization. The fact that residents of San Jose, Calif., took the lives of two murderers who had confessed their guilt does not constitute any differentiation between them and residents of a community who take the life of a Negro for an alleged attack on a white woman. The element of racial hatred was not present when San Jose organized its lynching mob, but that merely signifies the absence of a motive which makes lynching in some backward communities seem inevitable.

A California community has proved and a California governor has sanctioned the proof that the state will not tolerate kidnapers. If the proof had been given by constitutional means, it would be welcome. Under the circumstances, unfortunately, it can be accepted only as a sign that the state is proud of its lawlessness. For shame, Governor Rolph!

TROY, N. Y.
RECORD
NOV 30 1933

EXECUTIVES AND LAW.

A public official is sworn to observe the law. He is in a position where he might exert moral as well as physical influence. Chosen by the people he should perform his duties so he will eventually retire with the good will of those he has served.

Governor Rolph of California is at the head of one of our great states. When he expressed the opinion that the mob that lynched the two men who brutally murdered young Hart was justified, he showed that he lacked proper appreciation of the responsibilities of his position. The crime was cold-blooded in the extreme. It aroused the indignation of millions of persons. But it was not committed in the jungles of Africa. In the very heart of civilization there was the promise that justice would exact a proper penalty. Even a possible delay in securing conviction should not have been considered any excuse for an act which really turned the lynchers into medieval executioners.

Governor Rolph is at least partly responsible for the lynching in Missouri last Tuesday night. His remarks in regard to the California affair had been carried far and wide. Thousands of persons who seem to think they have a right to take the law in their own hands found an excuse for participating in a barbarous act in Missouri. While the hapless brute who brought the fury of a maddened mob upon his head was suspended above a roaring fire, little children looked on as though they were being treated to an elevating spectacle.

Governor Guy B. Park of Missouri lost no time in expressing his opinion on the lynching in his state. In a statement he said that "there is no justification" for the act. He was right. And so was Governor Albert C. Ritchie of Maryland. The latter was right when he called out the guardsmen of his state to prevent the freeing of four men who had been charged with participating in the lynching at Princess Anne last month.

Governor Rolph's opinion is opposed by the opinion of two other governors. Perhaps he felt that the enormity of the crime which aroused the indignation of his state called for unusual measures. Perhaps he was hoping that the time might come when the courts would be strengthened sufficiently to end the law's delays. But he blundered piteously when he expressed the views he did. He may have won the good will of a part of the people but he did not gain the confidence of those citizens who are determined to fight every unlawful act to the last ditch.

The issue between lynchers and the law is plain. If the former are permitted to have their own way, they will eventually create a reign of terror which will be attended with terrible conditions. If the latter extends its strong arm, it will have no reasons to worry over the outcome. The self-respecting citizens of this country will back it through thick and thin. The remedy for present evils is to insist upon improvement of legal methods, not the destruction of such methods altogether.

PORTLAND, ORE.
OREGONIAN
NOV 29 1933

TWO GOVERNORS.

Two chief executives of American commonwealths have afforded us, by their diametrically opposed concepts of duty, the problems being almost identical, a comparison that appears to contain the substance of a necessary lesson in sound government. It is a lesson to be considered without anger or prejudice.

Governor James Rolph Jr. of California refused to employ the militia to defend two confessed murderers and kidnapers. They were lynched after the jail had been stormed and taken. The governor then reiterated his opinion that such justice was desirable, and declared that all kidnapers should be so dealt with. He added that were the leaders of the vengeance mob captured and convicted he would immediately grant them full pardons.

Governor Albert C. Ritchie of Maryland, two days after the California lynching, called out the national guard to prevent the release, by a manifestly similar mob, of prisoners charged with having been leaders in the recent lynching of a negro. The mob was with difficulty repulsed by means of tear gas.

In the attack upon the California prison, the sheriff, who had attempted resistance, was struck in the head by a thrown missile, and severely injured. The mob threatened the life of a third prisoner, in addition to those of the two kidnapers that were seized and hanged.

In the outbreak of mob violence in Maryland the rioters pursued the attorney-general of the state with intent to do him bodily violence. He escaped in an automobile, the windows of which were shattered by stones.

There is nationwide enthusiasm over the refusal of Governor Rolph to uphold the law, which provides that only by due legal process shall the lives of criminals be required of them. It is true that there also is criticism of his conduct, but the voice of protest is difficult to hear in the tumult of approval.

No enthusiasm, either local or national, for the fidelity of an executive, is yet apparent in the Maryland instance, in so far as published reports enable one to ascertain. Governor Ritchie, who upheld the law, undoubtedly will reap both censure and praise. Already he has been targeted bitterly by the former. Such praise as he receives will be pallid by contrast.

Here, then, are the governors of two great states, each having sworn to be true to his trust, each exercising his executive functions under very similar statutes. The one departs utterly from his instruction and obligation, counting the circumstance sufficient to justify this course. The other abides by his duty, considering the obligation to be such as will not admit of an individual impulse to disregard it.

Two governors, of two great sister states—Governor Rolph of California, and Governor Ritchie of Maryland.

All of the foregoing is no more than mere repetition of recent news. No attempt has been made at analysis. Nor scarcely any at comment. The facts, and only the facts, have been set down.

Which of these two governors is, in your opinion, best fitted to govern an American commonwealth?

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3959

CANTON, O.
REPOSITORY

NOV 28 1933

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Parallels to Recent Lynchings In Many of 3,762 Cases Since '89

Records Show Acts of Mob Violence Have Declined Steadily Since the Civil War; 2,954 of Total Were Negroes; 1932 Had Low Record With 8

N.Y. Herald Tribune 12/3/33

Although the three recent lynchings in dissimilar communities have widely aroused public opinion throughout the country, the fact remains that lynching, as a typical American way of dispensing with the process of law, has always been with us. Since the Civil War lynchings have markedly declined, but outbreaks of mob violence continue to be frequent.

From 1889, when records of lynching began to be kept, to 1932, 3,745 persons have been killed by mob violence. This excludes several race riots in various Middle Western and Southern cities. Of these, [illegible] were white men and 2,954 were Negroes. In 1889, 176 persons were lynched, while in 1932 eight met death at the hands of the mob. To date this year seventeen persons have been lynched, according to unofficial records, bringing the total since 1889 to 3,762. In 1930 twenty-one were lynched, and in 1931 thirteen.

N.Y. Herald
Tribune
12-3-33

Statements similar to that of Governor James Rolph of California promising protection to the San Jose lynchers have been made by other State Executives, and Governor Albert C. Ritchie's use of a National Guard battalion to take the Princess Anne lynchers into custody after the local authorities had refused to enforce the law has had precedents.

Sentences Usually Light

Governors and officials have run for election on promises to relax anti-lynching laws. In many cases courts have refused to proceed against leaders of lynching mobs, although it would have been relatively simple for the state to make a case against them. When indictments have been returned in a comparatively small number of cases, sentences have been usually light. Out of twenty-one lynchings in 1930 only forty-nine persons from the thousands in the mobs and on the sidelines have been indicted. Only four have been sentenced.

Cole Blease, when Governor of South Carolina in 1911, said: "Whenever the Constitution comes between men and the virtue of white women of South Carolina I say 'to hell with the Constitution!'"

Governor Dan Moody of Texas once said to National Guardsmen: "Hold the Negro, if possible, but don't shoot anybody." During the first six months of 1919, after President Wilson's plea to end lynchings, six men were burned. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People demanded an investigation from the various Governors. Four, Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, W. P. Hobby of Texas, Hugh M. Dorsey of Georgia and Charles Brough of Arkansas, refused to answer. One, Sidney J. Catts of Florida, took the association to task and said: "There is no use bringing the lynchers to trial, the citizenship will not stand for it. . . . If any man, white or black, should dishonor one of my family he would meet my pistol square from the shoulder, and every white man in the South, who is a red-blooded American, feels the same as I do."

Alabama Board for Investigation

On the other side was the State Law Enforcement Board of Governor Bibbs Graves in Alabama, which in at least one case invaded the so-called "county rights," removed all the local officers, made a thorough investigation of the lynching and caused the resignation of several local officials. The board was abolished by the Governor's successor.

The scenes of lynching are usually rural places below the general economic and social average or regressive towns. Many surveys have been conducted to determine this fact.

"It is a rural Southern county," writes J. H. Chadbourn in "Lynching and the Law," "characterized in general by social and economic decadence. For example, it is below the state average in per capita tax valuation, bank deposits, income from farm and factory, income tax returns and ownership of automobiles."

Lynchers Usually Young

In such a belated frontier, the shiftless elements of the population, the propertyless younger group, without real jobs and without real responsibility, serve as good raw material for a lynching mob. It is in no way contrary to the usual lynch riot that an eighteen-year-old boy rounded up San Jose's speakeasy guests and organized the mob that lynched Thomas M. Thurmond and John M. Holmes. The average age of the mob, according to Dr. Arthur Raper, of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, in "The Tragedy of Lynching," is from eighteen to twenty-five. Frequently older men lead the group or make suggestions.

The cruelty of mobs has long furnished the students of crowd psychology with their best laboratory material. "Let him die slowly," is a cry that most observers of a lynching have heard from many throats. Anything to prolong the agony is resorted to.

In addition to its cruelty, the typical lynch mob has a complete disregard for property. Since the majority of the mobs are men without possessions and of a low sense of responsibility, they suffer no sense of personal loss in destruction. In the lynching of a Negro, accused of assaulting a white woman, at Sherman, Tex., in 1930, the mob destroyed the Grayson County Courthouse and then fired the entire Negro business section of the town, valued at between $50,000 and $100,000. It refused to let firemen play their hoses on the burning building, and to enforce its order, the rioters cut up the hoses into little pieces.

Often Hold Mock Trials

According to Dr. Raper, the mob, out of a mistaken desire to convince the world at large of its right to lynch a man, often holds a mock trial or forces a confession out of the victim by a mock third degree. In the lynching of two Negroes at Scooba, Miss., in 1930, the third degree was applied by the nooses which had already been slipped over the heads of the men. When they refused to answer questions, they were snapped off the ground, then lowered so they could answer. One man expired by strangulation, never confessing the robbery of which he was accused, while his partner, to end the agony, blurted out a statement before being swung aloft for the last time.

This tendency of the mob to believe rumors has also been good material for the psychologists. The craving of modern persons for violence, and the fierceness of usually peaceful people when aroused, partly explains their extreme willingness to believe anything which would contribute toward giving them a thrill and a sense of power. The lynching party and the man-hunt, the baying of the dogs in the dead of night, and the entire scene lit by the flaring of pine-knots or fuel-oil torches, affords a good road to emotional escape from drab lives most lynchers usually lead.

The mob is not always of the lower class of the population, Dr. Raper says. In some cases respectible citizens lead the entire affair, plan it and see that everything is done in the proper order, while other respectable persons in the community sell the mob its necessary implements, including rope, gasoline, matches, faggots, ammunition and arms.

Majority for Homicide

One of the most bruited untruths about lynching is the common statement of the lynching-apologists: "We've got to lynch a nigger now and then to protect our women." The records show, however, that 1,406 lynchings since 1889 were for homicide, while only 623 were for rape. At least eighty Negro women have been lynched.

"These assumptions have been kept alive," Dr. Raper says, "by certain types of politicians who keep themselves in office by appeals to racial fear and antagonism."

It is interesting to note here that in no country during peacetime, except the United States, does lynching and mob violence form such an important part in the roster of crimes. Revolutions, whether Fascist or Communist, have their own particular forms of mob violence and choose their victims in their own peculiar way. The American lynch mob batters down the jail door, attacks the sheriff, pours on gasoline and uses the rope.

Another common excuse for lynching is that "the law is too slow." As far back as 1893, according to Dr. Chadbourn, the Georgia Bar Association said that a growing distrust in the promptness and efficiency of the law caused many lynchings. Also the fear that sentence would not be severe enough was responsible for many more. Added to these feelings on the part of lynching mobs was the assurance that no action would be taken against the lynchers by the state. Although six states—Alabama, Indiana, Kentucky, Virginia, Kansas and North Carolina—have laws against lynching, the mobs do not seem to fear them. In other

states the victim of a lynch mob, if he survives, or his heirs, can take civil action for damages against the county. Still these precautions do not seem to deter the rioters.

"It would seem that no structural inadequacy of existing judicial agencies for the punishment of crime accounts for the record," Dr. Chadbourn writes. "Our traditional forms of procedure probably need no fundamental change. The problem is to meet the elusive human factor in a system of good laws administered by fallible men."

Here the conflicting attitudes of Governors Ritchie, Guy B. Parks of Missouri, and Rolph are only too apparent. Governor Rolph knew of the attempted lynching several hours before it happened, yet he did not leave his executive chambers for fear that some one would send out the National Guard. Governor Ritchie, after consistently warning the authorities of Somerset County to take the necessary legal action against the lynchers, used the militia in a forceful and efficient fashion. Governor Parks also used the troops to protect Lloyd Warner, and when the mob was successful he ordered a thorough investigation and said that the state would help the local authorities to enforce the law.

Governor Rolph disposed of the lynching by promising to grant executive clemency to the mob. Governor Richie suggested to the state judges to remove the attorney of Somerset County; and when the judges freed the four suspects on grounds of insufficient evidence he lashed out sharply at them.

Regarding the attitudes of sheriffs and peace officers, Dr. Raper quotes a common remark as explanation: "Do you think I'm going to risk my life protecting a nigger?" In most cases sheriffs and deputies act in connivance with the mob. In a Mississippi lynching several years ago the sheriff promised the mob to turn the prisoner over to it at 4 o'clock promptly.

Other times they are in sympathy with the lynching, and simply look the other way. Occasionally sheriffs put up a fight, take the word of their election promises seriously and try to protect the prisoners. But this subject usually depends upon the caliber and personality of the man. Politics, too, plays a part: the lynch mob is usually the sovereign electorate, and the sheriff cannot afford to antagonize it.

The use of the National Guard, while usually effective, has a bad after effect. Bad blood is created, and the town or community usually goes into open rebellion against the state. Salisbury, Md., is a case in point, where the mob battled the troopers with a vengeance, and were dispersed only at the point of fixed bayonets and with tear gas.

BUFFALO, N. Y.
COURIER EXPRESS

NOV 30 1933

LESSON OF SAN JOSE

One of the most harmful things said by Governor Rolph in his tragedy of errors respecting the San Jose lynching was his prelynching remark that he would not call out the state troops "to protect those two guys."

That reflects a common misconception of the purpose of protection, armed if necessary, of the law's prisoners. Though we do not believe that the governor of California himself misunderstood, he nevertheless gave currency to this most mischievous misunderstanding. When the law protects its prisoners, it protects, of course, itself. But it does more than that: it protects its citizens against themselves.

Law is a necessity as well as a convenience. It recognizes not only the need of society for protection against its anti-social elements: it recognizes just as clearly the fact that society can not be trusted to punish its enemies except through the law's orderly processes. Take away such processes of the law and we have scenes, as the Associated Press described the San Jose lynching, like this:

"Not unlike a carnival crowd was the throng of several thousand persons who jammed St. James Park to witness the lynching. . . . Men, women and children of all ages and babes in arms were there. Over the statue erected to William McKinley they swarmed for points of vantage until it was a black mass of humanity."

A community's life, like that of an individual, is an accumulation of experiences. Lynchings leave ugly scars. One lynching invites another. A St. Joseph (Mo.) mob was quick to follow what Governor Rolph so enthusiastically called the lesson of San Jose. Missouri's mob seems to have needed the law's protection against itself even more than did that of California. The victim at St. Joseph is said to have been burned alive before his body was hanged.

Events at Princess Anne, Md., some may say, show that the people can not be saved from themselves once they have determined to take the law into their own hands and avenge a crime promptly. Mobs in their beginning are not representative of the people. Virtually always the first members are loafers who welcome something exciting to do. Better elements are added as the fury grows. If the law in Somerset County, Md., had manifested itself promptly and unmistakably on the night of October 18th, no mob would have been formed. Governor Ritchie now has a difficult job on his hands. Substantial citizens apparently are involved, victims of the madness. It is to be hoped that he will be able to carry it through, nevertheless. Particularly is it to be hoped that the law-abiding citizens of Princess Anne will see to it that conditions are such that he can carry it through.

Society must have law to protect its citizens from anti-social elements; but most of all to protect them from themselves. That is the lesson of San Jose. The mob at St. Joseph can be heard clearly above the piping voice of California's governor.

BALTIMORE, MD.
POST

NOV 30 1933

PALMISANO SCORES FEDERAL LYNCH LAW

Says States Should Have Power to Curb Mob Rule

Representative Vincent L. Palmisano is against lynching, but also against a federal anti-lynching law. He believes the state laws, or even the state constitution, should be amended so that the Governor and the Attorney General will have the power to intervene when county government breaks down.

"I am not yet ready to hand over to the federal government functions which should be performed by the state," he said today. "I don't know whether there are any anti-lynch bills before Congress now, but I doubt whether I would support them—not until I am ready to hand over to the federal government the entire administration of justice.

"If we are unable to maintain order and administer justice ourselves, and have to turn such things over to the federal government, we might as well abolish state lines and centralize all powers in the federal government. I'm not ready to go that far yet."

Rep. T. Alan Goldsborough, the Eastern Shore congressman, stated at his home in Denton today that he had no comment to make on any anti-lynching legislation in Congress or elsewhere. He also declined to discuss lynching in any way.

"It is a beautiful day down here," he said, "and it looks like a fine Thanksgiving."

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
EVENING PUBLIC LEDGER

NOV 29 1933

RITCHIE VS. ROLPH

THE swelling tide of condemnation of Governor Rolph's praise of the California mob which lynched two confessed kidnappers is no stronger or more effective than Governor Ritchie's handling of the situation growing out of the recent lynching in Maryland.

Speaking by example, through the sending of Maryland National Guardsmen to arrest suspected members of the Princess Anne mob, Governor Ritchie has declared emphatically that two wrongs cannot make a right. His attitude and action are in strongest contrast to the exhibition of official degradation by Governor Rolph in commending the San Jose outrage and promising to pardon any of the "fine patriots" who might be arrested and convicted for participation in that crime.

Two of the most atrocious crimes in the catalogue preceded these lynchings. They were crimes that quickly arouse the emotions that lead to mob acts. The excuse has been offered that complaints of the law's delays were in part responsible for these mass brutalities. Even this effort to justify the California outrage was voided by the discovery of the body of the kidnapped youth, which removed the obstacle to prompt prosecution of the abductors. But those who share the attitude of California's Executive cannot justify mob acts, much less the violation by Governor Rolph of his oath to uphold law and order.

His attitude is an incentive to further mob violence in California and elsewhere. Its influence spanned the continent to become apparent even on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Sixteen citizens of that area have telegraphed their congratulations to Governor Rolph. Undoubtedly his demagogic statements gave some encouragement to the Maryland crowd that attempted to interfere with the National Guardsmen who were sent to carry out a task which the local authorities, whether through lack of courage or sympathy with the mob, had failed to perform.

No one who has ever witnessed the emotional insanity or the reversion to primitive brutality exhibited at lynchings, leading even to the ghastly fighting for "souvenirs" would in his right senses attempt to condone such an act. Those who attempt to defend it do not have logic and right on their side. Governor Rolph merits universal condemnation for degrading to an extent almost unbelievable his high office.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
MORNING PUBLIC LEDGER

DEC 1 1933

THE SPIRIT OF THE MOB

RELEASE of the four suspected lynchers by the State Circuit Court at Princess Anne, Maryland, was, of course, a foregone conclusion since it was formally opposed by neither State nor local prosecuting officials. But correspondents report that the crowd which packed the courtroom barely tolerated the judicial procedure and that, if it had not been hastened, the prisoners would have been released by force. The hearing took eight minutes.

The night-long celebration of this "victory" by the crowd, marked by molestation of strangers or of any who appeared reluctant to join in the rejoicings, and threatening a fresh outbreak by the mob at any minute, expressed a spirit that was acutely analyzed by a PUBLIC LEDGER correspondent in yesterday's issue. These people of the lower Eastern Shore are characterized by a curious clannishness, a desire for sectional isolation from the rest of the State and the privilege of making and enforcing their own laws and customs. Their state of mind is one of smoldering resentment against the central authority and any suggestion of what they regard as interference with their own affairs, ready to flame into open defiance as in Tuesday's attack on the National Guard.

"We won in California and we've won here!" shouted the crowd at Princess Anne. Mob rule has triumphed temporarily in California, but the heartening statement issued by leading citizens, headed by Mr. Hoover, condemning the double lynching at San Jose and its laudation by Governor Rolph, surely must express the responsible, intelligent judgment of its people.

A "humiliation and shame" have been heaped upon a California community, as they say, "which the whole State must share." And the State of Maryland, which has likewise been humiliated, must act to wipe out the disgrace put upon it by those who have trodden justice under foot.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions

White Press, Northern.

3960

STANDARD UNION

B'klyn, N.Y.

NOV 29 1933

The Crime of Lynch Law.

Condoning the crime of lynching is difficult, as the Brooklyn Times Union said on Monday, but the extenuating circumstances entering into the situation at San Jose, Cal., are not present, and of course are not controlling, in the condition now existing in Maryland. In the California case white men executed the "wild justice of revenge" on white men accused of a hideous crime that undermines the social structure, invades the family circle, and all for the most sordid motive that can be conceived by the depraved mind.

In the Maryland case, a mob of white men invaded the jail in which a black man was confined on a charge of assaulting a white woman; seized the wretched victim, hanged him and burned the body with gasoline. Governor Ritchie of Maryland, in endeavoring to repair the great wrong inflicted on the name of his State, has dispatched troops to the site of the crime, arrested some of the ringleaders, and will put them on their defense in court for the cruel and brutal slaying of a defenseless man.

And the horror of the situation is accentuated by the action of a mob of 7,000 who overwhelmed the sheriff and his deputies at St. Joseph, Mo., took from the county jail a nineteen-year-old negro boy, hanged him to a tree in front of the courthouse, and burned the dead body. The accusation was similar to that in the Maryland case, but in the Missouri instance the prisoner confessed the crime and besought an early trial. This was refused, and the lynching followed.

The security of our institutions, indeed the preservation of American civilization, depends not only on adherence to the form, but to the spirit of our laws and the repression of mob manifestations that end in murder.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND
TIMES

NOV 9 1933

By Grant W. Hawkins

I do not wish to impress any one with the fact that I am a student of history, but I have had some training along that line. In all my historical training, beginning in the grades and ending in university, I was taught that Maryland always proudly referred to itself as, "The Free State!"

Recent happenings in Maryland have led me, along with many others, to doubt the veracity of that statement. The happenings that I refer to are the two lynchings that have occured in Maryland within the last two years.

The pitiful part about the last lynching was the fact that it could have been avoided. The prisoner, a Negro, had been moved from the scene of the alleged crime to a more secure place of imprisonment.

However, on the advice of the local judge and the state's attorney, he was returned. Later a mob gathered, overpowered the police, broke into the jail, dragged the man into the street, and committed their ghastly sin.

It is charged that there were approximately 5,000 participants in this grewsome affair, yet the state's attorney for the county said that he could find no evidence of sufficient importance to give to the grand jury.

Judge Robert B. Duer went to the jail while the mob was in its incipiency. He addressed the persons who were there and told them that he knew almost all of them. Notwithstanding all that, the state's attorney insists that an investigation had not turned up a bit of evidence.

In the author's humble opinion, such gross inefficiency on the part of a public official should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. On "the morning after" Judge Duer said that he was deeply grieved. Governor Albert Ritchie said that he was "shocked beyond expression." I wonder if these gentlemen were expressing pure sentiment or if they were just uttering so many words. We shall be able to tell by later developments.

TORONTO, ONT.
MAIL & EMPIRE

NOV 8 1933

LYNCHING MOBS IN THE STATES UNLIKELY TO BE PUNISHED.

One American record seems in little danger of being broken, and that is the record of no lyncher being seriously punished by law for the mass murder in which he took part. It had seemed at one time that among the mob that recently lynched a negro at Princess Anne, Maryland, there were several who could not escape. They were known and recognized by officers of the law. The judge who made the mistake of permitting the prisoner to be removed from the security of a Baltimore jail 100 miles from Princess Anne, to the place where feeling against him was dangerously high, sought to correct his error by hastening to St. Anne before the lynching occurred. He tried to reason with the crowd and told many that he recognized them. The sheriff was also in the crowd and talked with leaders of the lynching party. Moreover, the deputy sheriff who had been warned in advance to get his family out of the jail was on the scene. There were in addition several state troopers who had a hand-to-hand encounter with some of the lynchers.

It would seem here that there would be no difficulty in securing evidence. But in the face of these facts, all of which are a matter of record, the state's attorney has reported formally that he can find no evidence which would justify him in going before the grand jury and asking for an indictment. Yet in his investigation the attorney presumably has had the strong backing of Governor Ritchie, who declared himself "shocked beyond words" when he heard of the crime. The local judge also said that he was "deeply grieved," and his undoubted efforts to dissuade the mob indicates that he meant what he said.

The meaning of the state's failure to collect evidence is plain enough. It cannot get witnesses. Either those in a position to identify the leaders of the mob are afraid to do so, or they sympathize with them. All the officials concerned are elective. If they do not please the community in which the lynching took place they will not be re-elected. Their jobs are at stake. They are asked to give evidence against not only voters who can oust them but perhaps against personal friends and neighbors. So the effort to punish these murderers collapses unless Governor Ritchie can exert even stronger pressure upon the reluctant officers.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
STAR

NOV 28 1933

California and Maryland Lynchings

Horrible though the murder of a kidnaped man in California was, the lynching of the slayers by a mob at San Jose, with the benediction of the Governor of the State, was even more shocking, more dangerous to the public security. Mob justice can be tolerated and condoned in any degree only when there is justifiable fear that the law will be defeated by delay and obstruction. In the California case there was no ground for such fear. The case against the accused men was as perfect as possible. They had confessed, the body of their victim had been found and there was no reason whatever to expect an escape from conviction and penalty. In a mad moment a mob formed, the jail was stormed and the accused were taken and lynched, in the presence of a multitude, including women and children, who cheered the lynchers. Immediately the Governor of the State, in what was virtually an official proclamation, pledged that the perpetrators of this outrage would not be punished and that he would pardon any who might be arrested for complicity in the lynching.

While this was happening the Governor of Maryland set about to assure the arrest of a group of men who had been identified as the lynchers of a man accused of an atrocious crime and of whose orderly trial, conviction and legal punishment there was no doubt. To do this required courage for it ran counter to a strong local sentiment in the area of the crimes—the original one and the later breach of the law involved in the lynching.

That there is too much delay in the trial of persons accused of crime is generally recognized. There was no suggestion, however, that justice would be defeated, or its execution unduly delayed, in California. The legal case against the accused had only just been established definitely with the discovery of the body of the victim when the mob formed and stormed the jail and wreaked vengeance. All the due processes of the law were swept aside. In some degree the Maryland case differed from that in California. There had been delay in Maryland, in some measure due to the fear that a legal, orderly trial could not be had in the region of the crime. As between the two cases, there was more justification for mob vengeance—if there is ever justification for it—in Maryland than in California. Yet the Governor of the latter State proclaims the deed as righteous, while the Governor of Maryland insists upon the prosecution of those guilty of taking the law into their own hands.

These two instances may bring about a sober consideration of the evil and the danger of lynching in this country. If this is to be a land of law and not of mob crime in the name of public justice there must be a reconstruction of the processes, to the end of a swifter, surer and more actually corrective process of trial and punishment. There can be no safety in a system of correction which depends upon the passions of the mob, especially when, as in California, it is given the support of the highest authorities in the State.

CHARLOTTE, N. C.
NEWS

NOV 29 1933

Governor in Fact.

Almost like a direct rebuke to California's Rolph is the personally and politically courageous action of Governor Ritchie of Maryland. Salisbury's crime was horrible, too — the raping by a Negro buck of a 71-year-old white woman. As much as San Jose's, the lynching which followed "was a case of lawlessness justifying lawlessness," so to speak as has been spoken by a contemporary.

But Governor Ritchie is possessed of the belief that he was sworn to uphold the constitution of his State; that lawlessness and disorder, no matter by what provoked, remain lawlessness and disorder; that the courts and not mobs shall punish wrongdoers.

Having some knowledge of Eastern Shoremen, we await with foreboding the news of reprisals and violent measures which may precipitate in Maryland a condition of virtual rebellion against the constituted authority. It is by all odds to be preferred, no matter what results, that a commonwealth should assert its sovereignty than to strike its colors at the gathering of mobs.

As a postscript, let it be chronicled again here that yesterday there was a lynching in Missouri.

[illegible]-HERALD
[illegible] 4 1933

An Interruption at Anti-Lynching Meeting

Herald Tribune photo—Frank

Unidentified woman storming down City College aisle to heckle Charles H. Tuttle, who presided. Negro woman in front row of audience, raising hands, is aghast at intrusion

1,400 Protesting Mob Violence Aroused Over Woman Heckler

'She Ought To Be Stomped,' Negro in City College Crowd Shouts as 'Madame X' Berates New York for Daring to Air Other States' 'Dirty Linen'

A mass meeting held in the Great Hall of City College to condemn mob violence, with particular reference to the San Jose, Calif., episode of last week, was moved almost to violence yesterday when a woman who refused to give her name stalked down the aisle and questioned the right of the meeting to "wash the dirty linen of California when there is so much dirty linen here in New York."

There were cries of "shut up," "throw her out," and as the woman hurriedly left before the meeting was adjourned one of the Negro participants said in a loud voice: "She's in favor of lynchings; she ought to be stomped."

Throughout the latter part of the meeting the woman was on her feet at the bottom of the steps of the dais in the great Gothic hall, heckling Charles H. Tuttle, former United States Attorney, and doing what she could to oppose the adoption of resolutions condemning Governor James Rolph jr. of California, calling for his resignation or removal, urging the passage of the Federal lynching bill in Congress and requesting President Roosevelt to use his good offices to see that the "Scottsboro boys" received a fair trial.

Another development in New York's anti-lynching protests was that the Rev. Dr. Henry Darlington, rector of the Church of the Heavenly Rest, Fifth Avenue and Ninetieth Street, who on Monday telegraphed "congratulations on the stand you have taken" to Governor Rolph, said in his pulpit yesterday morning that he should not have sent the telegram, adding:

"It is the duty of all good citizens to uphold the law, and I do not condone in any way the attempt of groups or individuals to take matters into their own hands."

The City College mass meeting was attended by 1,400 persons, many of them Negroes. The unknown woman refused repeatedly to tell her name. "Call me Madame X," she said. As her anger mounted, the crowd's ire grew. Women in the audience heckled her as she heckled Mr. Tuttle. In the audience were such distinguished persons as Bishop William T. Manning and Bernard S. Deutsch, president-elect of the Board of Aldermen.

"Madame X" carried a pencil with a sheaf of notes. She was tall, about thirty years old and well dressed. "Why wash the dirty linen of California and other states when there is so much dirty linen here in New York?" she screamed. "How about the Seabury investigation? Did you raise your voice against rotten politics here at that time and at the time of the kidnaping in New Jersey?"

Mr. Tuttle replied that he considered that his office had "started the Seabury investigation," and asked if the disturber meant the Lindbergh case when she referred to "the kidnaping in New Jersey." When told that was what she meant, Mr. Tuttle assured her that he had also taken a part in the investigation of that case and proceeded to put the question about the resolution of censure against Governor Rolph. The crowd which had been using its voice lustily to have her thrown out of the hall now vehemently passed the resolution.

"Those opposed?" said Mr. Tuttle, looking nervously at his heckler. "No-o-o-o!" she cried.

Another resolution was offered this time, concerning the "Scottsboro boys." Few were listening to it as the woman still stood her ground and angrily shouted retorts at people who were shouting at her.

"We don't have lynchings in this state!" one woman cried.

"Don't forget the dirt that goes on in this filthy hole," she shot back.

"All those in favor of the resolution will please signify by saying 'aye,'" said Mr. Tuttle with marked composure, in an effort to ignore the interruption.

"Aye," came a welling chorus.

"No-o-o-o-o!" came the voice of Madame X.

"You dirty Red," a man yelled, "you can't break up this meeting!"

"Throw her out! Throw her out!" the crowd cried in more menacing tone. A man approached her, took her by the arm and told her she would be arrested for breaking up a public meeting.

She pulled away from him.

A young man who had been trying to be heard for twenty minutes arose and offered a resolution commending the Governors of Maryland and of Missouri for their stand taken on mob violence. He first importuned the chair that he be given the floor and not be "subjected to this competition."

"Go ahead," said Mr. Tuttle, still ignoring the existence of the embattled Madame X, "You have no competition."

Madame X charged the steps, got her foot on the second riser and poised there, shaking her fist at Mr. Tuttle as she shrieked:

"We know about you, Mr. Tut-tut Tuttle!"

"We know all about that. Madame!" Mr. Tuttle replied a trifle stiffly. "Those in favor of the motion"——

This time Madame X had some one to vote with her.

"She's a lyncher! She's in favor of lynching! She ought to be stomped!" said a voice at the rear of the hall. An ominous rumble seemed to warn Madame X and she made for the rear exit. She left unhindered but sped on by catcalls, especially from the women in the audience.

The sum of the meeting's action was contained in the formal resolution sponsored by Mr. Tuttle, together with the approval of a telegram which Bishop Manning had drafted to the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Gould, president of the Ministers' Association of San Jose and two resolutions from the floor.

The Tuttle resolution denounced the recent lynchings in California "and the laudation there of by Governor Rolph." It called for the "resignation or removal" of the offending Governor and asked President Roosevelt to "rally the forces of order and decency against this reversion to primitive and cruel barbarism." In addition the resolution recommended to legislatures, the judiciary and the bar the "urgent need of making the administration of criminal law more certain and speedy and of removing from it all artificial restrictions upon the ascertainment of truth."

Copies of the resolution were ordered sent to the President, the presiding officers of both houses of Congress, Governor Herbert H. Lehman, the president of the American Bar Association and other public officials.

The telegram of Bishop Manning which was incorporated in the resolution follows:

"Your message received and read at mass meeting now assembled in New York, representing all faiths. We who are here assembled send our congratulations to you and the ministers of San Jose and vicinity upon your faithful and courgeous stand in behalf of law and justice. We join with you in condemnation of mob violence. We call upon public officials everywhere to put down lynchings with the whole strength of the law and we unqualifiedly condemn Governor Rolph for the betrayal of trust and the incitement of mob lawlessness of which he stands guilty before the state of California and the people of the United States. I am authorized by unanimous vote of this meeting to send you this message.

"WILLIAM T. MANNING."

In his address Mr. Tuttle said that the lack of popular confidence in the workings of criminal justice was the basis for the present outbreak of mass lawlessness.

"There has been growing progress in the war on crime," he said, "but no permanent advance can be made until we take our public prosecutors, like our judges, out of politics; until the political allies and protectors of organized crime are brought to the bar of justice and until our legal procedure has been made more flexible and relieved of outward fetiches."

Alfred J. Talley, former Judge of General Sessions, said that "The crime I am here today to denounce is not the crime of San Jose but the crime of Sacramento, because it was there in Sacramento, this important center of a great state, that the official who stood for law and order made the most disgraceful pronouncement that has ever come from the lips of a public official."

The present reign of lawlessness, he said, was attributable to the failure to teach religion nowadays. He also blamed the motion picture for its share "in holding up false standards of American life."

Mr. Deutsch, who recently was chairman of the mass meeting in Madison Square Garden condemning Nazi persecution of Jews, said that such occurrences as the San Jose lynchings had weakened the point of American protests against barbarisms abroad. "Our citizens are met with the counter-charge, 'Look at your own house; look what lynch law is doing to America.' The time has come when this sort of undermining of our institutions must stop, and at once."

The Rev. Dr. A. Clayton Powell, pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, one of the largest Negro congregations in the world, evoked laughter from the audience and even brought a smile and a nod of approval from Bishop Manning when he said that "whites and blacks have been too far apart in this country, but white and black agree this afternoon that the United States is in a hell of a mess."

Other speakers were Dr. Frederick B. Robinson, president of City College; Rabbi David de Sola Pool, of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, and the Rev. Dr. George Drew Egbert, of Flushing, Queens.

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6
Discussions.

White Press, Northern

3948

ROLPH MAINTAINS LYNCHING STAND

Times

Governor Refuses to 'Take Back One Word' Lauding San Jose Mob.

11-30-33

NO COMMENT ON PINCHOT

New York

He Ignores Mooney Reference—159 Messages Approve His Action, 33 Condemn It.

N.Y.

By The Associated Press.

SACRAMENTO, Nov. 29.—Governor Rolph declined to comment today on a dispatch quoting Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania as saying the California executive "certainly is crowding the mourners" in refusing to pardon Tom Mooney and yet "champion lynching."

Mr. Rolph did say, however, that "no bombs have been thrown since Mooney went to prison."

Messages expressing praise or condemnation for the Governors' approval of the lynching at San José Sunday night of the kidnaper-slayers of Brooke Hart continued to reach his office from various parts of the country. He has received 192 messages, of which 159 approved his stand while 33 criticized it.

The Governor showed particular interest in a telegram reading "Justice has triumphed," signed Edward P. Barry, former Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, sent from Jamaica Plains, Mass.

"I am not taking back one word I have uttered regarding kidnapping and the lynching of those who kidnapped," said Governor Rolph. "I am going to drive kidnapping out of California, no matter what the cost may be."

When informed of the St. Joseph (Mo.) lynching and asked to comment in light of his approval of the San José lynching of Sunday night, the Governor said:

"The cases are not parallel. Kidnapping was not involved in the St. Joseph lynching."

SAN JOSE, Cal., Nov. 29 (AP).—A burial permit was issued and immediate arrangements made for the funeral today of Thomas H. Thurmond. The permit called for interment in the same cemetery in which Brook Hart was buried Monday—Oak Hill Memorial Park. The Thurmond funeral services were to be private.

Arrangements for the burial of Holmes remained incomplete.

A new county grand jury was ordered to convene today. District Attorney Fred Thomas said it was "not expected" to take any action against the lynchers. He previously had stated that the grand jury would be "compelled to take action" on the lynching "if corroborated statements are presented." Officers said there appeared little likelihood of these.

HARRISBURG, Pa., Nov. 29 (AP).—Governor Pinchot today said Governor Rolph of California was "certainly crowding the mourners" to "refuse a pardon to Tom Mooney" and yet "champion lynching."

Mr. Pinchot asserted Rolph's "invitation to Lynch law is not well received in Pennsylvania" and said he does not believe it is "well received in California either."

"So long as I am Governor," he said, "the full power of this Commonwealth will be thrown behind the law whenever the constitutional right of citizens, of whatever group or class, are unlawfully threatened.

"Pennsylvanians are law abiding. They always stand behind the law. Against every invitation to violence I urge them to keep their heads."

ASSAILS ROLPH'S STAND.

Head of Crime Prevention Group Protests Lynching Statements.

The Rev. George Drew Egbert, recently elected president of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, made public yesterday a telegram to Governor Rolph in which the latter's statements regarding the San José lynchings are censured. Dr. Egbert, pastor of the First Congregation Church of Flushing, announced that he had telegraphed the Governor on behalf of the Crime Prevention Society, after a consultation with its executive council. Mr. Egbert's message said:

"As president of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, I protest against your attack upon orderly government, in commending a murderous mob of lynchers, in promising in advance immunity to criminals, convicted by due process of law, and in refusing adequate military support to a Sheriff vainly endeavoring to do his duty in guarding prisoners committed to his care. Lynching not only fails to discourage crime, but in stimulating lawlessness, stimulates the very crime it is mistakenly supposed to prevent.

"I urge upon you to withdraw such statements, subversive of public order, and take prompt action looking to the arrest, trial, and conviction of at least the leaders of the mob that brought disgrace upon a sovereign State, not only, but upon an entire civilization."

ROLPH STATEMENT STIRS STORM HERE

Civil Liberties Union Wires Stand Makes Him a Party to Lynching.

Times

ATTITUDE HELD 'BRAZEN'

11-28-33

Negro Group Urges Mob Arrests Col. Moss Deplores Condoning of 'Murder.'

New York, N.Y.

Governor Rolph of California was charged yesterday by the American Civil Liberties Union with "being a party" to the lynching of the two kidnappers in San Jose because of the attitude he had taken on the action of the mob which seized the two men in jail.

The union, in a telegram to the California Governor, condemned his attitude after a special meeting of its board of directors had voted the action. The message read:

"You are quoted as justifying the San Jose lynching of kidnappers by saying 'It is the best lesson California has ever given the country.' Our board of directors denounces this as an unprecedented official endorsement of lynching.

"It is an incitement to mob violence elsewhere with lynching on the increase. The statement credited to you makes you directly a party to the lynching. We express the indignation of thousands who deplore and condemn kidnapping, but who abhor lynching and mob violence more."

The telegram was signed by John Haynes Holmes, Ben W. Huebsch, Roger N. Baldwin, Norman Thomas, Robert Morss Lovett, Corliss Lamont and Elmer Rice.

Roosevelt's Views Asked.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People through its secretary, Walter White, sent a similar telegram, saying that the Governor's statement was the "most brazen approval of lynching by highest officials the country has ever seen." The association demanded arrest of the mob leaders.

The International Labor Defense sent a telegram to President Roosevelt asking a statement as to whether Governor Rolph's attitude represented the administration views and calling for repudiation otherwise. This organization also sent a message to Governor Rolph protesting against his stand.

Senator Hamilton F. Kean of New Jersey in a statement suggested a Federal anti-lynching law and assailed "mob violence."

The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, in a letter to Governor Rolph, signed by its secretary, Alfred H. Hirsch, sharply criticized his stand.

"Your behavior in the Mooney case and your recent remarks regarding thel ynchings of Thurmond and Holmes, assuming that you have been quoted accurately," said the letter, "demonstrate the fact, in our opinion, that you are unfitted for the responsibilities placed upon you."

Compared to Nazi "Savagery."

The Governor's statement was attacked by Mr. Holmes of the Community Church in the following statement:

"Governor Rolph's statement on the San José horror constitutes the crowning disgrace of the whole ghastly history of lynching in America. If any man, in public or private life, ever descended to a lower depth of infamy, I do not happen to know who he is.

"Governor Rolph has used his great offce, at a moment of great social crisis, to wreck law and order, to foment violence and anarchy and to pass over government to the raging madness of the mob. Where-in are we any better than Nazi Germany that we have this defender of savagery and terror in our midst? California for very shame cannot lift up her head again unless this Executive is impeached and thus driven from the office which he has disgraced by his outraged fellow citizens.

"I have no sympathy with kidnappers, those most loathsome of all criminals who destroy the security of our homes and hearts. But neither do I have any sympathy with anarchists of the Rolph type who would destroy the very security of the nation itself."

Moss Sees Blow to Law's Sanctity.

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 27.—Colonel James A. Moss, president general of the United States Flag Association, tonight characterized Governor Rolph's approval of the Holmes-Thurmond lynching as a stimulant to mob spirit.

Colonel Moss, whose organization is conducting a crusade against crime, said the statement quoting the Governor as condoning "the murder by lynching" is a most amazing and unfortunate utterance."

"When the Governor of a sovereign State of the Union upholds lynching and stimulates mob spirit by guaranteeing to pardon those who might be proved guilty of lynching," Colonel Moss declared, "he is not only delivering a staggering blow to the sanctity of the law but he is violating his oath of office, which imposes upon him the obligation of upholding and sustaining the law.

"Had Governor Rolph promptly issued a statement pledging the full power of his office and his personal effort to the end that the kidnappers would be immediately brought to trial and that no delay would be t·erated in executing sentence in the event of their conviction, he would have emphasized the power of the State and the law of the land to bring to justice those convicted of crime.

"With Governor Rolph's vigorous support these men could have been tried and, if convicted, hanged within the course of a few days. Such a procedure would have set a wonderful example of how it is possible to dispose of criminals under the American system of government.

"Instead of pursuing the sound and normal course—the course, in fact, to which he is sworn—Governor Rolph, if he has been correctly quoted in the press, has contributed to the spirit of mob violence. His action can but have an unfortunate effect on the solution of America's crime problem."

Criticized by Dr. W. W. Alexander.

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTA, Nov. 27.—Governor Rolph's approval of the Thurmond and Holmes lynchings was characterized here today as "probably constituting the most surprising and deplorable aspect of the whole affair," in a statement issued by Dr. Will W. Alexander, director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

"The Governor of California, in expressing his approval of this crime, has lent his support to the most ruthless form of lawlessness in America," Dr. Alexander asserted. "It involves not a few individual criminals here and there, but enlists whole communities in orgies of violence and murder, in

12-1-33

New York, N.Y.

Daily Worker

which law and civilization are lynched no less truly than the human victims.

"In recent months, the authorities have demonstrated their ability to cope with kidnappers, as they were doing in this case. On the contrary, the almost universal failure to convict lynchers indicates that lynching is a much more difficult crime to eradicate. Governor Rolph's attitude in the San Jose affair will only add to this difficulty and fix the lynching habit more firmly upon a nation that already is discredited by it around the world.

"Unfortunately, the Governor's responsibility in the matter is not limited to his statement of approval after the deed was done. In refusing the importunity of the Sheriff for assistance in resisting the mob, the Governor became also in effect an accessory before the fact. Probably his action and attitude in the matter constitute the most surprising and deplorable aspect of the whole affair."

Pollard Opposed to Lynching.

RICHMOND, Va., Nov. 27 (AP).—Governor Pollard, speaking of the Hart kidnap-case lynching, said today, in response to queries, that he was "unalterably opposed to lynching" as a means of punishing persons guilty of kidnapping, which he called one of the worst of all crimes.

He said he believed those suspected of crime should be brought promptly to justice in an "orderly manner."

Suggests Lynching in Chicago.

By The Associated Press.

CHICAGO, Nov. 27.—Frank Walsh, Cook County Coroner, said today that "a lynching or two in Chicago" such as that in San Jose "wouldn't hurt a thing."

"A couple of lynchings of kidnappers and murderers might put real fear into the hearts of criminals," he said. "At least, they would be more effective than some of the legal methods which have been used here."

The Coroner insisted he was serious in his declaration that he favored a little mob action in cases justifying capital punishment.

Who Organizes Lynch Violence?

THE lynch call of the California Governor Rolph for Fascist violence—unmistakably aimed at the Negro masses and the rising resistance of the working class—has provoked warnings from two leading New York newspapers, the World-Telegram and the Evening Post.

With obviously fearful glances toward the spectre of mass resistance to the Roosevelt hunger program, and working class resistance to growing Fascism, the "liberal" World-Telegram states:

"This is a time of vast unrest. Otherwise law-abiding citizens are taking the law into their hands. Farmers are using violence against officers and judges...for many months whole communities and classes have been under nervous tension almost to the point of breaking, and now we enter a winter of mass suffering... those who raise up the mob, must be prepared for the destruction of the nation."

And the Evening Post is even more explicit:

"If people are hungry, shall they not join mobs to get food...If workers are unemployed, shall they not join in mobs to take possession of the factories and offices...the mobs to whom he (Rolph) offers his nulla osta are not likely to stop to think when they start being violent."

To these papers the menace comes not from the Fascist lynch call of Rolph, not from the organized terrorism of the capitalist class, but from the "hungry" mob.

According to the "liberal" World-Telegram, it is from the striking farmers fighting against monopoly capital, and not from the deputized gangs of the milk monopolies that the danger of violence comes!

According to the Post, it is from the jobless and hungry, and not from the capitalist slugging police charging unemployed demonstrations, that the danger of violence comes!

It is in this way that these capitalist papers, "liberal" and reactionary, not only attempt to conceal the growing organization of Fascist violence by the government, but prepare to justify it as it is being unleashed!

It is because they are fearful that the American working class will organize to meet the challenge of Rolph's Fascist provocations, it is because they are fearful that sinister lynching, following so closely on the lynch call of the California governor, will rouse the mass anger and indignation of the masses to a pitch dangerous to the ruling class, that these two leading capitalist papers warn against the crude character of Rolph's Fascist incitation.

* * * *

THE Post and the Telegram refer to the recent mass actions of the workers and farmers as dangerous actions of a "mob," against which the capitalist state power must prepare.

These actions were not the action of a mob, but the organized actions of the toiling masses against their exploiters.

The recent strikes of the coal, steel, textile and auto workers were not the actions of a mob. They were disciplined, organized actions of the Proletariat, conscious of their interests, and struggling against the exploitation of the Wall Street monopolies. The "mob violence" in Ambridge, Gallup, Paterson, came from the deputized thugs of the employers, not from the workers.

The recent strike of the Western farmers was a disciplined, organized action of the impoverished farmers against the Wall Street monopolies. Whatever violence and mob action existed in these areas, was incited and organized by the milk monopolies and their auxiliary organizations. It was proved that the roving gangs of strikebreakers seeking to engage in armed combat with the farm pickets were subsidized by the big dairy companies.

The Communist Party supports these struggles of these toilers. The Communist Party seeks to arouse the militancy of the toiling masses and to give it disciplined, organized, revolutionary direction. The Communist Party firmly and unequivocally opposes all acts of individual terrorism and violence, not because of any sentimental pacifist considerations, but because these actions hinder the revolutionary movement of the working class.

At the present moment, the American ruling class is planting provocateurs in the ranks of the workers in an attempt to incite individual acts of violence precisely to provide the occasion for the unleashing of Fascist terrorism and for the justification of ruling class terrorism. The Communist Party takes the lead in exposing the actions of these agents of Wall Street in the ranks of the workers. The Communist Party warns the working class against surrendering to any tendency of individual acts of terrorism, and bends all its efforts to directing the will to struggle of the masses towards organized mass actions and away from individual violence.

Lynchings-1933 II White Press, Northern 3961

Discussions.

Daily Worker 12-1-33 New York, N.Y.

THE call to organize fascist violence is not confined to the California governor. The obvious participation of the Maryland State machinery in the lynching of George Armwood, the passivity of the Missouri State machine in the face of this week's lynching of Lloyd Warner, and the tacit support given by the Roosevelt administration to the wave of fascist lynch violence, are all evidences that it is the entire American ruling class which is deliberately fostering a wave of fascist violence.

More and more, the Roosevelt government is resorting to violence and terror against the masses.

The shooting down of the pickets at Ambridge, Pa., the declaration of martial law against the coal strikers of New Mexico and Utah, the failure of the Roosevelt government to take the slightest action against lynching, the open use of the National Guard against the striking farmers in Iowa, Wisconsin and New York, are examples of the road which the Roosevelt government will take on an ever-increasing scale against the resistance of the masses to its Wall Street hunger program.

The capitalist press warns against "mob violence." But the mob violence in the recent lynchings are not spontaneous outbursts from the masses, despite the efforts of the press to depict them as such.

It is true that in these mobs there were many misled petty-bourgeois and even workers. But the impetus, the incitation, and the promise of protection came from the organized official governmental machinery! In the recent lynchings, it was the governmental machine that really was in action, not any spontaneous outburst of the masses. The menace of fascist violence come directly from the capitalist government machine which organizes and protects it.

The menace of unbridled brutality, of individual terrorism, comes not from the working class "mob," but precisely from the capitalist ruling class masters, who are fearful for the continuation of their exploitation and profits. It is from the Roosevelt government, facing the coming winter with every one of its promises to the masses to alleviate the crisis unfulfilled, that the real menace of fascism comes.

JUST as the Roosevelt government, following the dictates of its Wall Street masters, prepares to launch the increasing fascist terrorism against the starving masses so the toiling masses of the country must form an unbreakable United Front of struggle to meet the attack, and to defeat it.

It is by the powerful weapon of United Front, the united front of all workers, regardless of political belief, of affiliation, of the united front of the Communist, Socialist and all other workers, of members of the A. F. of L. unions with the revolutionary unions of the T.U.U.L., of the organized with the unorganized, of the jobless with the employed, of the Negro and white workers, that the approaching fascist menace can be destroyed!

As the employers try to break the workers' trade unions, as they try to beat down the wage scales and the working conditions, as they try to increase profits at the expense of the workers, supporting their exploitation by fascist provocations and organized violence, the working class can defeat these attacks by United Front mass struggles, by United Front mass strikes, by United Front mass defense!

The United Front of the working class, of all the toiling and exploited! This is the weapon that can turn back the fascist menace!

New York N.Y. 11-28-33 Times

Messages Praise Stand

From Colorado, New York, Pennsylvania and California came messages today commenting on the Governor's stand.

"Congratulations on your attitude toward the Hart case," wired a Redlands (Calif.) minister.

Harry G. Kyle of Kansas City, former judge, telegraphed:

"Lynching is a sincere demand for law enforcement. I congratulate you on their attitude toward lynching and the people of California for their noble example in dealing with criminals."

But the International Labor Defense, New York, took the opposite view.

"We protest your failure to provide adequate protection," wired William L. Patterson, national secretary. "We demand immediate removal and arrest and prosecution with application of death penalty to all officials and private persons responsible."

Clarence Morrill, chief of the State Bureau of Criminal Identification, added his approval to the Governor's remarks, saying:

"It is to be regretted, but necessary, that the people took the law into their own hands, but in so doing they served notice on racketeers and gangsters that there is no place for them in California.

Weary of "Technicalities."

"The people have shown they are weary of the technicalities of law in favor of speedy action rather than the slow procedure of courts."

District Attorney Fred Thomas characterized as "preposterous" any suggestion that the county might be held responsible for the lynchings.

He said his duty was to prosecute any person against whom charges were filed, but added he did not expect any charges due to the difficulty of identifying the members of the mob.

Sheriff William J. Emig, knocked unconscious while trying to protect his prisoners, was in a serious condition at San Jose Hospital today.

Dr. H. J. Arnold said the Sheriff was suffering from a slight brain concussion which might prove to be a fracture, and also from complete nervous exhaustion and shock.

Chief Jailor Howard Buffington also was suffering from shock and from a severe battering.

Newspaper men led in numbers among those injured in the rioting, but none of their injuries was serious.

Funeral services were held this afternoon for Brooke Hart. Dr. Joseph Karesh, rabbi of the local Jewish synogogue, delivered the funeral sermon. Fifty students formed a guard for the funeral procession.

Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Hart, the parents, accompanied the procession to the cemetery, where the body was cremated.

Mrs. Hart was reported in a serious condition tonight.

N. Y. HERALD

DEC 2 1933

Eastern Shore Lynchings

Action Before Ever Giving the Law a Chance

To the New York Herald Tribune:

So many wild assertions are being passed about in connection with the wave of lynching that we would appreciate space to answer the general contention that lynchings occur because of technical delays in the law. Mr. A. R. Holcombe, editor of a paper in Berlin, Md., goes to considerable length in your paper to set forth this as a justification for the Eastern Shore lynchings and resentment against Governor Ritchie's interference.

The truth about the Euel Lee case, which Mr. Holcombe cites as excuse for the Armwood lynching, is that an Eastern Shore mob attempted to lynch Lee before he ever got a trial; not after his trial had been delayed. It was because of this threatened mob violence that Lee was moved to Baltimore for trial. In other words, the record shows that Eastern Shore men did not intend from the beginning for the law to take its course. They never gave the law a chance. An accusation or a forced confession was enough for them.

The truth about the Matthew Williams lynching in Salisbury, Md., on December 4, 1931, is that Williams was dragged from a hospital bed where he lay wounded, before he ever was arraigned, and lynched. Here again the Eastern Shore men did not give the law a chance.

One word more about "mobs making quick work of the guilty and saving the county money." What mob can determine absolute guilt? Let us look at the record. The Southern Commission on Lynching, headed by George Fort Milton, editor of "The Chattanooga News," has investigated the double lynching of two Negro boys near Tuscaloosa, Ala., on August 12, and has reported that one positively was innocent and the other most

likely innocent. This is the judgment of sober Southern white men living in the heart of the black belt states after a careful investigation. Both the victims were charged with rape and murder of a white girl. This same commission found that a paralytic Negro lynched in Tuscaloosa in September was completely innocent of the crime of assault with which he was charged. In fact, his innocence was so well established in the community that he was free, at the time of the lynching, on the nominal bond of $300, a thing which could not happen if there were the slightest evidence of his guilt. Finally, take the Scottsboro defendants. As we read the flimsy testimony, becoming more and more grotesque as it is held up to view by the defense attorneys, who can say a mob should have acted at Scottsboro in March, 1931?

Passions are easily aroused when heinous crimes are mentioned, but some one ought to keep his feet on the ground or we wil all end up at the mercy of one mob or another.

ROY WILKINS,
Assistant Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
New York, Nov. 29, 1933.

BUFFALO, N. Y.
COURIER EXPRESS

NOV 28 1933

CALIFORNIA'S LYNCHING

California law has kept Tom Mooney in prison for seventeen years. Against evidence considered by many sufficient to provoke reasonable doubt in any unprejudiced mind, it has proved an unyielding giant and continues to hold Mooney behind the bars for life.

But this same law, faced by a mob, crawled off into a corner, and from that place of safety peeped through its fingers while the confessed kidnapers of young Brooke Hart were taken from the San Jose jail and lynched. The officers of the jail resisted. Apparently they did all that a few deputies could do against a mob of uncounted numbers. Sheriff Emig, unconscious from blows about the head, was taken to the hospital. But the state of mind of the San Jose public was well known to the authorities at Sacramento. Why did they not make adequate provisions to uphold the law?

We shall now witness in California, as we have been witnessing in Maryland, the spectacle of law trying to reassert itself after abdication to a mob. The prosecuting attorney of the county where Maryland's mob operated has told the attorney general of the state that to arrest any of the suspected lynchers would merely invite the forming of a mob to storm the jail and rescue the lynchers. And that is as far as the Maryland law has gone in trying to reassert itself. It is as far, apparently, as law ever goes in respect of the mob that throws it aside. Since 1885, this nation's lynchings number 4,321. Of the victims 1,051 were Negroes and 3,260 whites. Between 1889 and 1930 California mobs lynched 30 whites and four Negroes. Statistics on lynching reveal no case wherein the lynchers were legally punished.

If anything can condone execution by a mob, this California kidnaping which was climaxed by a lynching provides an instance. This evidently is the view of Governor Rolph, who remarks that "this is the best lesson that California ever has given the country." The brutality of the Hart kidnapers called for a lesson, not so much to the country as to those who may be inclined to join in this latest and most despicable of underworld rackets. But the lesson would have been more impressive if it had been administered by the state, not by a mob. When a state which has the power to function through law yields that power to a mob, it does not demonstrate strength, it confesses to weakness.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Eagle

DEC 4 1933

Rolph Assailed In Move for U.S. Lynching Law

Churchmen Back Stand for Federal Curb—Dr. Darlington Retracts

Resolutions demanding enactment of Federal anti-lynching statutes, the removal of Governor Rolph of California, and a fair trial for the Scottsboro defendants were adopted yesterday at a meeting of 1,500 Protestants, Catholics and Jews—clergy and laymen—at the College of the City of New York.

Earlier in the day, the Rev. Dr. Henry Darlington, rector of the Episcopal Church of the Heavenly Rest, 5th Ave. and 90th St., Manhattan, read a statement to his congregation apologizing for the telegram he sent to Governor Rolph, approving Rolph's stand in the San Jose lynchings.

He said he had approved the act when he was "deeply stirred," but that he felt on further consideration that "all good citizens should uphold the law."

Dr. Darlington made the recantation in a brief statement preceding his sermon, while pickets from the League for Industrial Democracy paced the streets outside with placards condemning the pastor for his previous approval.

The pickets disbanded as soon as they heard of the recantation but not unitl three of them had been placed under arrest on disorderly conduct charges preferred by Mrs. Mary Brown who tried to tear their placards to pieces.

The accused are Louis Goldberg, 25, of 1482 41st St., a student at the Rand School; Lillian Migrath, 21, of Butler, N. J., and William Chamberlain, 27, of Lakeside, Mich., a student at Union Theological Seminary.

The City College meeting was interrupted by a woman heckler who refused to give her name, saying. "Call me Madame X."

Young and smartly dressed, she strode toward the rostrum where Charles H. Tuttle was presiding and shouted:

"Why wash the dirty linen of California and other States when there is so much dirty linen in New York?"

She screamed "no" when the resolutions were put to a vote. The crowd yelled: "Throw her out; throw her out." A man called her a "dirty Red" and a Negro in the audience cried:

"She's a lyncher. She ought to be stomped!"

She walked quietly from the hall amid a storm of catcalls.

More than half of those at the City College meeting were Negroes. The speakers were Bishop William T. Manning of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Bernard S. Deutsch, president of the American Jewish Congress and president-elect of the Board of Aldermen; Alfred J. Talley, representing Cardinal Hayes and former Federal Attorney Tuttle.

The Rev. George A. Crapullo, pastor of the Irving Square Presbyterian Church and chairman of the social service committee of the Presbytery of Brooklyn-Nassau, denounced lynching as a cure for crime in his sermon yesterday.

The San Jose lynching was "inexcusable," he asserted, and Governor Rolph "should be impeached."

"He and the mob are as much enemies of society as were the men who were hanged," he said.

St. Joseph, Mo., Dec. 4 (AP)—Additional arrests in connection with the lynching of Lloyd Warner, 19-year old Negro, were expected today by county and State officers.

With two men already in custody, county officers said they had information which they believed would enable them to identify leaders of the mob which last Tuesday night hanged and burned the confessed attacker of a white girl.

William O. Sawyers, an Assistant State Attorney General, said he expected to issue warrants for suspected mob leaders today.

Officers said both of the men in custody had admitted being present at the time of the lynching. One of those under arrest was Carl Fisher, 24. Police declined to disclose the name of the other man.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.
DEMOCRAT & CHRONICLE

NOV 28 1933

CONDEMNATION OF LYNCHINGS GENERAL HERE

However, 2 Officials Say It Might Deter Kidnapers

A general condemnation of the lynching of the two confessed kidnapers of Brooke Hart, youthful college graduate, at San Jose, Calif., was voiced yesterday by city officials, civic leaders and men active in the fight against crime. While deploring lynching, District Attorney Ray F. Fowler and Warren R. Henderson, superintendent of the Monroe County Penitentiary, think lynching might deter kidnapers. Others interviewed did not even grant this.

The general viewpoint was summarized by the Rev. Justin W Nixon of Brick Presbyterian Church as follows:

"Lynchings never have meant anything. They're no deterrent. The criminal always thinks he can get away with it. Lynching is a reversion to barbarism. It's the easy but not the intelligent thing to do."

This feeling, in essence, was expressed by Dr. William Berry, psychology professor at the University of Rochester; Chief of Police Andrew J. Kavanaugh; Sheriff William C. Stallknecht; Lieut. Gerald D. Vaine, supervising office, state police, East Avon; Mayor Percival D. Oviatt, and W. H. Holmes, superintendent of schools, Mount Vernon.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Eagle

NOV 29 1933

What Made Respectable San Jose The Scene of Lynching Outbreak

Editor Brooklyn Daily Eagle:

Mob violence in California! A shudder goes through the country. It is unbelievable of the State whose laws are considered so just and comprehensive! Before we pass judgment we should know the real conditions that produced this act.

For ten years in California I studied the people and their reactions. San Jose is one of the most delightful little cities of that State. The people are religious and refined; the general aspect of the place can be compared to "Spotless Town." This is the last city one would imagine could be the scene of a mob lynching. But picture to yourself these lovely homes with lovely children being molested by kidnapers!

The laws of California are ideal, but the ones who uphold the law are not to be relied upon. We all remember the terrible kidnaping case of a young girl being returned to her father in pieces. The almost universally accepted story about that case would be a thriller for a dime novel. The prosecuting attorney in that case, a prominent man for years in the courts of justice, is now serving a term in San Quentin!

Picture the people in California, high-minded enough to make wonderful laws and yet living in the fear that justice is nil. Around the court houses linger men who make their living by being bought up for jurors. They simply call them "paid jurors." They are eagerly bought up by either party.

This mob violence was a terrible consequence of a frenzied people demanding protection. The people of California are far from blood-

-and the best-hearted people in the States. They will not permit mob [illegible]gs to go on. This is a gesture of defi[illegible] against existing conditions. Let us not [illegible] critical of our Western city. We of the East have a few things to clear up ourselves. Will a mob lynching ever stagger us in the East? I wonder!

JULIA FARR.
Brooklyn, Nov. 27.

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White Press, Northern

3962

TIMES
GENEVA, N. Y.

NOV 27 1933

THE CALIFORNIA LYNCHING

California follows Maryland today in a lynching; and puts itself in the disgrace column. Sunshine and flowers and all the other salubrious things for which California is noted will not offset or erase this crime against society.

Of course the two men who were lynched committed a heinous crime in the murdering in cold blood of a wealthy young man whom they had kidnaped, and then demanding an enormous ransom from the father. But as brutal a thing as this was the law was ready to mete out punishment and was in process of doing so. Officers were only awaiting the finding of the body of the victim to complete the evidence and substantiate the confessions made by the slayers. It was the recovery of the body that precipitated the lynching, despite the fact that the law would have been quick to take its course.

There may be some who will think the criminals got only their just deserts. But this is not the way to look at it. Mob rule is no more to be tolerated than kidnaping and murder. Society is as much endangered by the one as by the other.

Another thing that is distinctly regrettable in connection with this lynching, and to be condemned, is the attitude of the chief executive of the state. Governor Rolph, who is quoted as saying, "This is the best lesson that California has ever given the country. We show the country that the state is not going to tolerate kidnaping." This statement is not only a condoning of a murderous act by a mob but an encouragement to similar illegal acts in the future. It is in distinct contrast to that of Governor Ritchie of Maryland in the recent lynching there when he immediately took steps to prosecute those known to have participated in the lynching and to remove officers for not preventing it.

Mass Murder in America

New Republic
12-27-33
Dec 27, 1933

IN THREE widely separated places in the United States, public attention has been concentrated during the past week on mob violence. In Maryland, an attempt to arrest leaders of a mob which some weeks ago lynched a Negro charged with rape was fiercely resisted by citizens of the town in which these leaders resided—so fiercely that although they were taken away by state troops the Maryland officials made no effective attempt to prevent their release a few days later on a writ of habeas corpus, nor have these officials sought the similar arrest of other known members of the mob. In Missouri a Negro also accused of rape has been lynched with all the customary attendant circumstances of frenzied sadism. In California two men accused of the brutal murder of a kidnaped victim were tortured and lynched in the heretofore reasonably law-abiding town of San Jose, and the Governor of the state condoned the action by a public statement in which he said that the mob acted properly and that in the unlikely event that any of its leaders were convicted and imprisoned, he would pardon them.

These three cases have shocked many Americans into a disconcerting realization of the temper of this country. To be sure, no one who had studied the previous career of Governor "Sunny Jim" Rolph need have been surprised that he should condone murder. Rolph's long continued policy of holding Mooney and Billings in prison despite the blazing injustice done them might have forewarned the country of his unfitness for high office in a community with any regard for justice. What is really important about his statement is the degree of support it obtained throughout the country. It is perhaps not surprising that a large majority of the several hundred communications Governor Rolph received should have supported his course; probably the kind of person who agreed with him was more likely to send him a letter or telegram than the kind of person who felt that he and the mob between them had put an ineradicable stain on the honor of California. It is saddening to see, however, how many newspapers and individuals who criticized the Governor did so in an apologetic, half-hearted way, stressing the horrible character of the crime of kidnaping and opposing the action of the mob only on the ground that the two men who were lynched would certainly have been put to death in the near future by the orderly process of law.

Incidentally, while we assume that both these men were probably guilty, it is important to note that the only evidence regarding one of them was extracted by torture (the third degree). The father of the second victim of the mob says his son is innocent, that he has a complete alibi for him, that his alleged confession means nothing, and that he proposes to sue the city and county authorities and Governor Rolph for sums aggregating a million dollars. The fact that the American police in all parts of the country habitually use torture to extract "admissions of guilt" makes the prevalence of lynching all the more horrible. The stock argument of those who defend mob violence is that the courts are slow, that criminals escape punishment through legal technicalities, and that society simply takes the law into its own hands. But how does this theory square with the facts when innocent men are beaten into confessing crimes they did not commit and are then executed by mobs?

One other excuse for the San Jose lynchers needs to be punctured. The story has been spread broadcast that the mob was led by a few drunken youths, that most of its members were intoxicated and that it did not represent the thoughtful judgment of the citizens of San Jose. While it is undoubtedly true that many individuals in that city regretted the affair, there is good evidence that if the lynchings had not taken place when they did, they would have been accomplished a few hours later by another group of older and "more reputable" citizens of San Jose. Well dressed men and women, some of them accompanied by children, were present at the lynching and gave every sign of approbation.

Appalling as was the attitude of Governor Rolph, in some ways what has been done by Governor Ritchie in the Maryland affair may prove equally bad. In the Princess Anne case the Governor evidently began by making a sincere attempt to bring some of the lynchers to justice. Since then, however, he has taken no further action and he gives every evidence of having been so alarmed by

the public uproar against him on the Eastern Shore that he is washing his hands of the whole affair. It is hard to know which is more deserving of condemnation: a Governor who is a lyncher at heart or one who would abandon the attempt to punish lynchers in order to save his own political career.

These recent outbreaks, in three parts of the country, are particularly disheartening to those enlightened Southerners who have for many years fought the evil of lynching in that region and believed that they were winning important successes, as indicated by the steady and rapid decline in the number of such mass murders in America from the Civil War until the very recent past. Only time will say whether they are correct in believing that Governor Rolph has set back the clock by decades; but good citizens, in both the North and the South, must be alarmed at the mood of violence which is clearly abroad in the land today. This is not to be explained as merely part of the old American tradition of lawlessness, or as resulting from public indignation against kidnapers, or as an outgrowth of gangsterism fostered by a decade of prohibition. It seems to us clear that there is a new mood of restlessness, of impatience with the processes of law and order. Hitler and his cohorts, who have been reading denunciations of their brutality in the American press, must have read the recent dispatches with wry smiles. If mob violence existed throughout the world, it could be put down to the failings of human nature; but it does not. There are large and populous countries, faced with many of the same problems as ourselves, where such episodes are quite unknown. It is clear, we submit, that the resort to violence in America is a symbol of unhealthy inward tensions resulting from the deep sickness of our civilization. We cannot call ourselves civilized until we have rebuilt our society with these inequalities and injustices abolished.

Another Swift Lynch Verdic

WITH ghastly swiftness, the second Scottsboro verdict was handed down today at Decatur.

Now the young Clarence Norris has been sentenced to die.

Daily Worker

The testimony of Ruby Bates, smashing so completely the whole frame-up perjury of Victoria Price and the other witnesses, the crude contradictions between almost every word of the prosecution's case, the naked, ugly, face of the frame-up, glaringly evident even to the most reactionary observers—all this made no difference to that lynch court.

New York

The capitalist judicial machinery of Alabama no longer strives even to conceal its unity with the lynch gangs of the plantation landlords. They are united—that the limp, charred bodies of these innocent Negro boys must be flung into the faces of the Negro people and the toiling masses of the world as the grim symbol of their ruling class authority.

* * *

IN LITTLE more than six weeks, the Alabama rulers plan to strap these two innocent Negro boys to the electric chair and drive agony through their brains with the turn of the powerful, electric switch.

Now, nothing stands in the way of the swift execution of these lynch verdicts but the same power that has kept them alive ever since they were seized in Paint Rock, Alabama, three years ago, the might of world protest!

The ruling class of America, part and parcel of the whole lynch machinery of the South, part and parcel of the whole lynch incitation and Jim Crow system of oppression against the Negro people, is now attempting to play a new game to disorganize this sole, effective defense, of the Scottsboro boys.

The capitalist press is attempting to pour into the minds of the masses the insidious poison that it is now hopeless to expect "justice" of the Alabama courts, and that faith must now be placed in the "justice" of the United States Supreme Court.

The capitalist press, no longer able to conceal the too crude lynch savagery of the ruling class of Alabama Court, and too fearful of justifying these obvious frame-up lynch verdicts in the face of the world protest and indignation of the masses, now attempts to create the fatal illusion that Alabama is an "exception," that the Supreme Court will be "fairer."

Against this damnable strategy, against this attempt to disorganize the ranks of the Scottsboro boys protectors, we must fight with the greatest fury and vigilance.

* * * *

THE Supreme Court is just as much part of the whole ruling class lynch machinery as the Court at Decatur! Its decisions, its actions, its members, are all at the service of the Wall Street ruling clique that organizes and profits from the lynch oppression of the Negro people.

Daily Worker

There is only one voice that these capitalist judges can hear! That is the giant roar of world protest, of mass actions, of mass anger! That is the only language they can understand and fear!

12-7-33

It is this huge world protest that alone saved Tom Mooney. It alone can save the Scottsboro boys from execution. Nothing else can. All other ideas about the "fairness" of the Supreme Court have only one purpose—to put a brake on the present mass anger at the death verdicts in order to permit them to go through unhindered!

New York N.Y.

It is upon the International Labor Defense, the organization that first wrested the boys from the hands of the lynchers, and the organization that has so relentlessly fought for their lives, that the responsibility falls to stir the masses of America and the world to instant action!

THE I.L.D. must galvanize the masses, Negro and white, into fury against these hideous murder verdicts.

Unceasingly, it must hammer home that the most able legal defense in the world is futile without the support of the oppressed millions! Behind its legal defense it must organize the real power of the defense—the articulate anger of the masses!

The lynch challenge of the Southern masters can be answered only by the rising up of an enormous wall of mass anger, mass determination to step between the Scottsboro boys and the lynch executioners.

The country must rock with the activity of the masses in every factory, in every trade union, in every mine, street, neighborhood, and home, the workers of America must resolve that the lynchers will not massacre the innocent Negro Scottsboro boys, that the lynch challenge of the capitalist rulers will be answered.

* * *

IT IS the Communist Party, the revolutionary vanguard of the toiling masses, that must immediately become the lever to set these waves of mass anger into motion.

Immediately, the whole Party apparatus, every district, section, unit and fraction, must leap to action, organizing the protest against the lynch verdicts. Upon every Party member rests the direct responsibility for immediately responding with the maximum energy to the life and death task of saving the Scottsboro boys! The Party must go everywhere among the masses with the burning call for organized protest against the lynch verdicts!

* * * *

THE Negro people and the toiling masses of the country, millions upon millions, must be organized by the Party and its fractions into the greatest United Front army of the toiling masses, regardless of political affiliation, creed or connection, united for the right to free the innocent Scottsboro boys from the hands of their lynch executioners!

The ruling class masters call for the blood of the Scottsboro boys. They are unleashing savage, bloody terrorism against the oppressed, starving Negro masses, against the whole toiling population.

Scottsboro is their bestial challenge. We cannot fail to answer.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
TIMES

NOV 10 1933

Anti-Lynching Meet To Convene Tonight

Charles L. Houston, dean of Howard University, will be one of the principal speakers at a mass conference at 8 o'clock tonight at Phyllis Wheatley Y. W. C. A., Ninth Street and Rhode Island Avenue Northwest.

The conference was called by the Washington Provisional Committee Against Lynching, which was formed following the recent lynching of George Armwood, colored, at Princess Anne, Md. Bernard Ades, International Labor Defense counsel, will also speak.

Lynchings-1933
6
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3963

NEW YORK
[redacted] WORLD
Telegram
DEC 2 1933

Result of Mob Fury Problem for Women

They Have Been Concerned with Lynch Psychology Through Ages—Effect Chief Concern.

By **GRETTA PALMER**,
Woman's Page Editor.

IS there a little of the Lady Macbeth in every woman? In San Jose middle-aged women, some holding babies in their arms, urged on the men in their bloody job of lynching. You will recall from your history books that women crowded into the best seats at the foot of the guillotine in the French Revolution.

It is a streak of fanaticism in the sex—a conviction so strong and so intolerant that the shedding of blood seems a holy and patriotic duty. And with this matter of lynching women have a very special concern.

Gretta Palmer.

For the crime which is most often punished by lynch law is rape, and it is up to the women of a State to accept or to repudiate the philosophy which justifies the killing of a man at the hands of a mob because of his attack on a woman. The second and more recent excuse for lynchings is the punishment of kidnapers. And in these cases women, as mothers have also a very special concern.

The fanatics who indorse lynching will tell you that fear of suffering an equally dreadful fate will act as a restraining influence on the potential criminals in the community. Will it, indeed? Psychiatrists assure us that fear of punishment never restrains the criminal and that the severity of the penalty has no effect on him because of his optimistic belief that he at least will never be found out. There was never more theft or poaching in England than during the years when capital punishment was meted out for these crimes.

* * *

The State Has Adequate Laws.

THERE are death penalties provided in most States for murder and kidnaping. Society has concluded that the men who are guilty of these crimes must be put completely out of the way—that they are too great a menace to society to be given life imprisonment, which might later be shortened by some kind-hearted Governor. In deciding this society is quite within its rights. The law provides for quite adequate punishment for these crimes.

There is, therefore, no excuse whatever for a mob to take the law into its own hands instead of granting the poor devil accused of the crime the right to offer his defense in court. He may, you know, be innocent. And if he is not there is ample machinery for his prosecution under the law.

But the mob is not a social-minded group. It is not interested in saving society from further attacks by the criminal. It is interested in indulging itself in an orgy of bloodshed, of giving fierce vent to its hatred and prejudice and lust for killing.

* * *

One Kidnaper or a Hundred Lynchers.

AFTER a lynching society is relieved of a citizen who was, perhaps, a very dangerous character to have around. But in its place it finds twenty or fifty or two hundred men and women who have tasted the hideous pleasure of mass murder.

Can you believe that the members of a lynching mob will ever have a decent sense of perspective again? Can you believe that they will ever shake off their exultant and sadistic sense of power in having slaughtered a man and had their act condoned?

One kidnaper is a liability to a State. But hardly so great a liability as a hundred men and women who boast the shameful memory of a lynching in which they are proud to have taken part.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN
NOV 11 1933

It Does Not Help The Struggle Against Lynching To Mitigate Offenses Against Women—The Point Is That Punishment Should Be By The Law And Not By The Mobs

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* From childhood we have listened with shudders to the stories told of the Negro cannibals who tortured and burned white missionaries. During the night of Wednesday, October 18, a similar atrocity was perpetrated at Princess Anne, Md., only in this instance the positions were reversed and white people barbarously slew a Negro! White people whose reputed education, culture and gentility have been screamed from the housetops.

We do not know if young Armwood was guilty of an attack or innocent. From the report which I read in the Philadelphia *Evening Ledger* of October 19 there was insufficient evidence for even a prison sentence, let alone the fearful death he suffered. I quote the article: "According to Mr. Robins, Armwood admitted to authorities that he had attacked Mrs. Mary Denston near her home. The woman's clothing was torn. She was taken to a hospital by a motorist. She is recovering, it was reported." There seems to be no positive evidence of an attack, except his frightened admission, made perhaps, under pressure. The people of Princess Anne waited for none. On the ridiculous evidence of an aged person, whose mentality may be feeling the stress of her 81 years, and a torn dress, they murdered a human being.

I am not a "nigger lover," but in the name of Him Whose name is so readily quoted weekly in the churches you attend, have tolerance, people of the South. It was not through their own volition that the colored folk came here over three hundred years ago. They were dragged here from their own country and forced to labor for their masters, who spurn them now when machinery has taken their place and they have to be paid.... "Train a child in the way it should go" applies as much to the Negro child as it does to the white. An obliviousness of his color and an application of the Golden Rule will go far in debrutalizing the black man. If some representatives of that race are brutes with animalistic instincts, we should hang our heads in shame. If they had not been treated as animals and brutes, they would not have the actions and desires of them.

The Commandments tell us to "Love our neighbors as ourselves"; it does not stipulate the color of our neighbor's body. . . .

MARY L. MAURER.
Maple Shade, N. J., Nov. 1.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
POST
NOV 11 1933

Officials Blamed In Mob Hanging

Convention in Baltimore Promised Evidence.

Authorization was made, at a mass meeting last night at the Phyllis Wheatley Young Women's Christian Association, for delegates to attend a National antilynching convention next Saturday and Sunday in Baltimore, where Bernard Ades, counsel in the Euel Lee case, will present evidence in connection with the recent lynching of George Armwood in Princess Anne.

Ades, who addressed the meeting, stated he had in his possession testimony to implicate Sheriff Daugherty, States Attorney Robbins and Judge Duer in the Armwood lynching, and to show Attorney General Lane and Gov. Ritchie are only making a pretense of an investigation.

The Baltimore convention, he said, will develop agitation for civil rights of the Negro in State legislatures and Congress.

Charles H. Houston, counsel in the Crawford case, addressed the meeting sponsored by a committee consisting of Bernard Ades, Gertrude M. Price, Charles Spencer and George B. Murphy, who presided.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN
NOV 30 1933

Quotes Lincoln, Of All Men, To Justify Lynching

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir:* The first bugle notes of an American charge against a criminal and corrupt political and judicial order have sounded—coast to coast! The Armwood lynching in Maryland, the LaGuardia victory in New York and now the lynching of the Brooke Hart kidnappers in California being the first three minor engagements in a growing state of warfare.

In the midst of a sound social order one might argue the morals and ethics of lynching, just as one might well argue the ethics of a revolt against iron-vested political bosses. In our confused state of today, however, there is no sound basis for morals nor ethics in the minds of the masses for the scales of criminal justice have squeaked for several years and the stamp of certification of a corrupt political order has been found to be meaningless.

If I saw in these lynchings a mere act of mob brutality against one of their fellow-men, I would be as horrified, perhaps, as I am delighted with the victory of LaGuardia and the overthrow of prohibition. Since all of these are but an outward show of the smoldering fires of protest and revolution that burn within the hearts of every American worthy of the name, however, I shall merely point the finger of prophecy to this handwriting on the wall and invoke our legislators and politicians to beware.

No one would wish a state of open and bloody revolution in this country of ours, and yet the brands for such a fire are already lighted and in such instances as

those above we see the torch carried high "that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, *by the people* and *for the people* shall not perish from the earth.'

Baltimore, Nov. 27. HENRY G. RAAB.

NEW YORK [redacted]G WORLD Telegram

DEC 4 1933

RALLIES HERE URGE U. S. BAN ON LYNCHINGS

1,500 at City College Gathering Adopt Resolution Urging Rolph Ouster.

HECKLER IS OUT-HECKLED

Darlington Recants—"Rolphing" Suggested as New Term for Practice.

Condemnation of the California lynchings and the approving attitude of Governor James Rolph, Jr., today had emerged with little opportunity from Sunday gatherings.

Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergymen and laymen, meeting at City College, demanded by resolution an end of lynching in the United States. The Rev. Dr. Henry Darlington publicly recanted his previous indorsement of Governor Rolph's attitude.

The suggestion that lynching be called "Rolphing" in future was made by Charles Francis Potter before the First Humanist Society.

Rolph Removal Urged.

At the City College mass meeting, attended by 1,500 persons, more than half of them Negroes, resolutions were adopted urging Governor Rolph's removal from office and the passage of federal anti-lynching statutes.

Speakers included Bishop William T. Manning, Bernard S. Deutsch, president of the American-Jewish Congress and president-elect of the Board of Aldermen; Alfred J. Talley and Charles H. Tuttle.

An indignant young woman frequently interrupted to question the right of the meeting to "wash the dirty linen of California when there is so much dirty linen here in New York." Finally she was heckled from the hall.

Darlington Retracts.

Dr. Darlington made his about-face from the pulpit of the Church of the Heavenly Rest just before his Sunday sermon.

He said his telegram congratulating Governor Rolph was "the result of being deeply stirred at the time and upon further consideration of the facts I have come to the conclusion it should not have been sent. It is the duty of all good citizens to uphold the law and I do not condone in any way the attempt of groups or individuals to take matters into their own hands."

Church Picketed.

Young men from the League for Industrial Democracy were picketing the church with placards condemning the pastor's original lynching attitude. Mrs. Mary Brown, of 79 E. 91st St., clashed with the pickets and fell down in a scuffle for a sign. She caused the arrest of three pickets on disorderly conduct charges.

When the remaining pickets learned that Dr. Darlington had recanted they left the scene. Dr. Darlington declined to amplify his brief statement.

New York Evening Journal

DEC 4 1933

GIRL PERILED FOR TAUNT AT MOB FOES

Flees Violence From 1,400 at Protest of Lynchings

Egged on to threats of violence by the taunting mockery of a tall, spare, young woman, apparently from the Middle West, the anti-lynching mass meeting at City College just missed having provided New York today with its first mob rioting in many years.

Refusing to give her name, the young woman stalked down the aisle and, livid with rage, demanded that New York "wash its own dirty linen" before indicting the actions of peoples of other states.

Negroes, who composed the mass of the 1,400 persons present, rose to their feet and shouted:

"She's a lyncher! She believes in lynching! She ought to be stomped!"

MANNING IN AUDIENCE.

White persons in the meeting which had among those present such prominent persons as Bishop William T. Manning, Bernard Deutsch and Dr. Wilbur Clemens howled with rage and there were cries of:

"Throw her out!"

Addressing Charles H. Tuttle, former U. S. Attorney and chairman of the meeting, the young woman, who was fashionably dressed, shouted:

$ "You filthy thing!

"You should be called Mr. Tut-Tut-Tuttle!"

Sensing the growing impatience of some elements in the crowd, and nervous himself from the scathing verbal attack made against him by the woman, Tuttle tried in vain to still the clamor.

DISTURBER DEPARTS.

It was only after threats had become omenously loud and most of the gathering was on its feet that the young woman made for the rear exit, speeded on her way by catcalls.

The mass meeting then proceeded to pass resolutions condemning the lynchings at San Jose, calling on President Roosevelt for anti-lynching legislation and demanding removal of Governor Rolph.

The identity of the young woman remained a mystery today. She carried a sheaf of papers and a pencil in her hand, and told photographers she was a "newspaper reporter." Persistent inquiries as to her name brought the answer finally.

"If you must know, call me Madame X."

Neither was all sweetness and light on the anti-lynch front in another part of the city.

A sidewalk brawl with wealthy parishoners of the fashionable Church of [illegible]eavenly Rest, Fifth ave. and 90th st., today brought three pickets who had protested the rector's defense of the San Jose lynchings to Harlem Court to answer charges of disorderly conduct.

Most of the parishioners went on to the service to hear their pastor, Dr. Henry Darlington, whose message of congratulation to Gov. Rolph precipitated the picketing, "eat" his words.

There was some scuffling and hair pulling for several minutes before the service started between arriving parishioners and 18 or 2 0pickets, but it remained for socially prominent Mrs. Mary Brown of 79 E. 91st st. to climax the brawl by trying to drive the pickets away.

She grabbed at a banner carried by Miss Lily Megrath of Butler, N. J., Louis Goldberg of 1482 41st st., Brooklyn, and William Chamberlain. In the struggle which followed, Mrs. Brown suddenly found herself sitting on the sidewalk. Miss Megrath also was badly disheveled.

POLICE HOLD THREE.

By that time extra police arrived and took all four to the police station where the three pickets were booked on charges of disorderly conduct. No charges were entered against Mrs. Brown.

Meanwhile in the course of the church service Dr. Darlington was declaring that he regretted sending a message of congratulation to Governor Rolph approving his defense of the lynching at San Jose. He said:

"The message was the result of being deeply stirred at the time and I have since come to the conclusion it should not have been sent. It is the duty of all good citizens to uphold the law and I do not condone in any way the attempt of groups or individuals to take matters into their own hands."

The pickets said they were members of the Intercollegiate League for Industrial Democracy and students at the Union Theological Seminary.

WILMINGTON, DEL. NEWS

NOV 28 1933

CALIFORNIA CRIME

GOVERNOR ROLPH of California who now and then expresses views that cause criticism has in a way defended the lynching of two kidnap-killers of Brooke Hart who was most brutally murdered. He was an estimable young man.

The people were aroused to fury and frenzy and the lynching followed despite the efforts of the authorities to prevent it as they always should do.

It is doubtful whether the criticism will affect Governor Rolph in the slightest. On the other hand the Hon. Albert Cabel Ritchie, permanent Governor of Maryland, has been trying to bring the recent lynching in his state to justice, but he is unlikely to succeed.

The California lynching was witnessed by cheering thousands.

Some leading Brooklyn lawyers commenting on the situation, said that lynching would spread east owing to the neglect of officials and leading citizens in the matter of improving criminal law and its administration. The delays the new trials and all the chicanery that surrounds the criminal practice are given as reasons for various lynchings. Proper administration of justice would, we think, wipe out the lynching.

The recent lynching in Maryland recalled that a murderer of four persons, twice convicted was still not punished after two years. In such circumstances it is not hard to explain lynching.

BALTIMORE, MD. MORNING SUN

DEC 1 1933

The Theory That Lynching Prevents Crime Does Not Seem To Have Worked Out On The Eastern Shore Or Else The Salisbury Lynching Would Have Turned The Trick Two Years Ago

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* In your issue of November 24, Page 16, you have an article, headed "Make Maryland Safe for Law." I would like to go you one better and call it "Make the People of Maryland Safe Against Crime." There is a lot being written about making laws to stop this lynching, but up to date I have never seen anything advocated to remove the cause of the lynching.

In my time (I am 61 years old) I have heard of three lynchings in the neighborhoods where I happened to be residing. In each case, I find, the people took the matter in their own hands to prevent what happened to our friends of Southern Eastern Shore, Maryland, in the Euel Lee case. They wanted prompt execution to prevent further murders and other crime in the neighborhood.

In the Euel Lee case it took two years to hang this murderer, and the people of that county were deprived of the lives of four citizens, and the case cost them about $25,000 besides. If I understand the case straight, this Negro was idolized, heroized and the county was villainized by his defense lawyers. Two years is too long to argue over a case of this kind, and $25,000 is preposterous.

My suggestion to stop this lynching is to clean out these inefficient courts. Lynchings, as I have understood it, is a last resort, taken by the people to protect themselves and their rights against desperate criminals. Let the courts win the confidence of the people and there there will be very few, if any, lynchings.

ALFRED G. GELLETLY.

Denton, Md., Nov. 28, 1933.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3964

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
MORNING PUBLIC LEDGER

NOV 29 1933

WHEN MOBS RUN AMUCK IN EAST OR WEST

FAR more shocking to a large part of the American people than the double lynching itself at San Jose has been the attitude not merely of extenuation but of enthusiastic commendation of that crime displayed by Governor Rolph.

The victims of this mob violence had perpetrated a crime which could scarcely have been exceeded in hideousness. But Governor Rolph's approval of the mob's action involves a betrayal of justice by its sworn defender, an abdication of his official powers and direct notice that those who wish to take the law into their own hands and become, jury, Judge and executioner in one, may do so with impunity.

In his official statement Governor Rolph remarked that he had remained within the State, despite an invitation for a meeting elsewhere, in order to prevent the calling out of the troops for the threatened prisoners' protection. In timely and striking contrast is the firm action taken by Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, in sending a picked battalion of National Guardsmen to the scene of last month's lynching at Princess Anne to arrest some of the suspected perpetrators, which resulted in a pitched battle yesterday with a mob.

The resistance to the State troops at Salisbury, Maryland, yesterday, if not to be attributed directly to the laudation of mob violence by the California Governor, was in logical accord with his position. His declared policy is to protect and pardon the lynchers of kidnappers and to prevent military action against mobs bent on taking over the functions of courts and hangmen.

It is true that the original crime in Maryland which led to the lynching was criminal assault and not kidnapping. The epidemic of murderous kidnappings throughout the country has stirred the public and authorities everywhere as never before. Governor Rolph shrewdly plays upon this note of righteous wrath against one of the most atrocious of crimes when he remarks that the double lynching "is the best lesson California has ever given the country."

Prompt conviction and execution of the self-confessed kidnappers and murderers in California, through the orderly processes of the law, would indeed have set a fine example to the country. There had been no indication of the slightest attempt to defeat the purposes of legalized justice. The finding of the body of the kidnappers' victim gave the prosecutors their last necessary piece of evidence.

Mob psychology is the same in Maryland as in California, as was shown by yesterday's encounter at Salisbury. The spirit of the mob, once set aflame, is as dangerous in the North as in the South. No person set in authority can afford to countenance or condone it for a moment. It is not condonance to say that the law's delays may also be dangerous, that they may be provocative of the spirit which sets all law and order at naught. The delays may incite mob action. They afford no adequate excuse nor are Governor Rolph's defense and praise of the lynchers based on this ground.

His statement on Monday stands as the most disgraceful surrender to the rule of the mob to which the Governor of a sovereign State has ever yielded. The law which supposedly protects the prisoners in its keeping is designed to provide equal protection for all, including those respectable citizens who seem to find in Governor Rolph's stand on this subject something praiseworthy and noble.

In issuing a blanket invitation to lynchers Governor Rolph has trampled the law under foot. He has served notice that so far as kidnappers, at least, are concerned, the rule of the vigilantes, or rather of their far less responsible successors, has replaced that of the courts. And he has given official aid and comfort to a form of anarchy which deserves to be hit hard wherever it rears its ugly head.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
POST

NOV 30 1933

Defense Against Lawlessness.

Gov. Rolph's expressed approval of the lynching at San Jose and his guarantee of immunity to those who participated in it have shocked law-abiding citizens throughout the country. However great the provocation may be, official condonation of the crime of lynching offers direct encouragement to the lawless elements that exist in all communities, which, if not repressed, become a menace to orderly government.

The irresponsible utterances of California's Chief Executive have borne bitter fruit already. The riot at Salisbury, when officers were sent to arrest the men who had participated in the October lynching at Princess Anne, the ghoulish activities of those who disinterred the body of the lynched Negro, and the Missouri outrage of the same date followed too closely upon the governor's outburst to be viewed as a mere coincidence. Then, too, there are signs that the mob spirit, once aroused against the perpetrators of heinous crimes, may vent its fury on victims of a quite different type. For instance, it is reported that in a mass meeting of citizens of Louisiana to denounce the State administration, shouts of "lynch 'em" and "give 'em the rope" were heard.

The sporadic outrages which have been the sequel to the California lynchings fortunately do not reflect the spirit of the country at large as expressed by leaders of public opinion. Indeed, the widespread spontaneous indignation evoked by the remarks of Gov. Rolph is an encouraging indication that the American people have not reached the point of believing that their laws and their courts are entirely impotent to protect them against criminals and lawbreakers. We come perilously close to making such admissions, however, if we attempt to excuse lynching or other forms of organized terrorism on the ground that the law offers too slow and too uncertain remedies to those in search of justice.

There can be no truce between those entrusted with the execution of statutes and those who unlawfully undertake to administer punishment to offenders. At the same time, law-abiding individuals should not, indeed they dare not, close their eyes to the necessity of reform both in the laws themselves and in the machinery of enforcement, which is cumbersome and slow moving.

Technicalities and loopholes have enabled criminals whose guilt was beyond doubt to escape punishment altogether, or to delay execution of sentence for months and sometimes for years. Local magistrates and elected judges, creatures of corrupt political machines, have permitted organized crime to flourish in our cities, while the conditions created by such judicial neglect of duty, or worse, have engendered contempt for law and defiance of enforcement agencies among otherwise respectable citizens. Thus popular resentment, aroused because laws are not enforced, and popular hatred, directed against laws that can not be enforced (notably prohibition legislation), have created an atmosphere not conducive to respect for authority.

The repeal of the eighteenth amendment will strengthen the forces making for law and order in the Nation, first because it means the abrogation of legislation which many normally law-abiding citizens have refused to support, and, secondly, because it leaves the Federal courts freer to speed up the enforcement processes by removing prohibition cases from congested calendars.

This is a good beginning, but much remains to be done to insure even-handed enforcement of the laws of the land and prompt punishment of law breakers by both Federal and State authorities.

COLUMBUS, O.
CITIZEN

NOV 29 1933

ROLPH RIOTS

GOVERNOR ROLPH of California will be held largely responsible, and justly so, for yesterday's lynching of a Negro at St. Joseph, Mo.; for the threatened attack on the Topeka, Kas., jail, and for the resurgence of mob violence with which, apparently, an unhappy nation is to be cursed.

Rolph's asinine praise of the San Jose lynchers has done damage which may require months or years to undo.

An unofficial fool who went about the country advocating mob violence, riotous attacks on officers of the law and the lynching of criminals would be locked up as a menace to the public peace and safety.

The world is waiting to see what California with do with the official fool who sits in the governor's office at Sacramento, applauding mob rule in his own state and inciting riots in other states.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

~~POST~~

Tribune

NOV 30 1933

THERE CAN BE NO SURRENDER.

It now appears that Governor Rolph of California will live to regret his unfortunate utterances condoning the lynching of the two kidnapers in the park at San Jose. A rumble of dissent has swept over the country, and the outstanding conclusion is that, while it may be felt that the courts and juries are not meeting drastic crime conditions with drastic action, still there can never be the slightest concession by the American people to the momentary fury of the mob.

A federal anti-lynching bill will be introduced in the senate in January.

The bill is being drafted by Edward O. West of the legal committee of the American Defense association with the assistance of experts in constitutional law. The association pointed out it would be the second attempt of the organization to secure the passage of a federal law against mob violence. The first bill was introduced by Representative L. C. Dyer of St. Louis and it passed the house in 1922, only to be killed by a filibuster in the senate.

"The anarchistic pronouncement of Governor Rolph, the open battle against state law officers on the eastern shore of Maryland and the lynching in St. Joseph, Mo., demonstrate conclusively that a new power beyond the influence of street crowds and unrestrained youth must step in if we are to have government by law, and not government by mob," said West.

Tidings from Maryland today are ominous, and show how dangerous is the example of mob rule. Governor Rolph is wrong. In contrast thereto Governor McNutt of this state issues a strong statement saying there can be no digression from the established law and the established order. To do anything else is a disservice to every citizen of the state, and is a violation of the governor's oath. There must be a stiffening up of the courts and the judges and other arms of law, so that public confidence will be restored, and so that no individual will attempt to take the law into his own hands.

ALBANY, N. Y.

KNICKERBOCKER PRESS

NOV 30 1933

TWO GOVERNORS

From the New York Sun

There is a striking contrast between the Governor of Maryland, adhering rigidly to the law in the Princess Anne lynching case, and the Governor of California, who not only condones the San Jose lynching but publicly approves it and goes so far as to say that all kidnapers deserve to be turned over to the vengeance of the mob. The evil of the San Jose lynching was bad enough of itself, even when the atrocity of the crime committed by Thurmond and Holmes and the indignation it aroused were considered. If Governor Rolph did not wish to pursue the routine of the law, at least he might have kept silence.

What he has said will be taken by the brutal and ignorant as a proclamation of general amnesty for all lynchers engaged in the execution of kidnapers. The history of lynching is that when a community tolerates it the victims are often those who have not been proved guilty of crime but only accused of it. In the San Jose case it is not a question of the kidnapers deserving their fate, but of the preservation of law and order. Governor Rolph has set an astounding example.

BOSTON, MASS.

POST

DEC 1 1933

THE MOB SPIRIT

The story of the Missouri sheriff who tried in vain to hold off the mob of alleged "indignant citizens" resolved on lynching illustrates just how these mobs act.

Members of the mob were not interested solely in crude vengeance. They were also bent on destruction and loot. They broke into the sheriff's house, stole furniture, clothing, china—anything they could get their hands on.

Some of them, while others were seeking the prisoner they lynched, ransacked the jail, even stealing the hats and clothing from the prisoners. Not content with robbery alone, they proceeded to smash everything breakable in sight.

This mob was no different than others. No sugary words from the Governor of California can convince law-abiding people of America that any good can come out of the bloodthirsty mob spirit.

Governor Rolph has sown the wind in his blatant encouragement of mob rule. He will reap the whirlwind.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

MORNING PUBLIC LEDGER

NOV 30 1933

THE ISSUE IN MARYLAND

WHATEVER may be Governor Ritchie's future course for re-establishing the reign of law in place of rule by the mob in the lower Eastern Shore of Maryland, it is evident that the task of this determined official is far from finished.

The lynching last month and the attack on the troops on Tuesday were symptomatic of a spirit of cruel savagery which still persists among the people of that section and of contempt for the law and all for which it stands. This has been made evident by their continued hostility toward strangers engaged in lawful missions and their glorification as heroes of the prisoners accused of an atrocious crime.

The State of Maryland is still on trial. The issue is plain. It is the upholding of the law against the forces of defiance and ruthless violence. It is the compelling of local authorities to perform their sworn duty, so far as the State power may extend.

Thus far Governor Ritchie's procedure, since he has been confronted with this ugly situation, has been that of any official resolved to perform his duty. And the conduct of the troops at Salisbury, in the face of great provocation, was admirable. Behind the Governor, so far as can be judged, stands the great body of decent, responsible opinion in Maryland, which resents this aspersion upon the fair name of its State.

As manifestations of the mob spirit in various parts of the country have shown, this is a time of all others for authorities everywhere to be on their guard, prepared to show that none may take the law into their own hands with impunity and that punishment, swift and sure, awaits those who attack justice at its source.

L.S.N.R. and I.L.D Urge Rejection of Lynch Defense

12-11-33 Daily Worker

BALTIMORE, Md., Dec. 10. — A call to the Negro masses and their white allies to repudiate the three Eastern Shore Negro reformist leaders who last week came out in open defense of the lynchers of George Armwood and the lynch courts of the Eastern Shore which released four of the known leaders of the mob, was issued here today jointly by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the International Labor Defense.

The reformist leaders: James F. Stewart, J. H. Dickerson and James L. Johnson, attributed what they soft-pedalled as the "disturbances" on the Eastern Shore to the fact that the I. L. D. and its Attorney Bernard Ades had done their utmost to save Euel Lee from legal lynching. They declared that Negroes always got justice in the lynch courts, which systematically exclude Negroes from juries and flagrantly violate the constitutional rights of the Negro People; that the Eastern Shore is "abounding in plenty," the people prosperous and happy and enjoying life.

The joint statement by the L. S. N. R. and the I. L. D. follows, in part:

"These gentlemen live on the shore. They have ample opportunity to see the wide-spread misery and starvation among both white and Negro workers. When they say that the shore abounds in plenty they are trying to hide the fact, of which they are aware, that the "plenty" is appropriated by the landlords and bankers of the shore and that the workers and especially the Negro workers receive barely enough to maintain a miserable existence.

"They conceal these facts because they have been bribed with some crumbs from their masters' table. Rev. Dickinson, a pastor of one of the largest Negro congregations on the shore is treated better by his white rulers and is better fed and better clothed and better housed than most of the members of his congregation who support him. Mr. Johnson, a retired school teacher, apparently lives on his pension from the state while most people live on relief funds or starvation wages. Mr Stewart has been honored with a political job by Governor Ritchie.

"In return for these favors these three worthies now carry out the instructions of their masters. They come forward to exonerate the lynchers and to defeat the bill against lynching and against jim-crowism which we had forced Delegate Alexander Goodman to introduce in the legislature yesterday.

"It is however necessary that the repudiation of these misleaders be sharp and decisive. The I. L. D. and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights therefore call on all organizations to state their position by resolutions to be forwarded to us at 418 Druid Hill Ave. We call on all organizations and individuals to endorse the militant fight against lynching and against jim-crowism, for the release of the Scottsboro boys and for full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people."

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

EVENING PUBLIC LEDGER

NOV 28 1933

THE ULTIMATE DEMAGOGY

ONE of the most healthy signs in the last year has been the series of successful and important prosecutions of vicious and violent criminals under the law and according to its orderly processes. Any one who reviews the picture of the last six months and in several important cases longer, has seen crooks and badmen run to earth, brought before the bar of justice, tried, convicted and sentenced. There was no hysteria about it; no flouting of the ancient, sound principles that form the foundation of our Government and represent a bulwark to our liberties. The law—our law—had come into its own.

Now we have seen, in San Jose on Sunday and in Maryland a few weeks ago, uprisings of the mob spirit of revenge; a spirit that speaks of something within human beings more dangerous than mere blood lust. It smashes the sane restraints that we, as a race, have adopted for ourselves, for the benefit of ourselves.

Yet the mob, and the danger it represents, pale into unimportance beside the degradation of government represented by the blatant cheer-leading by Governor Rolph, of California, after the San Jose lynching, when he joined the mob, too, with the remark:

> This is the best lesson California has ever given the country. We show the country that the State is not going to tolerate kidnapping.

We would never have believed until now that any Governor of one of the United States, especially in these times, would have so violated and dishonored the high position he holds as this Chief Executive of California has done.

What if he did, secretly in his heart, approve the brutal vengeance wreaked for a brutal crime? He was the one man above all others in that Commonwealth who has sworn to preserve, protect and defend its laws. He was the one man above all others who should have said to his people: "This is a wicked thing under which we all suffer, by which we all lose."

But no. This false leader has torn his oath of office into fragments. He has fixed himself in the minds of 120,000,000 Americans as the symbol of a deadly influence among all our governmental problems.

He is the ultimate demagogue.

Lynchings-1933.
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3965

New York Times

DEC 3 1933

LYNCHING IS AGAIN A NATIONAL ISSUE

Recent Outbreaks Stir Interest in the Laws Designed to Curb Mob Violence

By GEORGE H. COPELAND.

THE lynching problem flared up with startling prominence last week. In San Jose, one of the larger cities of California, with the safeguards a city is supposed to provide, a mob stormed the jail and hanged in a near-by park the two men who had confessed guilt of the kidnapping and brutal murder of Brooke L. Hart. The next day, Monday, James Rolph Jr., the Governor, condoned the lynching, in a statement which said: "This is the best lesson which California has ever given the country. We show the country that the State is not going to tolerate kidnapping."

Dramatically, though there was no trace of any immediate connection with the Governor's statement, there followed mob outbreaks in far separate parts of the country—in Maryland and in Missouri.

Throughout the week the outburst of opinion on Governor Rolph's attitude continued. Most of it was in strong disapproval. On Wednesday a group of prominent Californians, among them ex-President Hoover, in a statement, deplored the action of the Governor in condoning the lynching of the two kidnappers, as undermining "the very foundations upon which the State and all civilized society are built."

A Year of Mob Outbreaks.

The California lynching came as a climax, in its sensational character, to a wave of mob killings that have marked this year. The lynchings of 1933 number twenty-six, already exceeding by one the lynchings of 1930, when there was a similar wave. The number of lynchings last year was ten.

Of the twenty-six lynchings which have taken place this year, Alabama leads the list with five. The other States follow in order: Louisiana, 4; Georgia, 4; South Carolina, 3; Tennessee, 2; Mississippi, 2; California, 2, and Florida, Missouri, North Carolina and Maryland, each 1.

Numerous States have enacted laws aimed at lynching, and from time to time there has been agitation to pass a Federal law to curb this crime.

In six States—Alabama, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Virginia and North Carolina—lynching is defined and made a special crime. The definitions differ, but in general the laws resemble that of Indiana, which defines the act as that of a mob taking life without authority of law. Kentucky goes so far as to say that a mob may consist of as few as three persons. Georgia also says lynching is a special crime but does not define the term. Mob violence is a special crime in four States—Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and West Virginia.

The maximum punishments in the foregoing States for lynching, according to J. H. Chadbourn's "Lynching and the Law," are life imprisonment or death. Records show, however, that while lynchings have occurred in eight of the eleven States mentioned, in only two—Alabama and Georgia—have any perpetrators been punished.

Minnesota's Definition.

In three States—Minnesota, Nebraska and Ohio—the terms "lynching" and "mob violence" are defined, but no new crime is created and no special punishment is provided. Thus Minnesota merely says: "Lynching is the killing of a human being, by the act or procurement of a mob."

Four of the eleven States that make lynching or mob violence a special crime—Alabama, Indiana, Kansas and Kentucky—make accessories liable to punishment.

Eleven States provide for a recovery against the city and/or the county in which a lynching or mob death occurs, ranging from $1,000 in Nebraska to $10,000 in Pennsylvania. They are Connecticut, Kansas, Illinois, Minnesota, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, New Jersey, North Carolina and West Virginia. In six States—Illinois, Kansas, Connecticut, Ohio, Wisconsin and New Jersey—provision is made for such a recovery in cases of mob injury. The dependents or heirs of the lynched person are generally specified as the recipients of such a fine.

Peace Officers Responsible.

Nine States — Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, South Carolina, Tennessee and New Jersey — make provisions for the removal of peace officers who fail to prevent lynchings. Most of them take from the ousted officer the right to hold office in the future; some, in addition to removing him from office, impose a fine upon him. The laws usually state that an officer, to be guilty under this regulation, must have had the custody of the person killed or injured. In four States—Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky and New Jersey—the mere fact that a lynching occurred calls for the immediate and automatic removal of the officer in charge by the Governor.

Several States authorize a Sheriff to organize a posse of citizens to protect a prisoner in danger of lynching and provide punishment for those who refuse to join the posse. Others jail or impose a fine upon those who refuse to act as witnesses in a lynching trial, and some disqualify from sitting on a jury in a lynching trial all who have shown sympathy with the lynchers. Arkansas alone makes specific provision for calling a special term of court to try certain inflammatory offenses likely to incite lynching.

How old is the lynching practice? According to the files of the old Liberator, lynching of Negro slaves occurred early in the nineteenth century. On April 28, 1836, a Negro was burned to death in St. Louis for killing a deputy sheriff. After 1850, there was a tendency for people to take the law into their own hands. Out of forty-six Negroes put to death for the murder of owners and overseers, twenty were legally executed and twenty-six were summarily killed.

Gold-Town Lynchings.

It is to be noted, remarks the Negro Year Book, that lynching "as an institution, developed, apart from slavery, as a frontier tribunal, especially in connection with the establishing of law and order in the gold-mining towns of California and other parts of the Far West. Yet California, where vigilantes once operated, like the Southern State of Maryland, has been for half a century among the States with the smallest number of lynchings—forty-six for the one and thirty for the other. Georgia and Mississippi in the same period had more than 500. The only States whose record was zero were Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont.

The first attempts to curb lynchings by Federal action began in the middle of the nineteenth century. In the post-Civil War period a Federal bill was presented to Congress, but failed. In 1921, at its San Francisco meeting, the American Bar Association resolved "that further legislation be enacted by Congress to punish and prevent lynching by mob violence." The year before, in 1920, Representative Dyer of Missouri introduced in Congress a bill designed to protect both aliens and citizens from lynching. In 1922 it passed the House but was defeated in the Senate by a filibuster of Southern Senators. The Dyer bill would have given Federal courts authority to punish county officers and lynchers, and provided for the forfeiture to the United States of $10,000 by any county which was the scene of a lynching. The measure was re-introduced in 1925 and in 1929.

Other Anti-Lynching Bills.

In 1926 an anti-lynching bill was introduced in the House by Representative Berger of Wisconsin and in the Senate by Senator McKinley of Illinois. Neither bill obtained any action. In 1928 Representative Berger introduced a new bill; this met the same fate. The following year Representative Stone of Oklahoma introduced a joint resolution in Congress providing for a commission to investigate and study the lynching evil. This measure was also defeated.

Those who have followed the subject closely contend that Federal legislation would bring about a reduction in lynching. In this connection it is pointed out that in 1922, when the Dyer bill came before Congress, there were sixty-one lynchings, whereas the next year, in 1923, the number dropped to twenty-eight.

Whether in consequence of specific anti-lynching laws or of the education of public opinion, the fact is that lynchings or "mob murders" have been declining in recent years. Between 1889 and 1900 the average number was 187; for the next decade it was 92, for the next, 61; between 1920 and 1930 it fell to 16; the total number in 1930 was 25, in 1931 it was 14, and last year only 10.

The Record Since 1919.

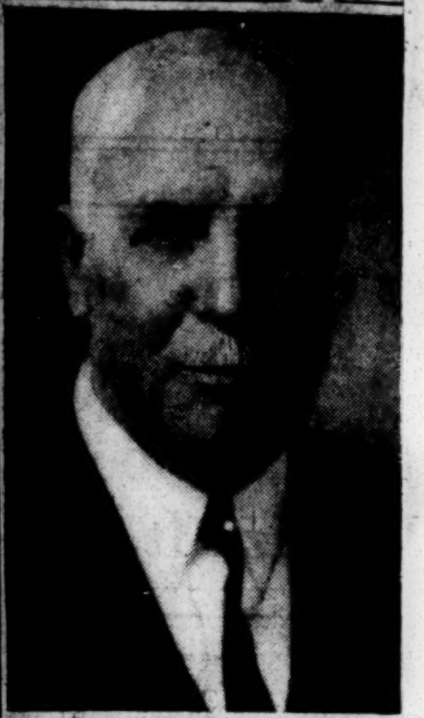
Records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People show that since 1919 mobs have lynched 443 Negroes, six of them women, and forty-four white men. The figures follow:

1919.....83 (5 white)	1927.....21 (2 white)
1920.....65 (8 white)	1928.....11
1921.....64 (6 white)	1929.....12 (4 white)
1922.....61 (5 white)	1930.....25 (1 white)
1923.....28 (2 white)	1931.....14
1924.....16	1932.....10 (2 white)
1925.....18	1933.....26 (4 white)
1926.....34 (5 white)	

The decrease in lynchings has been least rapid in the Southern States, according to a study made two years ago by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching. In fourteen States (including the border commonwealths of Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma) the yearly average since 1900 was a little less than half that between 1889 and 1900, while in the remainder of the United States the rate was scarcely one-seventh as high as in the last years of the last century. For the five-year period ending with 1929, 97.4 per cent of all lynchings in the United States were in the fourteen Southen States.

Lately there has been a relative decrease of white mob victims. Between 1889 and 1900, 32.2 per cent of all persons lynched were white, whereas between 1925 and 1930, only 13.2 per cent were white. In 1930 only one, or about 4 per cent, was white. Most of the persons lynched in the South are Negroes, the figure being 90 per cent in the past three decades. If the lynching of Mexicans by mobs in Texas, Arkansas and Oklahoma were excluded, the percentage would be nearly 95 per cent Negro.

LYNCHING DEFENDER



©Harris & Ewing.

Governor James Rolph.

More Lynchings in Summer.

More lynchings occur in the Summer months than in Spring, Fall or Winter, according to the commission, showing a relation between the weather and a resort to lynch law. But "working and living out of doors in warm weather, midsummer unemployment, landlord-tenant relations in Summer, and other factors, greatly modify any all-weather explanation," says the commission. "During the midsummer months, after cultivating is done and before harvesting begins, there is little to occupy the time of Negro and white workers on Southern farms, . . and there is a great deal of visiting, loafing, gambling and general carousing about."

The commission also points out in this connection that the idle and unemployed generally make up the bulk of most mobs, and that "manhunts and lynchings make it possible for obscure people to play the rôles of arresting officers, * * * judges and executioners" and that such activities "afford an avenue of emotional escape from a life so drab and unilluminated that any alternative is welcomed."

Causes of Disorders.

"From the best and most accurate sources of information," says the Negro Year Book. "It is found that in the forty-four years between 1885 and 1930, there were 894 persons, 60 whites and 834 Negroes, put to death by mobs, under the charge of rape or attempted rape. This is 20.8 per cent of the total number of persons, 4,306, who were lynched during that period.

"An investigation into the causes of lynchings made some time ago showed that more than 10 per cent of the Negroes lynched were for such minor offenses as grave robbery, threatened political exposure, slander, self-defense, wife-beating, cutting levees, voodooism, swinding, jilting a girl, gambling, poisoning wells, drunkenness * * * and so forth."

The findings of the Southern Commission bear out these contentions. Of the mob victims between 1890 and 1930, it estimates that 37.7 per cent were accused of murder, 16.7 per cent of rape, 6.7 of attempted rape, 7.1 of theft, 1.8 of insults to white persons and 24.2 per cent of all other offenses.

What is intended to be a model anti-lynching law is now under examination by the deans of various Southern colleges. Its form has not been made public. Meantime the Southern Commission advises (1) compulsory removal of prisoners in special types of cases to another jurisdiction, (2) placing of arbitrary power in State authorities to extend protection, (3) investigation and prosecution in cases of mob violence, (4) change of venue in the trial of lynchers, (5) suspension of officers who yield their prisoners, (6) and thereafter education of public opinion to outlaw the lynching outlawry.

"Fundamentally," concludes the commission, "lynching is an expression of a basic lack of respect both for human beings and for organized society."

Brooklyn, N. Y. Eagle

DEC 1 1933

TWO ACTS IN THE TRAGEDY OF LYNCHING: THE MOB OUT OF HAND AND THE MILITIA MAKING ARRESTS

Times Wide World.

The Lynchers Batter Down the Door of a California Prison.

Times Wide World.

State Troopers of Maryland Come to Arrest Men Accused of Hanging a Negro.

Florida and N. J. Governors Urge Speedy Justice to End Lynch Law

The Eagle has requested the Governors of a number of States and the presidents of leading bar associations to suggest remedies to cure the evils of kidnaping, murder and lynching. Herewith are published four answers.

By DAVID SHOLTZ
Governor of Florida

Special to The Eagle

Tallahassee, Fla., Dec. 1—Speedy justice meted out to Zangara, assassin of Mayor Cermack, reflects the attitude of this State toward criminals, which makes lynch law entirely unnecessary. Kidnapers should be dealt with speedily and severely but the law should take its course in an orderly manner.

By A. HARRY MOORE
Governor of New Jersey

Special to The Eagle

Jersey City, Dec. 1—Indictments prosecution and punishment for crime of this character should be given precedence in the courts over all other legal procedure pending. I believe speed in administering justice all important.

By DAVID S. DAY
President, Connecticut State Bar Association

Special to The Eagle

Bridgeport, Conn., Dec. 1—The most effective remedy to expedite administration of criminal law in the United States is, in my judgment, the adoption of uniform laws providing for appointment of all judges of the higher State courts by the governors of the States and the appointment of prosecutors by the judges of those courts.

By THOMAS D. THACHER
President, New York City Bar Ass'n

If society is to be safe its agencies for the detection, apprehension and prosecution of criminals must be organized upon scientific lines with personnel specially trained for a career of public service entirely removed from political influences of all kinds. Such agencies of State and Nation should closely co-operate without invading jurisdiction of either and without breakdown of local responsibility.

Law reform is unimportant compared with competence, and ability of personnel to serve only the public interest. The problem cannot be solved by tinkering with laws. We want men who can wage war on crime and get the results society demands for its own safety.

The record of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, composed of personnel specially trained for detection of crime, in successful prosecution of kidnapers is an encouraging demonstration of what such an agency can accomplish. We should have local agencies organized on similar lines in every State and in every city.

Lynchings - 1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3966

KANSAS CITY, MO.
JOURNAL POST

DEC 26 1933

THE PRESIDENT ON LYNCHING.

[Providence Journal.]

President Roosevelt rigidly characterize lynching as "collective murder." It is exactl that.

The fact that a mob distributes among it members the responsibility for the crime make it a crime none the less. "We know that it is murder," says the president, "and a deliberate and definite disobedience of the commandment 'Thou shalt not kill.'" The country should be glad to have its chief executive thus vigorously to proclaim his condemnation of the offense, to which recent events in far separated localitie have called renewed attention.

Mr. Roosevelt goes further, however. He note the shortcoming of the law. The thinking public, he says, "seeks a government of its own that will be sufficiently strong to protect the prisoner and at the same time crystallize a public opinion so clear that government of all kinds will be compelled to practice a more certain justice. The judicial function of the government is the protection of the individual and of the country through quick and certain justice. That function in many places has fallen into a sad state of disrepair. It must be a part of our program to reestablish it."

This is a sermon that cannot be preached too often. "Mob justice" must be discouraged by the justice of law and order. Where the processes of orderly judicial administration are slow or otherwise defective, they must be strengthened. That is the part of common sense and is dictated by every consideration of enlightened public policy.

COLUMBIA, MO.
MISSOURIAN

DEC 30 1933

LYNCHING

Although this particular form of murder which takes place only in the United States remains a dark stain upon our national honor, and although more than twice as many lynchings have taken place in 1933 as in the previous year, the fight against lynching and against "legal lynching" in the courts goes on strongly and with unrelenting courage. Among the many persons and organizations that might be singled out for their stern opposition to mob murder, The Nation selects the following:

The Southern Commission for the Study of Lynching, which continues its admirable work of impartial and illuminating investigation of a question which has all too often been discussed with more passion than fact; the Baltimore Sun papers, for persistent, biting, and judicious editorial criticism of lynching; the Governors of Missouri, Tennessee, Maryland, Oklahoma, and Kansas, of whom the last two, by prompt and forthright action, succeeded in preventing lynchings, and all of whom condemned the menace of the mob in unequivocal terms; Judge James E. Horton, of Alabama, for setting aside the verdict of guilty in the case of Heywood Patterson, f Scottsboro, in his second trial; Judge J. V. Gaddy, of Missouri, who charged a grand jury that lynching was "murder, nothing but cowardly, despicable murder"; and Samuel S. Leibowitz, of New York, who under threat of bodily harm has twice conducted the Scottsboro defendants through their trial, and who declares himself willing to do so until the last possible tribunal has been appealed to.

Register
GUARD
EUGENE, ORE.

NOV 28 1933

MARYLAND AND CALIFORNIA.

In California, Governor Rolph, eager to capitalize on the emotions of the masses, issues a statement not merely condoning but applauding the action of the San Jose mob in lynching the Hart kidnapers and murderers. In Maryland, a state which is far enough south to be in what is called the "lynching belt," Governor Ritchie sends guardsmen to arrest the alleged leaders of a mob which lynched a negro.

Ritchie's action coming so soon after the California affair gives the country a dramatic contrast of views on lynching. Which of these two governors is right? Which one will stand the test of public opinion when the passions of the moment have subsided? Will it be Rolph, the blatant demagogue, or will it be Ritchie, the man who has dared to uphold the dignity of the law in the face of public opinion?

Threats of further violence in Maryland may be an indication of how unthinking minds have been inflamed by the California happening. Yet a calm glance at what really happened in California would give even the most enthusiastic advocate of mob justice a cold chill.

The United Press carries a signed story by one Anthony Catalbi, who boasts that he was a leader of the mob at San Jose, and Catalbi makes these startling admissions:

"I knew Brooke Hart (the kidnap victim) by sight but never had spoken to him."

"I came to town Sunday afternoon, saw the crowd around the jail, heard that Hart's body had been found, decided to organize a necktie party."

"I went all over town in my flivver, mostly to speakeasies, and rounded up the gang. That is why so many of the mob were drunk."

Then he tells of the scene after the mob had broken into the jail.

"The jailer with tears streaming down his face pleaded: 'Boys, let us kneel in prayer to God in Heaven that you take the RIGHT MEN.'"

Some of the mob began to pray but a drunken joke restored the blood lust and they began searching for their men. Many prisoners in the jail for minor offenses were terrified lest they be mistaken for the Hart murderers. Holmes and Thurmond tried to pass themselves off as other men till the jailers, alarmed lest a tragic mistake be made, pointed them out.

Even when Holmes and Thurmond had been dragged into the open some of the leaders in the mob were not quite certain they had the RIGHT MEN. But the hanging went on.

Luck and liquor play too big a part in "Mob Justice" to make it a commendable institution. Reforms of legal procedure are badly needed to make it more swift and certain, but in this country law has not yet broken down to the point where "Mob Justice" must be preferred. Ritchie's courageous action in Maryland is a timely antidote for the poison Rolph's words have spread.

Lynchings-1933
6
Discussions.

White Press, (Northern.)

3967

PORT JERVIS, N. Y.
UNION-GAZETTE

JAN 20 1933

MOB CRIMES

There have been 11 lynchings in the United States this past year, three less than in 1931. The figure is only encouraging when compared with earlier years, in which lynchings numbered scores and even hundreds. The best year was 1929 with only 10. At that time the trend had been steadily downward for four years, but it jumped to 21 in 1930, suggesting that the progress made had not been fundamental or enduring.

The same mob spirit which makes lynchings possible and condones them after they have occurred is expressed in other forms, such as quasi-legal lynchings, shootings by members of posses, hasty court trials with results influenced by popular emotion. There is need of a stronger stand for law and order on the part of courts and public officials and of a stronger faith in justice as promoted through the courts. The public needs to recognize mob spirit as a force wh[...] vil and destructive of the very ends it pretends to

MALONE, N. Y.
TELEGRAM

JAN 21 1933

Lynching.

The annual compilation of lynching statistics shows a decrease of three in 1932 from the preceding year. In 1931 there were 14 lynchings and in 1932 the total was 11. That is encouraging, particularly so far as the South is concerned, since two states that hitherto have not recorded lynchings figured in the total this year. Ohio and Kansas each had a lynching, so without these the total would have been 9. Victims of lynching included two white men. The others were Negroes. The movement against lynching has accomplished something in Southern states. It is regrettable that mob law should likewise have prevailed in Kansas and in Ohio.

Before we can cast a stone at other states, however, we would best consider our own state. While no lynching was recorded, we have some stains on our own escutcheon. Racketeering and gangster murders have been common. In some places we have permitted racketeering to flourish. Juries have not always done their duty. There is more than one form of lynching.

CANON CITY, COLO
RECORD

JAN 14 1933

FEWER LYNCHINGS

Black is the record of the year 1932 except in one or two particulars. One of its few virtues was the relative absence of lynchings, only eight having been reported. That is the smallest number in years.

Judge Lynch's victims included two whites and six negroes. They were denied the American right of trial by jury for the following alleged or suspected crimes: Murder, attempted murder, criminal assault, attempted assault, wounding an officer of the law and dynamiting a store, insulting women and threatening men with a knife.

These eight acts of mob violence left indelible spots upon the excutcheons of as many states—Arkansas, Florida, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Ohio, Texas and Virginia. Nor is the power given them to purge themselves.

More significant than the low number of lynchings was the record of 31 attempted lynchings thwarted by police or other officers of the law. Although seven of the 1932 victims were surrendered to murderous mobs by public authorities there is less tendency for the police, prosecuting attorneys and courts to condone and encourage lynch law.

Mob rule is passing even in the race-trouble states. Lynchings eventually will take their place in history beside the New England witchcraft outrages. The one was as inevitable as the other.
—Colorado Springs Gazette.

KINGSTON, N. Y.
LEADER

JAN 28 1933

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CHICO, CAL.
ENTERPRISE

JAN 23 1933

FEWER LYNCHINGS

There have been 11 lynchings in the United States this past year, three less than in 1931. The figure is only encouraging when compared with earlier years, in which lynchings numbered scores and even hundreds, says the Berkeley Gazette. The best year was 1929 with only 10. At that time the trend had been steadily downward for four years, but it jumped to 21 in 1930, suggesting that the progress made had not been fundamental or enduring.

The same mob spirit which makes lynching possible and condones them after they have occurred is expressed in other forms such as quasi-legal lynchings shootings by members of posses hasty court trials with results influenced by popular emotion. There is need of a stronger stand for law and order on the part of courts and public officials and of a stronger faith in justice as promoted through the courts. The public needs to recognize mob spirit as a force wholly evil and destructive of the very ends it pretends seek.

ALLIANCE, O.
REVIEW

JAN 26 1933

THE LYNCHING PROBLEM

Sentiment against lynching has grown noticeably throughout the Nation during recent years. Public officials and the public generally appreciate that fact and the officials are the more vigilant in protecting prisoners in their charge.

Records show that during 1932 in 31 different cities, mobs tried to take prisoners away from the officials but were repulsed.

Only eight persons were killed by mobs during the past year, that being five less than were lynched during the previous year. The decreases in the number of mob murders is gratifying, but there is still room for improvement along this line of furthering good government.

As we consider the slowness of our courts in meting out justice to criminals in so many instances, it is not surprising that crimes of great ugliness should bring about community cries for speedy punishment but, when strong men are in office, that demand can be met in an orderly manner, although at times seemingly slow.

While officers quite properly may be expected to render special service in time of emergency, the communities should see that such men are given credit for their bravery, for mob violence is one of the hardest problems with which officers of the law have to deal.

SUNBURY, PA.
DAILY

FEB 16 1933

Lynchings On Decline

At a time when encouraging news is relatively scarce, it is worth noticing that the number of lynchings in the United States during 1932 fell to eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept.

This is especially worth comment, since a prolonged economic depression usually intensifies those antagonisms and prejudices which lead to lynch law. The year 1932 might logically have been expected to produce an exceptionally large number of lynchings; that the number actually fell below the lowest total previously recorded indicates that a very genuine and encouraging shift in public sentiment is taking place.

HORNELL, N. Y.
TRIBUNE TIMES

JAN 26 1933

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JOURNAL NEWS

JAN 20 1933

Lynching

The annual compilation of lynching statistics shows a decrease of three in 1932 from the preceding year. In 1931 there were 14 lynchings and in 1932 the total was 11. That is encouraging, particularly so far as the South is concerned, since two states that hitherto have not recorded lynchings figured in the total this year. Ohio and Kansas each had a lynching, so without these the total would have been nine. Victims of lynching included two white men. The others were Negroes. The movement against lynching has accomplished something in Southern states. It is regrettable that mob law should likewise have prevailed in Kansas and in Ohio.

Before we can cast a stone at other states, however, we would best consider our own state. While no lynching was recorded, we have some stains on our own escutcheon. Racketeering and gangster murders have been common. In some places we have permitted racketeering to flourish. Juries have not always done their duty. There is more than one form of lynching.

NEW YORK

BROOKLYN N. Y. EAGLE
FEBRUARY 21, 1933

Two Mob Murders in a Day.

We cannot tell whether the sociological statisticians will schedule as a "lynching" the tragedy near Aiken, South Carolina, where "a group of white men" flogged a poor devil of a Negro to death because he was accused of stealing liquor from one of them. How large a group is necessary to make a lynching has never been determined. It is to the credit of South Carolina that four men have been arrested for the crime. It will be more to the credit of the Palmetto State if they are convicted of murder in the first degree, which was the felony committed.

In sharp contract with this affair was the unquestioned lynching of a colored man by a Ringgold, Louisiana, mob. Here the victim is alleged to have confessed a crime which would have stirred any community, North or South. A bank cashier and his wife had been routed out of their bed by a Negro man with an automatic, a demand had been made that the cashier come to the bank and unlock the vault, which he couldn't do because of a time lock, and then the white couple in only their night clothes were marched a mile on the railroad track, an attempt was made to assault the wife and the husband was killed in defending her. If the confession was really made voluntarily and not under fear of torture, which many readers will doubt, the orderly course of the law was only forestalled.

There is certainly no excuse for any lynching of a Negro in a State where judges and juries and prosecutors are all Caucasians. There is palliation in the fact that a capital crime has been committed, but only palliation. In the Aiken case even that is impossible. And considering the fact that only eight such mob murders were reported in the United States for the whole year of 1932 the appearance of two in one day's news is of striking, if not of general, significance.

Living Church
Milwaukee Wis

FEB 18 1933

LYNCHINGS DECREASE IN 1932

NEW YORK—An item of good news which came out of 1932 was that the total number of lynchings, eight, was the lowest in the nearly fifty years for which records are available.

From 1885 to 1901 there were more than 100 lynchings a year. The number fell gradually to around twenty by 1924. Totals for 1922 to 1932 inclusive are: 57, 33, 16, 17, 30, 16, 11, 10, 21, 13, 8.

Even more cheering is the report of thirty-one instances of prevented lynchings during 1932, cases in which there was an attempt to lynch with every human certainty of success, prevented by prompt action on the part of officials. Forty-two persons, 7 white and 35 Negro, were thus saved from violent death at the hands of mobs.

Brief but exact details of place and date are given in the Annual Bulletin of the Southern Women's Association for the Prevention of Lynching (703 Standard Building, Atlanta, Ga.). The association tries to create public opinion which in turn encourages and supports officials of the law in carrying out their duty.

Register GUARD
EUGENE, ORE.

FEB 18 1933

LYNCHINGS ON DECLINE.

AT a time when encouraging news is relatively scarce, it is worth noticing that the number of lynchings in the United States during 1932 fell to eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept.

This is especially worth comment, since a prolonged economic depression usually intensifies those antagonisms and prejudices which lead to lynch law. The year 1932 might logically have been expected to produce an exceptionally large number of lynchings; that the number actually fell below the lowest total previously recorded indicates that a very genuine and encouraging shift in public sentiment is taking place.

INTELLIGENCER
EDWARDSVILLE, ILL.

FEB 15 1933

Lynchings on Decline.

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White Press, Northern.

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Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

ST. PAUL, MINN.
NEWS

FEB 19 1933

Lynchings On Decline

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ST. LOUIS, MO.
POST DISPATCH

JUN 20 1933

A Southern View of Lynching

From the Chattanooga (Tenn.) News.

IF WE were to read how, in the Australian bush, or in the remote reaches of mountainous Bulgaria, masked men invaded a prison, took two men out and shot them to death, we would piously thank the Creator for our "American heritage." But, since this double murder occurred at Chattanooga's own door, in Huntsville, Tenn., there are many who will condone the lynching. "The victims were murderers. They deserved it," some will say.

We ought to try to view our Southern scene from a foreign perspective. We should transfer, in our mind, these crimes of lynching violence, these acts of intolerance and these bigoted tantrums to which the South is addicted, to some semi-civilized foreign country. And then we could realize how utterly out of tune with sanity and righteous living such things really are.

About 25 masked men invaded the jail. They seized Jerome Boyett, aged 22, a moronic, callow youth, and Harvey Winchester, aged 23. Boyett was accused of having killed Sheriff G. B. Willingham and his son, Floyd Willingham, several weeks ago. Winchester had been in jail five months for the killing of Namon Perry and Esker Thompson near Winfield.

The mob took the youths out, murdered them and left their bodies to be found by passers-by.

If Boyett murdered the Sheriff and his son, he deserved the death penalty. But what right has the masked mob to pose as avengers for the law, and in what degree of heinousness does their murder of Boyett differ from Boyett's murder of the brave officers of the law? Only in the degree that Boyett seemed willing to shoot it out, while the masked mob had safety in numbers.

Southern newspapers valiantly rush to the defense of the South against the rabid Northern critics—the Chicago Tribunes, the Boston Transcripts, the Henry Cabot Lodges and the Menckens. The South is kind, gentle, cultured, we all say.

And then something like this Huntsville outrage occurs. And we defenders of the South are hushed up for a while.

In all truth, until the South ends these lynchings, these mass murders, it will be futile to deny that there is a section of our population which is only a step removed from savagery.

BRIDGETON, N. J.
NEWS

JUL 5 1933

1933 Lynching Records

The lynching record of the country for the first six months of 1933 is not quite so good as that of the first six months of 1932, there having been six lynchings this year against five in the same period last year, but this is a great improvement over ten years ago, 15 persons having been lynched in the first six months of 1923.

The most gratifying aspect of the lynching problem for this year is the manner in which officers of the law performed their duty to protect the prisoners under their care. In fourteen cases mobs were prevented from wreaking summary justice on suspected men trrough vigilance of the officials. In nine cases prisoners were removed for safekeeping or the guards augmented, while in five cases force was used to repel the mobs, thus saving 17 persons to be dealt with in a lawful manner.

With the frequency of lynchings in the past is called to mind these statistics show a subsidence of the mob spirit and a great improvement in the realization by officials of their responsibility for the safekeeping of those committed to their care, even though known to be guilty of heinous crimes.

Arkansas City, Kans.
TRAVELER

JUL 5 1933

KANSAS LYNCHINGS

Genevieve Yost has written in the Kansas State Historical Society Quarterly a story about lynchings in Kansas, and it makes interesting, if somewhat grewsome, reading.

There have been, Miss Yost's research has shown her, 123 separate lynchings in Kansas since the state was first settled. These involve a somewhat larger number of persons, as in a few instances two or more men were subjected to this summary treatment. Most of the lynchings have been for murder, although in the early days horse stealing was considered a lynchable offense. Rape is third in the list, with Negroes predominating, although not all the lynchings for this offense have been of that race, and only 38 of the lynchings have been of colored men. There hasn't been a lynching for horse theft since 1877.

The bulk of the lynchings were in the early days of Kansas. To the state's credit, the number since 1900 has been few, only six being recorded. There has been only one since 1920, and that was the lynching of a man out in Rawlins County last year for an attack on a girl.

Cowley county has only one lynching on record. That was Feb. 1, 1883, when a man named Charles Cobb was summarily hanged in Winfield for a murder. There have been six lynchings in Sumner county, but none since 1885. Chautauqua county has figured in only one, when three Negroes were executed in Elgin Aug. 28, 1873, for stealing horses.

ROME, N. Y.
SENTINEL

JUL 8 1933

Jails That Invite Lynching

At Clinton in South Carolina they have had a jail with no regular jailor. One may infer that it resembles a village lockup in the North where local constables incarcerate minor offenders pending a hearing before the justice. Thus when Norris Bendy, a Laurens County Negro, was arrested for striking Marvin Lollis, a young white truck driver, the deputy sheriff calmly put him in the jug and walked away. Shortly thereafter came four white men. One of them carried a large wrench with which he proceeded to knock off the lock of the jail; whereupon Bendy was brought out and placed in an automobile. Some hours later his dead body, beaten, strangled and shot, was found seven miles away.

It might be said that such jails veritably invite lynching; yet it is not in memory that many lynchings have concerned prisoners left so exposed. One would be more apt to expect rescue on the part of the prisoner's friends, as in Cooper's tale of the rescue of Natty Bambo in the novel of "The Pioneers," the scene of which is laid at Cooperstown.

No matter where the jail, common sense requires a proper and vigilant guard. Too many reports of lynchings have told of the sheriff's officers supinely permitting themselves to be disarmed; too many reports of prison outbreaks have revealed the guards similarly trustful to their own discomfiture.

Scottsboro and Tuscaloosa

Daily Worker
New York
8-16-33

WHAT the lynchers could not do at Scottsboro—they did the other day at Tuscaloosa.

What the Alabama Judge Foster and his white landlord masters had in mind when they drove the I. L. D. lawyers out of Tuscaloosa is now all too ghastly evident.

"We must not let this case become another Scottsboro case," said Judge Foster at that time.

And in the bullet-riddled bodies of the three Negro boys, the workers of this country have proof of what that means.

It was only by making Tuscaloosa another Scottsboro that the three Negro lads could have been snatched from the hands of the lynchers.

* * *

THE presence of the I. L. D. made the lynching more difficult. There was danger of world protest, danger of that the I. L. D. lawyers would tear away the cloak from the Jimcrow foulness of the Alabama courts. There was danger in the fearful words of the frightened Judge of "another Scottsboro case."

That is why the Sheriff and the white landlord masters had to organize a lynch gang to drive the I.L.D. away. Then the Tuscaloosa lynchings could go ahead without fear of interruption.

Tuscaloosa shows what would have quickly happened in Scottsboro had the lynchers succeeded in their efforts.

Harlem Meet to Hit Tuscaloosa Lynching of Two Negro Boys

Daily Worker
8-17-33
New York City

NEW YORK.—A demonstration to protest the Tuscaloosa lynching of Pippin, Hardin and attempted lynching of Clark, found badly mangled but alive, will be held this Saturday, 5 p. m., at 131st Street and Lenox Ave., Harlem.

Sponsored by the International Labor Defense, the demonstration will be addressed by Allan Taub and Irving Schwab, I. L. D. attorneys, James W. Ford, Communist candidate for vice-president in the last elections, William Fitzgerald, Harlem organizer for the I. L. D. and F. Sanches of the All American Anti-Imperialist League.

Boston Meeting to Protest Lynchings

Daily Worker
New York

BOSTON, Mass., Aug. 16.—A mass demonstration of protest against the Tuscaloosa lynchings will be held here Saturday, at 5.30 p. m. at Douglas Square, Hammond and Tremont Sts., under the auspices of the International Labor Defense.

of the prosecutor and defense attorney, the judge has held up his decision as to accepting the plea, purely a matter within his hands. The ends of justice would be served by sending the man to jail for a long term; his electrocution could do no more. "Lynch law" is not a measure of justice.—Daily Post, Vineland.

The New Deal a Lynch Deal

Daily Worker
8-28-33
New York, N.Y.

WITHIN the last three weeks, four Negroes have been lynched in Alabama.

Two were lynched in Tuscaloosa, and a third was seriously injured; one Negro was lynched in Decatur, and three attempts were made to lynch a second; in Benton, a Negro was whipped to death by a landlord gang which is known to have whipped ten Negro men and three Negro women to a bleeding pulp this year.

In each instance, the local judges and officials were directly involved.

WHAT is behind this new wave of terror?

The Negro masses of the South are resisting more and more the increasing oppression by which the bankrupt Southern ruling classes are trying to get out of their crisis at the expense of the Negro toilers.

The Negro tenants and share-croppers are robbed by the program of plowing cotton under, for which the landlords pocket the government bounty. The Negro factory workers of the South are placed below even the starvation minimums of the codes, they are fired wholesale, excluded from unemployment relief.

The Southern newspapers reflect the desperate fear of the Southern ruling class that the Negro masses will not submit to this new and savage offensive against them in the name of the Roosevelt New Deal. Already Negro and white workers are striking in Birmingham, in the steel and coal industry, and on the forced labor gangs.

This new wave of lynchings is a calculated drive of the Southern ruling class to terrorize the Negro masses into subjection, and to smash all unity of Negro and white toilers.

IN the South, the New Deal is a Lynch Deal for the Negro masses.

The struggle against the NRA must be equally a gigantic, nation-wide campaign in support of the Negro masses, against the Roosevelt policy of national oppression.

Mass meetings must be held, protests must flood the federal, state and county officials. Committees of action must be set up. The conference on lynchings and persecution of Negroes which is being prepared in Birmingham must be support-

BROOKLYN CITIZEN

AUG 14 1933

MOB RULE IN ALABAMA

Three Negroes accused of the murder of a white girl, were taken from officers in Alabama and shot to death at Woodstock, 25 miles west of Birmingham. It is evident that the mob still rules in that State; in any case where members of the Negro race are accused of any crime against a white woman. There is no pretense of a trial. The accused is not brought to the bar of justice. No defense is allowed. Judge Lynch takes control and the prisoners are shot down like dogs or strung up, with no waste of time.

This latest outbreak has defiled the fame of Alabama. The people of that State are intolerant of Northern critics, and the mob goes about its cruel work in a spirit of braggadocio. The officers of the law apparently made no real effort to frustrate the outrage. Alabama stands accused before the bar of public opinion, and the only way she can clear herself is to run down and properly punish the perpetrators of this bloody crime.

NEW YORK MIRROR

AUG 14 1933

Red Defense Blamed for 3 Lynchings

Special Dispatch to Daily Mirror.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Aug. 13.—Three Negroes, accused of an assault murder on a white girl, were snatched from armed deputies and riddled with bullets today.

The seizure by a mob of masked night riders took place on a lonely road 24 miles southwest of Birmingham early in the morning.

Feeling had run high against the Negroes following their indictment for the murder of Vaudine Maddox, 20, daughter of a destitute farmer in Tuscaloosa County. The girl was attacked and slain June 22.

The youths, Dan Pippen, Jr., 18, A. T. Harden, 15, and Elmore Clark, 28, were being moved from the local jail to the Jefferson County Jail in Birmingham for safe keeping as a consequence of repeated lynching threats.

Sheriff R. L. Shamblin directly blamed the lynchings on the International Labor Defense, which had injected itself into the case against the wishes of young Pippen and his family.

LEADER
Wildwood, N. J.

AUG 24 1933

THE LYNCHING INSTINCT

That ancient law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is being asked for by Ocean City residents in the case of George Brown, Oklahoma vagrant, who shot and killed a young postal clerk at the resort recently. They feel that while death may be too good for the man, he should be electrocuted. Brrown, however, wants to plead guilty, take his prison sentence and have an end of it. But people want his blood!

That attitude is quite understandable: the lynching instinct is latent in most of us. When a horrible crime is committed, we long to avenge that crime in the most brutal fashion possible. The life of a youth was snuffed out. Let us take this other man's life! Is this attitude just? Not always and certainly not in this case.

Brown, admittedly of an anti-social nature, trapped in a petty theft, unreasoning, shot at two men who sought to help police capture the suspect. One of the men died. Unquestionably it was murder. The shooting was in defense of crime. But must we be unreasoning, must we be swayed by lustful passion? Must all our education in the handling of criminals go for nought?

Brown, in his 50's, wants to plead guilty. Cape May County, already head over heels in debt and with a terrifically high tax delinquency, can ill afford a costly murder trial now, especially where the guilt in a second degree is patent. And where proof of first degree murder, with intent involved, will be a difficult thing to establish. Because of objections to the guilty plea on the part of the people, but not in the case

Lynchings-1933

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White Press, Northern.

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NEWARK, N. J.
EVENING NEWS

AUG 15 1933

Behind the Lynchers

LYNCHING has once more disgraced Alabama, the South and the nation. Indicted and awaiting trial, three prisoners have been taken from officers removing them to a safer durance, and slain by the mob. Not in the heat of unreasoning resentment aroused by a crime's discovery, but more than a month after their arrest. There is neither excuse nor palliation, and the country as a whole has a right to expect Governor Miller and the law forces of his state to make good the Governor's declaration that the perpetrators will be brought to justice.

In the circumstances of this lynching there nevertheless are factors which require recognition in another direction. They do not mitigate the crime of the mob nor urge leniency as to its perpetrators. They do present an issue of state rights and a question of home rule which have an application by no means limited to Alabama or the South. For they grow out of the fact that an organization having no relation to Alabama, its judicial machinery or the murder for which the lynched men were held may have prepared the way for this lynching by unwarranted interference in the affairs of that state.

That organization is the International Labor Defense, domiciled in New York, but ranging widely wherever intervention in cases can be turned to account for the purpose of advancing radical doctrine. Having made creditable capital by participation in the Scottsboro trials, it has sought to cultivate the promising Alabama field further by appearing in the case which led to this lynching, a case which has no similarity to the other one. In consequence it must share the responsibility for what happened to the Tuscaloosa prisoners at Woodstock.

In the Scottsboro cases there was, after the trials, a color of probability that justice had miscarried through misrepresentation by questionable witnesses. In the present case the trial had not taken place, and there were obvious dangers in the attempt of New York attorneys from the labor defense group to horn in at the outset. Resentment of this interference, fear that it would defeat rather than advance justice, apparently were uppermost in the minds of the misguided individuals who engineered the lynching.

But they must be brought to justice now, and made to pay for their own crime.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Eagle

AUG 15 1933

Alabama's New Disgrace.

A particularly wanton double lynching brings new disgrace to Alabama just at a time when concessions to fairness in the Scottsboro cases had almost convinced the world that this State was fast progressing toward an era of justice for all her citizens, white or black. No worse disaster can come to a self-respecting commonwealth than mob evidence that its citizens do not trust the administration of criminal law within its borders.

In this case the victims of mob murder had been indicted on a charge of murder by a white grand jury. Never and nowhere does indictment on ex parte evidence mean guilt. Two Negroes were shot to death. One is still missing and either dead or in the hands of the lynchers. There seems to be some presumptive or circumstantial evidence that the Sheriff from whose custody they were taken was not unaware of what was about to happen. He was conveying the Negroes from Tuscaloosa, sixty miles, to Birmingham. He was in the leading car with the prisoners and two deputies, with a trailer car loaded with armed deputies behind. After going twenty miles he ordered the trailer to start back for Tuscaloosa. Shortly afterward he surrendered the Negroes to the mob without firing a shot.

Three International Labor Defense lawyers from New York had appeared to take up the defense of the Negroes. A judge had ordered them out of the case and they had been escorted to the border by National Guardsmen. If there had been "outside interference" in this case it had been terminated. But even such resentment as existed in no degree excuses the lawless and revolting murder of defenseless prisoners, in whose favor the presumption of innocence ran until their guilt had been proved before a jury.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y.
MORNING POST

AUG 15 1933

LYNCHINGS IN ALABAMA.

Although Governor B. M. Miller of Alabama acted promptly in ordering a grand jury investigation of the lynching of three negroes near Birmingham, the history of this form of mob rule in the South unfortunately is not promising for the success of efforts to punish the offenders if caught. Records show that mob leaders go unpunished in most cases. Even if they are known, there is little likelihood of their conviction.

The victims of the latest exhibition of contempt for the orderly procedure of the law were under indictment for the slaying of a white girl. They were being transported from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham, as a precautionary measure, when they were seized from the officers by a mob. Two of them later were found shot to death and there was no trace of the other prisoner. In view of the threats of lynching that preceded the removal of the prisoners from the Tuscaloosa jail, it would seem that the officers in charge should have augmented their forces sufficiently to protect their prisoners from the mob. The negroes were entitled to the fullest protection of the law. It was the duty of the authorities to make sure that they had it.

Last year there were eleven lynchings in the United States, all in the South, as compared with thirteen in 1931, 21 in 1930, ten in 1929, eleven in 1928 and sixteen in 1927. In practically all cases the victims were taken from officers of the law.

While it seems to be commonly supposed that most lynchings are for sex offenses, a report by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynchings shows the contrary to be true. The commission's investigation of lynchings covering a period of forty years, showed according to its report, that of the 3,693 lynchings perpetrated, 77 per cent. were for non sex offenses. The commission expressed the opinion that lynching actually increased the jeopardy of white women.

Men have been lynched for non-criminal acts, such as political differences, the commission found. It reported that of the 21 persons lynched in 1930, two were innocent of the offense with which they were charged and eleven others were probably so. In 1931 the causes of thirteen lynchings included a quarrel with an employer, murder, theft of a trifling sum, the wounding of an officer and insulting white women.

OTTUMWA, IA.
COURIER

AUG 19 1933

INTO HANDS OF REDS.

A sheriff in Alabama took it upon himself to move three prisoners from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham "for safe-keeping." This was done without the authority of the court, the judge stating that he did not advise such removal.

The sheriff and his deputies were overpowered by armed men traveling in two cars and two of the Negro prisoners were killed. The sheriff declared the lynching was attributable to interference of International Labor Defense lawyers in the case.

That was a poor excuse and does not relieve the peace officer and his deputies of responsibility in failing to provide adequate protection for their prisoners against only a small band of armed men. It was stated that "many precautions" were taken "to prevent anything of this nature." That, in the light of the developments, is difficult to understand.

Interference of such an agency as the International Labor Defense, a communist organization, has stirred resentment in the south, but it has tended to aggravate rather than to remedy a bad situation. Such incidents, as this most recent occurrence, are those upon which the organization thrives. It strengthens the contention that Negroes are unable to obtain fair treatment.

Although offered ostensibly in aid of the Negro, this interference has not been welcomed by many members of that race. In the instance at hand, one of the men who later became a victim of the mob, together with his parents, had testified that they did not desire the help of the International Labor Defense lawyers. The assistance the Negro may need to obtain justice in the south should come from a source that the Negro himself is ready to sanction.

Mob violence cannot be condoned under any conditions. Neither the nature of the offense—in this case it was the murder of a young woman—nor any other aggravating factor can justify a denial of the orderly processes of justice, the commission of one crime in retaliation for another.

Prevailing public sentiment of the south, as of the whole country, is positively against lynching, a condition that has been reflected in the rapidly declining number of mob outbreaks.

To the extent that officers do their duty in protecting prisoners and that prosecution is aimed at the securing of plain justice, there will be a continuously lessened number of lynchings and possibly the final removal of these disgraceful blots upon the country's record.

If the law were permitted to take its orderly course, the radical groups would find that it availed them little to intercede in such affairs. Give the accused men competent counsel and a fair trial and Alabama would not long be bothered with interference of outsiders.

PEORIA, ILL.
TRANSCRIPT

AUG 15 1933

NO AID TO JUSTICE

An Alabama grand jury is investigating the abduction of three Negroes, charged with the murder of a white girl, from armed officers who were moving the prisoners from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham. Two of the Negroes were found shot to death. The third is still missing.

Sheriff Shamblin of Jefferson county attributes the lynching to bitter feeling aroused in the south by lawyers employed by the International Labor Defense, a radical organization. The sheriff contends that the lawyers thrust themselves into the case and had not been authorized to participate either by the prisoners of their families.

Two of the three International Labor Defense lawyers were New York men. The third was from Birmingham. Feeling was so high against them that they were escorted from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham by national guardsmen.

This is not the first time that "alien" lawyers have aroused the south. The International Labor Defense is responsible for much of the bitter feeling in the Scottsboro attack case. Their very presence makes a fair trial for Negroes impossible.

The south looks upon the International Labor Defense as a bolshevistic organization, the main purpose of which is to destroy traditions of the south. Most of the lawyers it employes are outlanders, who do not understand the south and southern social problems.

The International Labor Defense, on the other hand, claims it is interested solely in obtaining justice for those discriminated against by society. Its leaders admit they are "red" or at least pink. Their activities to date seem to indicate they are more interested in stirring up social unrest than in obtaining justice in isolated cases.

Justice for the southern Negro is a worthy purpose. It will not be achieved, however, through the fostering of class hatreds by the International Labor Defense, the Civil Liberties league or similar organizations.

TOLEDO, O.
BLADE

AUG 15 1933

Lynched Without Trial

IF THE three colored men taken forcibly from the custody of deputy sheriffs and shot to death in Alabama had been convicted of the crime of which they were accused, the flaming of the mob spirit would have been understandable, but in no wise defensible. A white girl had been killed. The three men lynched were under suspicion, but they were awaiting trial. They had not been convicted, or even given an opportunity to make a defense in the manner guaranteed by the Constitution. None of them may have been guilty. In any event, it is inconceivable that all were equally guilty, yet all were killed in defiance of the law and its officers.

The south's lynching record had improved recently. The triple lynching in Alabama sets it back a long way.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
EVENING UNION

AUG 16 1933

A Southern Way

The old southern custom of lynching Negroes was resorted to by a gang of whites on a recent night and three colored young men were taken away from an escort of sheriff and deputies and shot to death. The trio were under arrest on the charge of murdering a white girl. They were being taken from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham because feeling was running high against the Negroes and en route a band of armed whites stopped prisoners and escort. The prisoners were surrendered.

Not a shot was fired; apparently the sheriff and his deputies made no effort to hold their prisoners. They did not care to risk their own skins for the sake of these black boys. It is an attitude common among southern police officials when Negro prisoners are involved. The sheriff now says that he will make every effort to apprehend the lynchers, but he is a trifle late in his zeal.

If the South could develop sheriffs and deputies who would show a little devotion to duty when it is a question of protecting prisoners from lynching mobs perhaps mob law would not prevail as often as it does in that section of the country. The southern temperament rides rough shod because it knows that supine officials make no effort to safeguard prisoners. It might not flare up so frequently and so easily were it to encounter a somewhat stiffer attitude on the part of the authorities.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y.
MORNING POST

AUG 22 1933

ALABAMA'S RECOGNITION OF OUTRAGE

Lynchings once were common in the South. They have grown fewer in number in recent years, but are not yet extinct. Neither should we omit to note that the record of Northern states in this respect is not entirely clear, though the exhibitions of this form of barbarism on this side of the Ohio and Potomac are rare. Last week two negroes were taken from a sheriff at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and shot to death. The extent to which the newspapers of the state have denounced the crime reveals the sense of outrage which the better class of citizens feels. All the leading daily publications have united in condemning the act as a stain on the state and demanding that the perpetrators be brought to justice.

It appears from the protest voiced that lynching mobs in the South are no longer composed of the "best citizens" and such acts are not now regarded with complacence. The injury which the exhibitions of contempt for the judicial system of the state imply is now recognized. There is no question of a guilty negro not suffering for his offenses, if brought to trial before a jury in Alabama. The difficulty lies rather in preserving him from more than justice. Therefore, there is no excuse for summary proceedings, no matter how revolting the crime with which a man may be charged.

The Scottsboro case brought Alabama justice into unpleasant notoriety. The better people of the state recognize the extent to which the commonwealth suffered from that. Now, the Tuscaloosa lynching revives memory of the effort required to save from death those men, though the question of their guilt was of grave doubt. A new spirit toward lynchings seems to dominate the South. That offers hope that, though there may be occasional lapses, the sentiment against such savagery is becoming so strong as to offer promise of final elimination of the practice.

YOUNGSTOWN, O.
TELEGRAM

AUG 17 1933

ANOTHER NAME FOR MURDER

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In the old days this was a common occurrence. Fortunately it is not so frequent now. More and more officers of the law are acting on their oath to protect prisoners.

* * *

A MOB is made up of cowards. Not many mobs will go thru with a lynching without the active or tacit co-operation of the law officers who are paid to combat mobs.

It would be unfair to blame Alabama for these new crimes. Public opinion in the state is against lynching. Last year there were no lynchings in Alabama.

But, of course, the test here is whether the state of Alabama catches and convicts the lynchers and punishes the sheriff and his deputies for failure to defend the prisoners.

By punishing the guilty, Alabama can help in the solution of this nation-wide problem.

* * *

LYNCHING is not limited to the South, or to negroes, or to alleged sex crimes. Last year two of the 10 lynchings were in the northern states of Kansas and Ohio, and two of the victims were white men.

Of the alleged offenses—not proved but merely alleged offenses—of the mob victims, only one of the 10 was for attempted attack on a white woman.

The least offense is sufficient excuse for lynchers or officers who put themselves above the law. In no other civilized country in the world is murder by lynchers and racketeers a menace as in the United States. It will continue until we realize that these forms of murder are not a menace to one region alone but a menace to the nation.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

AUG 14 1933

Just Another Excuse

Sheriff R. L. Shamblin, of Tuscaloosa county, Alabama, cites the interference in the case of the International Labor Defense as the cause of the lynching of three Negroes in his custody yesterday.

Unfortunately for the Sheriff's excuse, however, the International Labor Defense had already been thrown out of the case by the presiding judge. Furthermore, the Negroes were guarded by several deputies, presumably armed. If the deputies were able to exhibit even one dead lyncher as proof that they had not betrayed their trust, the whole case would be strengthened. But there is no dead lyncher in sight, not even proof that the deputies tried to kill one. Only the prisoners the deputies were supposed to be guarding are dead. There is not even a seriously injured deputy.

Therefore all this talk about the International Labor Defense will be regarded by the rest of the country as just another excuse. It was a bestial and indefensible crime and a disgrace to Alabama.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern

3970

THE NEW DEAL OF LYNCH TERROR IN ALABAMA

Wave of Lynchings and Murders Attempt to Force Burden of Crisis on Negroes

By HARRY HAYWOOD

WITHIN the past three weeks, Alabama has witnessed four lynchings of Negroes, lynchings accomplished in an especially savage and spectacular manner, and with the clearest complicity of the state apparatus in planning and execution.

In Tuscaloosa, three Negro boys were charged with the rape and murder of a white girl. The frame-up was one of the crudest ever seen. Even the white papers of the town had admitted that the girl was obviously killed by a white man.

In Decatur, a Negro was framed on an equally crude charge of "rape" of a woman on a public road in broad daylight. Three attempts were made by the armed gangsters to lynch him.

In the reign of terror let loose by lynch gangs attempting to lynch him, another Negro was murdered in the Negro section of the town.

What is the meaning of this wave of terror? This wave of lynch orgies is for the purpose of crushing the rising resistance of the Negro toilers and white toilers to the Roosevelt New Deal—the hated National Industrial (Slavery) Act — and the Roosevelt program of plowing under cotton.

The economic crisis takes on its acutest and most aggravated form in the South, developing on the basis of a chronic agrarian crisis, resulting in a breakdown of agricultural economy, a catastrophic paralysis of the cotton trade, the basic money crop. Stagnation of industrial life, closing down of factories, mills, mines rounds out the picture of the ruinous extent of the crisis in Alabama. This is reflected in a budgetary crisis of the state, county, and city government, which are vening on complete bankruptcy.

Significantly, the State, through Governor Miller and Attorney-General Thomas Knight were recently in New York attempting to get a loan from the National City Bank. The loan was refused, the State being considered a bad risk. The result is that the whole economic situation grows more acute for the Southern rulers.

The ruling classes of Alabama and the entire South have turned to the National Industrial Act for a way out of the crisis, by loading the burden of the crisis on the banks of the masses. But it is the Negroes, as the weakest section of the toilers—those with the least rights—who are forced to bear the main brunt of the crisis and the attacks of the rulers.

The cotton plow-under program, which is a complete and legalized swindling of the renters, croppers and small farmers, is part of the way out for the landlords. The NRA, with its wage differentials between North and South, between white and Negro labor, with its speed-up and stagger-plan, is looked to by the industrialists to protect them from the ravages of the crisis. The NRA codes ignore the vast number of agricultural workers, and "outside labor" in the cotton mills. **These are predominantly Negroes.**

Negro porters and domestic servants are being replaced by whites under NRA provisions, in a further deliberate move to split them from the white workers, and to destroy the growing unity between them.

Fear of the growing resentment of the croppers, renters, and small farmers, against the outright swindle of forcing them to plow under their cotton, then taking the government checks supposed to pay for these plowed-under acres in payment of "furnishings" or other credits, impels the landlord interests to launch spectacular attacks upon the Negroes.

Formation of NRA vigilante committees is advocated by the press. In the Carolinas already, the Ku Klux Klan has been re-organized openly to enforce the plow-under program.

In the steel mills and mines, so far, only the intervention of the American Federation of Labor has prevented the widest outbreaks of strikes against the New Deal program.

However, the workers are not waiting for the codes as patiently as was expected. Even now, strikes are spreading in the coal and steel fields.

On the basis of the NRA prosperity ballyhoo, the Red Cross, R.F.C., and other relief agencies are cutting thousands of workers off from all relief. And the workers are not taking this lying down either. Already a relief strike originating in Ensley, a T.C.I. suburb of Birmingham, is threatening to take on city-wide proportions.

This is the background against which the lynchings at Tuscaloosa, Decatur, and Selma are perpetrated.

THE slave-drivers see the Communist Party and revolutionary organizations as the main obstacle to their carrying through of the New Deal program. Under the pressure of the crisis and the attacks of the bosses, the masses are rallying to the revolutionary leadership of the Communist Party as the only force offering a fighting program in the interest of the Negro people and white toilers. The heroic struggles of the Share Croppers Union, the Unemployed Councils, the fight for Willie Peterson and the tremendous worldwide campaign of the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense for the Scottsboro boys, has challenged the whole system of national and class oppression in the South and **has created a new fighting spirit, new confidence among the Negro masses.** The prestige of the slave-drivers is being undermined.

The Tuscaloosa and Decatur lynchings on the eve of the new Scottsboro trials, **are part of the preparations for the murder of the Scottsboro boys.** Hence the sharpened and desperate attacks upon the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense, to behead the revolutionary movement of the Negro and white masses, to remove these obstacles from the path of the lynchers.

The struggle to defeat this lynch terror is the burning demand of the toilers of the South. The maintenance and strengthening of our leadership of the Southern toilers depends to a great extent upon our ability to organize a powerful mass movement to stop this terror.

The Negro and white toilers of Alabama, led by the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense are girding themselves for decisive struggle. They are carrying through a militant program of action, and are organizing themselves to smash the New Deal lynch terror. They are demanding:

1. The arrest and prosecution, with death penalty, of judge, sheriff, deputies, and all officials and others responsible for the lynchings at Tuscaloosa, Decatur, and Benton. Cash indemnity to the families of the lynch victims.

2. Release of Elmore Clarke and all other defendants in Tuscaloosa and Decatur, Willie Peterson and the Scottsboro boys, and all victims of white ruling class frame-up.

3. Down with the whitewashing grand jury of the bosses! For an open hearing with Negroes and sympathetic white workers on the grand jury.

4. Disarming and disbanding of the Ku Klux Klan lynch gangs; the right of Negroes and their white working-class supporters to keep and bear arms in self-defense; formation of defense corps of Negro and white toilers.

5. **The right of Negro defendants to choose their own lawyers; safety for I.L.D. lawyers and representatives.**

6. Immediate investigation of **Tuscaloosa, Decatur, and Benton lynchings** by a federal grand jury with representation of Negroes and white workers; transfer of the Tuscaloosa, Decatur, and Scottsboro frame-up cases to federal courts; the immediate passage and enforcement of the Bill of Civil Rights for the Negro People.

We hold President Roosevelt responsible for the murderous crimes of the Alabama Democratic Party government!

For a United Front of Negro Masses and White Toilers against the Common enemy, the white ruling class and their K.K.K. henchmen! Against the New Deal starvation and terror!

Committees of Action against Lynching and Negro Persecution are being formed in Alabama. Preparations for a conference in the city of Birmingham are being made. Delegations are being elected to this conference from shops, mills, unions, and other organizations.

The heroic struggles of the Negro and white toilers of Alabama must be supported by a nation-wide mobilization of the working-class and its allies and sympathizers.

The mass meetings throughout the country must be continued and multiplied, and the tempo of protest action intensified. The struggle against lynching and terror must be brought into all activities of the Party and the revolutionary mass organizations, as an inseparable part of the whole campaign against the National Industrial Recovery Act.

176 At Birmingham Plan All-Southern Anti-Lynch Meet

ILD Demands Death for Organized Murder Gangs in South

Daily Worker 9-19-33

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Sept. 18.—A state anti-lynch committee which will call an all-Southern anti-lynch conference within two months was elected by 176 delegates, representing 65 organizations, at an anti-lynch conference here Sunday.

New York

At the same conference, a delegation was elected which will go to Governor B. M. Miller to protest the wave of lynchings by small gangs consisting for the most part of officers of the law and other officials which has swept Alabama recently. The delegation will also demand the arrest, indictment, and prosecution for murder with application of the death penalty, for all lynchers, starting with the circuit judge, sheriff, and three deputies of Tuscaloosa.

Mary Cooper, white Birmingham woman, was chairman of the conference, which was opened by Robert Durr, editor of the Birmingham **World**, Negro newspaper, who gave a review of the reign of terror leading up to the conference, and called for organized struggle against lynching.

The program of the International Labor Defense, which fills this need, was presented by Jane Speed, white Southern girl who recently served a jail term for speaking at a May 1 meeting to both Negroes and whites.

The delegation to Governor Miller was instructed to demand also the immediate unconditional and safe release of the Scottsboro boys, Willie Peterson, and all other frame-up victims, and equal rights for Negroes as guaranteed in the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the U. S. constitution.

Another committee was elected to see Chief of Police McDuff, of Birmingham, to demand that the police reign of terror against Negroes in that city be stopped, and that all officers guilty of killing and terrorizing Negroes be removed, arrested, and prosecuted for murder.

Dr. Taggart, N.A.A.C.P. representative and a scheduled speaker for the meeting, failed to show up.

Literary Digest N.Y.
SEP 2 1933

What Alabama Thinks of Her Lynching

THERE is "blood on the great seal of Alabama."

These words from the Montgomery *Advertiser* represent the indignation and the sense of shame on the part of the press of Alabama, following the lynching of two Negro boys a few miles from the metropolis of the State. From other papers we cull such phrases as "Alabama bows its head in shame"; "a stain has been placed on the records of Alabama"; "Alabama stands disgraced in the eyes of the civilized world."

Besides such expressions and the emphatic demand that the lynchers shall be ferreted out and prosecuted, there is another thought that finds repeated expression. It is that while nothing can excuse the lynching, the responsibility must be shared by the radical group in the North, known as the International Labor Defense, which stirred up adverse public sentiment by trying to help in the legal defense of the Tuscaloosa Negroes.

The facts in the case are simple enough. Last June a young white woman was assaulted and murdered near Tuscaloosa, a city of 20,000 inhabitants, seat of the University of Alabama. Several Negroes were suspected, three held for trial. The I. L. D. offered legal help, which was turned down by the defendants. The judge assigned counsel, and refused to allow the I. L. D. lawyers to act. The latter were given the protection of the militia, in order that they might get safely out of town.

On August 12, the Tuscaloosa County sheriff worried about the possibility of an attack on the jail by would-be lynchers, decided to spirit the Negroes away to safer custody in Birmingham, 55 miles away. About midnight the three Negroes, handcuffed, were in a car with three deputy sheriffs, more than half-way to Birmingham, when the road was blocked by two automobiles. A dozen armed men, masked, jumped out and called for the Negroes, who were handed over. The Negroes were then carried some miles away into the woods and were lined up and shot. Two were killed, one was left for dead, but was able to get away, and was later given up to the authorities.

Judge Henry B. Foster of Tuscaloosa initiated a grand jury investigation of the lynching. The jury met, and later recessed until September 5, to give the State Attorney-General an opportunity to procure evidence. In his charge to the jury, Judge Foster said in part:

"Mob violence in itself is a crime. It provokes rather than restrains other crimes.

"The most extreme form of mob violence is lynching.

"Lynching is an affront to the dignity and sovereignty of the commonwealth.

"The mob faces backwards. No modern community can afford to tolerate lynching. No sovereign State can allow such a violation of its peace and dignity to go unpunished."

Right in Tuscaloosa, *The News* heads its editorial "Lynched—By the Carpetbaggers of 1933." It argues that as lynch law was born from the "ignorance and arrogance" of the carpetbaggers from the North in reconstruction days, so the "belled buzzards of the International Labor Def[ense] ... ing their dirty beaks in where t[hey have no] business," are responsible for t[he lynchings] of August, 1933.

There seems to be a general feeling on the part of Alabama papers that the crime would not have taken place if it had not been for the interference of the I. L. D. But that does not mean that they condone the lynching. Altho "the maggoty beaks of the belled buzzards of the International Labor Defense League are stained with the blood of the three Negro boys," concludes the Montgomery *Advertiser*, "this can not wash the blood from the hands of Alabamians."

After all, says the Birmingham *Age-Herald*, "the guilt falls primarily upon those slinking dastards who committed the lynching; they should be hunted down relentlessly." The Birmingham *News* is emphatic: "There is never any excuse for lynching." In the opinion of the Huntsville *Times* the "excuse that the I. L. D. lawyers caused the lynching is just a screen to cover up cowardice and official delinquency."

Outside of Alabama we find the Charleston *News and Courier* holding the I.L.D. largely for the mental state which led to the lynching.

But other Southern dailies have little patience with all the talk of the I. L. D., the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* suspecting "that the Negroes would have been lynched just as quickly if the New York lawyers had remained home."

Wide World

"YOU DON'T KNOW HOW IT FEELS UNTIL IT HAPPENS TO YOU"

So says Deputy Sheriff W. I. Huff (right), of Tuscaloosa, in telling how the armed lynchers took the Negroes away from him and his companions, here shown with their car

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BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN
SEP 28 1933

No Arrests

The story of the lynching at Opelousas, La., Tuesday closes with the words, "No arrests had been made tonight."

That comment, and not the lynching itself, brands the State of Louisiana with the mark of infamy. Any State can have a lynching, because every State has the raw materials of a mob in the thoughtless, the brutish and the reckless among its population. But a State in which punishment for lynching is regarded as almost certainly swift and sure is not likely to have mob murders. And a State which does punish lynchers swiftly and surely clears its own skirts, at least partially, of the stain.

But when a lynching occurs and no arrests follow, then officialdom falls under the same condemnation as the mob. Connivance makes the State share in the guilt of the mob. The lynching itself might have been Louisiana's misfortune and no more; but the failure of her officers to make any arrests is not merely her misfortune, but her shame.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions

White Press, Northern

3971

AKRON, O.
TIMES PRESS
AUG 19 1933

Another Name For Murder

FOR the lynching of two Negroes in Alabama and the serious wounding of a third, the officials seem to have been partly responsible. According to the reports the sheriff was moving the prisoners from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham without the knowledge of the judge. A lonely road was chosen by the sheriff, and after proceeding a few miles one car with deputies turned back, leaving only the sheriff and two deputies to protect the three prisoners. When two cars carrying lynchers appeared and demanded the prisoners, the sheriff gave them up.

In the old days this was a common occurrence. Fortunately it is not so frequent now. More and more officers of the law are acting on their oath to protect prisoners. This accounts in large part for the decline in lynching. In 1931 the figure fell to 14, and last year to 10.

A mob is made up of cowards. Not many mobs will go through with a lynching without the active or tacit co-operation of the law officers who are paid to combat mobs.

It would be unfair to blame Alabama for these new crimes. Public opinion in the state is against lynching. Responsible groups of citizens are trying to stamp out this barbarism. They are supported by many judges and law officers. Last year there were no lynchings in Alabama.

But, of course, the test here is whether the state of Alabama catches and convicts the lynchers and punishes the sheriff and his deputies for failure to defend the prisoners.

By punishing the guilty, Alabama can help in the solution of this nation-wide problem. Despite misinformation on the subject, lynching is not limited to the south, or to Negroes, or to alleged sex crimes. Last year two of the 10 lynchings were in the northern states of Kansas and Ohio, and two of the victims were white men. Of the alleged offenses—not proved but merely alleged offenses—of the mob victims, only one of the 10 was for attempted attack on a white woman.

The least offense is sufficient excuse for lynchers or officers who put themselves above the law. On Sunday morning the lynchers killed two Negro prisoners, and that same afternoon near Tuscaloosa officers shot to death another Negro for alleged resistance of arrest on a charge of stealing chickens.

And on the same day that these three American citizens were murdered in Alabama without protection of law, the President of the United States ordered warships to Cuba to protect American lives if necessary.

In no other civilized country in the world is murder by lynchers and racketeers a menace as in the United States. It will continue until we realize that these forms of murder are not a menace to one region alone but a menace to the nation.

BALTIMORE, MD.
POST
AUG 17 1933

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KANSAS CITY, MO.
TIMES
AUG 15 1933

Mob Violence Is Without Excuse.

The lynching of two Negroes and possibly a third near Birmingham, Ala., is declared by the sheriff who had the victims in charge to be attributable to interference of International Labor Defense lawyers in the case. It is a poor excuse, and does not relieve the sheriff and his deputies of responsibility in failing to provide adequate protection for their prisoners against only a small band of armed men. It is asserted that "many precautions" were taken "to prevent anything of this nature." That in the light of the developments, is difficult to understand.

It is true that the interference of such an agency as the International Labor Defense, a Communist organization, has stirred resentment in the South. It has tended to aggravate rather than to remedy a bad situation. Although ostensibly offered in aid of the Negro this interference has not been welcomed by many members of that race. In this instance, one of the men who later became a victim of the mob, together with his parents, had testified that they did not desire the help of the International Labor Defense lawyers. The assistance the Negro may need to obtain justice in the South ~~should~~ come from a source that the Negro himself is ready to sanction.

But mob violence cannot be condoned under any conditions. Neither the nature of the alleged offense—and in this case it was the murder of a young woman—nor any other aggravating factor can justify a denial of the orderly processes of justice, the commission of one crime in retaliation for another. Prevailing public sentiment of the South, as of the whole country, is positively against lynching, a condition that has been reflected in the rapidly declining number of mob outbreaks.

To the extent that officers do their duty in protecting prisoners and that prosecution is aimed at the securing of plain justice, there will be a continuously lessened number of lynchings and possibly the final removal of these disgraceful blots upon the country's record.

BUFFALO, N. Y.
TIMES
AUG 20 193

MURDER BY MOB

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CLEVELAND, O.
NEWS
AUG 21 1933

Lynching Must Go, Too

WHILE he is organizing the nation's forces for an anti-crime drive, Dr. Moley may well turn his attention to a crime peculiarly American.

It is the crime of lynching, more prevalent in the south but one which has cast its bloody blot on the pages of many a state's history.

The outrageous killing of two young Negroes, Dan Pippen and A. T. Harden, age 18 and 16, respectively, by an Alabama mob furnishes sufficient incentive for vigorous action in the lynching situation.

It is clearly apparent that something more than local initiative is needed in running murderous mobs to earth, in vigorously prosecuting the members of these mobs. The elements of race prejudice, sectional feeling, resistance to "outside meddling" and other forces inimical to the effective administration of justice too often enter in.

It was that way in the Alabama case, although the nation must accord Judge Henry B. Foster its sincere respect for the vigorous manner in which he charged the grand jury investigating the affair, branding lynching as murder.

"Mob violence," he said, "is the greatest enemy to the orderly processes of law." That is true of any form of modern mass crime, and those pretending to uphold "race superiority" in flaunting their narrow sectional prejudices are no better than the gangsters who murder in the streets.

There was grave doubt about the guilt of any of the five Negroes imprisoned in connection with the death of Vaudine Maddox, a white girl; the "evidence" consisted largely of rumor and gossip. But had the case been complete, the duty of the citizens of a sovereign state was to concede the accused the right to be heard in court, to a trial by jury.

This the mob which killed Pippen and Harden and left Elmore Clark for dead seemed determined to prevent. Boasts were made that there would be no "repetition of the Scottsboro case." After the lynching the sheriff of Tuscaloosa county, who meekly surrendered his captives to the mob attempted to blame the incident on eastern attorneys who had interested themselves in the Negroes' case, saying they were "directly responsible for the lynching."

Executions in the underworld are due to be investigated and stamped out in the government's anti-crime drive. The killing of unfortunates against whom the finger of suspicion points, in communities easily inflamed by race prejudice or other, must end also. The government's crime bureau should ascertain without delay the reason for the breakdown of law enforcement in the "lynching belt" and recommend the correction of this condition by whatever means feasible.

WORCESTER, MASS.
GAZETTE
AUG 19 1933

The People's Forum

Kidnaping and Lynching

Writer Thinks One Is No Worse Than the Other

To the Editor of The Gazette,

Sir:—Is Ex-Commissioner Mulrooney a perfect man? Unless entirely superior to the rest of humanity, he does make mistakes and is more or less of a law-breaker himself. So if he thinks flogging would improve his own manners or morals, let it be tried on him and if successful he can suggest it for others. Until then he has no right to advocate doing to another what he would not have done to himself.

One cannot help fearing that the world is becoming less civilized, when listening to representative men discuss racketeering with the soulless bias that take no cognizance of the conditions that have developed the racketeer. Have any of them suggested education as a preventative of or cure for crime? It is said that a large percentage of our youth mature without any moral teaching whatsoever.

Has bigotry—disguised as religion—driven the teaching of all morality from our public schools? Speaking with a senior in one of our well-known colleges, the writer was surprised to learn that he never had read the Sermon on the Mount and that he did not know the 10 great sign posts on the highway of civilization. Yet he is an honor graduate of our public schools.

Because we have ignored our own duty, should we torture or exile the unfortunate victims of our neglect? All of us are gamblers at heart. The greater the risk, the greater the temptation to the daring. The ordinary miscreant sees those—perhaps less intelligent than himself—go free, and takes a chance. Isn't it true that the most revolting crime will go unpunished if the criminal has enough political influence?

Our prisons are filled with lesser criminals, while those of Al Capone's type are restrained only when they fail to share their ill-gotten gains with the government in the shape of income tax.

In regard to the suppression of firearms, 37 years ago, our baggage, with that of all others entering Ireland, was thoroughly searched in the effort to keep them out of that country. The many massacres of innocent persons in Ireland since then clearly demonstrated the futility of trying to keep murderous weapons away from the real assassin.

After all, why is the Senate making all this fuss about kidnaping, while the torture and lynching of Negroes in the South, year after year, goes merrily on without hindrance from the federal government? Is kidnaping a more heinous crime than lynching? Or is this excitement because the victims of the former are generally persons of wealth, while those of the latter are the lowliest of God's children? If Congress really is desirous of suppressing lawlessness, let them include lynching as equally abhorrent with kidnaping. We cannot stamp out one, if we allow the other to exist.

No government can endure that tries to cure crime with cruelty—or continually compromises with injustice.

SARAH HINDS WILDER.

Shrewsbury, Aug. 16.

LITTLE FALLS, N. Y.
TIMES
AUG 17 1933

LYNCHED WITHOUT TRIAL.

If the three colored men taken forcibly from the custody of deputy sheriffs and shot to death in Alabama had been convicted of the crime of which they were accused, the flaming of mob spirit would have been understandable, but in no wise defensible. A white girl had been killed. The three men lynched were under suspicion, but they were awaiting trial. They had not been convicted, or even given an opportunity to make a defense in the manner guaranteed by the Constitution. None of them may have been guilty. In any event, it is inconceivable that all were equally guilty, yet all were killed in defiance of the law and its officers

The south's lynching record had improved recently. The triple lynching in Alabama sets it back a long way.

OGDEN CITY, UTAH
STANDARD-EXAMINER
AUG 14 1933

LYNCHINGS IN THE SOUTH

Alabama did not add to its good name for law and order when the officers of the law were made to deliver negro prisoners to a mob.

The south had been getting away from lynching, but of late there has been a turning backward and once more negroes are being put to death by mobs.

The rule of the mob lends itself to grave errors and does nothing to correct the lawlessness which inspires it; in fact, mob rule is in itself an endorsement of disregard for law.

EASTON, PA
EXPRESS
AUG 24 1933

A STATE'S SHAME

Intelligent opinion in Alabama, as voiced by the newspapers of the State, is vigorously and unanimously condemnatory of the masked mob which last week lynched two Negroes after taking them from a week-kneed sheriff. There is little discussion of the guilt or innocence of the victims, but there is emphatic denunciation of the recrudescence of mob savagery which has disgraced the entire State.

"It is an affront to the better citizenship of Alabama," says the Birmingham Post. "Alabama stands disgraced in the eyes of the civilized world," says the Birmingham News. The Anniston Star asserts that "a stain has been placed on the records of Alabama"; while the Montgomery Advertiser proclaims that "there is blood on the great seal of Alabama."

Such vehement condemnation is gratifying proof that lynching is no longer viewed with complacence or even defended by self-designated "good citizens" as it was a decade or two decades ago. A new intelligence dominates most sections of the South, and it is resentful when thugs or zealots make a State or a community appear unintelligent and uncivilized.

The intelligence of Alabama realizes that the Scottsboro cases gave the commonwealth a black eye. The Tuscaloosa lynching has blackened Alabama's other eye, and the people do not like it. So genuine is the indignation that there is a possibility that something really serious may be done to the Tuscaloosa lynchers.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions

White Press, (Northern.)

3972

HOUGHTON, MICH.
MINING GAZETTE

FEB 17 1933

LYNCHINGS ON DECLINE.

At a time when encouraging news is relatively scarce, it is worth noticing that the number of lynchings in the United States during 1932 fell to eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept.

This is especially worth comment, since a prolonged economic depression usually intensifies those antagonisms and prejudices which lead to lynch law. The year 1932 might logically have been expected to produce an exceptionally large number of lynchings; that the number actually fell below the lowest total previously recorded indicates that a very genuine ancouraging shift in public sentiment is taking place.

WORCESTER, MASS.
POST

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STOCKTON, CAL.
RECORD

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TIMES
NEW PHILADELPHIA, O.

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YOUNGSTOWN, O.
VINDICATOR

APR 21 1933

South Condemns Lynching

In his book, "The Tragedy of Lynching, Dr. A. F. Raper presents the histories o lynchings in the South and says that th crime is becoming more and more a southern phenomenon and a racial one. The case are revealed by a survey made chiefly in th South by investigators for the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching. The survey is an encouraging sign. It would no have been undertaken even a decade ago, although in some sections people, press anc church were outspoken against the mob rule which brought disgrace upon the South.

In the 40 years ending with 1930 there were 3,724 lynchings in the United State, four out of every five victims being Negroes. In late years killings by mobs have greatly diminished, and there is reason to expect that the feeling in the new South where officials are showing the courage to deal with mobs, will have influence for better conditions.

In 1930 life sentences were given two men ... a lynching and two other ... of rioting and arson when ... house was burned. In that year ther ... victims of mob violence. Dr. Rape ... that the evidence points to the innocence of two of the number, of the guil of 11 others there was grave doubt, and he believes that in five cases no crime had been committed. Mobs bent upon taking human life never stop to look into the innocence or guilt of persons captured or taken from custody of officers.

In the days when the South was blind to the evil there was little if any feeling when it was found that an innocent man had been hung, shot or burned at the stake. Lynchers were rarely punished then, but now there is a strong determination to make them face the consequences. Community standards are changing, lynching is not condoned as it was, and convictions and punishment are making for a new order and security.

Western Spirit
Paola, Kans.

MAY 19 1933

Lynchings in the U. S.

Three thousand, seven hundred and twenty-four persons were lynched in the United States from 1889 through 1930, according to "The Tragedy of Lynching," written by Arthur Raper, research and field secretary of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching. More than four-fifths of them were Negroes, less than one-sixth of whom were accused of rape. In 1930, twenty-one persons were lynched, of whom two were not accused of any crime and there was doubt of guilt of eleven others. These findings contradict the old claim that lynching is a means of protecting southern women. There seems to be no "one cause" of lynching. Some of the causes are ignorance, prejudice, economic competition and jealousy, habitual attitudes of suspicion and hatred alongside the patronizing attitude of affection toward the "good niggers"—both inculcated from infancy—and the barbaric notion that the use of violence will teach the Negro to "keep his place." Of the thousands of lynchers in 1930, only forty-nine were indicted; only four have been sentenced.—Kansas City Star.

TORONTO, ONT.
TELEGRAM

JUN 9 1933

Few U.S. Lynchings To Protect Women

"Mobs do not come out of the nowhere. Lynchings are not the work of men suddenly possessed of a strange madness; they are the logical issues of prejudice and lack of respect for the law and personality, plus a sadistic desire to participate in the excitement of mob trials and the brutalities of mob torture and murder," writes Dr. Arthur F. Raper in a report made for the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching. From 1889 to 1930 3,724 persons were lynched in the United States. Four-fifths of them were negroes. In recent decades lynchings have been fewer; but "lynching is becoming more and more

a Southern phenomenon, and a racial one."

It is on the "belated frontiers" only recently settled, as in parts of Texas and in Southeast Georgia, that most lynchings occur. The old cultural centres of the South are not lynching centres. Where the sentiment of local county independence is strongest, where policing is slight, taxes are low and schooling bad, there lynchings are most frequent. A low price for cotton seems to mean more likelihood of lynchings.

Southerners do not, as a rule, lynch to protect white womanhood. In fewer than one-sixth of the lynchings was assault even charged; often the charges were proved false after the victim was dead. Of the twenty-one men lynched in 1930 two were certainly innocent, and eleven cases were doubtful; in five Dr. Raper is not sure even that any crime was committed. A rumor grows; the crowd on the street becomes convinced of its truth; and in the heat of mob excitement suspicion becomes certainty. It is usually the riff-raff of a community which forms the mob. But after the job is done even the leaders of the community condone the work of the riff-raff.

Few Lynchers Given Punishment

Lynchers, the investigators report, are almost never punished by local courts. In 1930, though 10,000 persons must have participated in the twenty lynching mobs, there were indictments in but six cases and convictions in only two. In rural Thomas County, Ga., two men were given life sentences; in Sumner County, Tex., where a mob burned down the court-house trying to get at a negro prisoner, two men were convicted—of arson and rioting. "A lynching is but a product of community standards," Dr. Raper says, "and consequenly will not be condemned by that community." Even the local churches tend to condone them; but the regional church bodies have become increasingly outspoken against this mediaeval barbarism. Country weeklies often defend lynchings; the great Southern newspapers denounce them with ever stronger vigor.

Are Southern courts lenient to negro prisoners, as defenders of lynchings sometimes say? The record does not show it. Of eighty-one executions in ten Southern states (in the year and a half ended in mid-1931) thirteen were of whites—all convicted of murder; sixty-eight of negroes—fifty-seven for murder, eight for assaults on women, three for burglary.

Fewer Lynchings In "Black Belt"

Do lynchings occur most in the "Black Belt," where the few white men feel their racial supremacy endangered? The record says no. The Southern investigators find the fact to be that negroes are safer from mob deaths in the old Black Belt, where more than half the population is negro, than anywhere else in the South. The worst lynching counties are those where fewer than a quarter of the people are colored, and those few are held down, unschooled and unsharing in civic responsibilities.

One of the most gruesome aspects of the case histories which make up the bulk of "The Tragedy of Lynching" is the regularity with which middle-aged women whet the mob's blood lust. At Sherman, Tex., a woman organized a group of ten-year-old boys to march through the mob, bearing an American flag, and taunting the men with being "yellow"; at Honey Grove one minister's wife roused another to "come see"; some women actually raised their babies above their heads to protect a mob, daring the militia to shoot.

Where the state government is alive to its duty, where sheriffs really care for the law, mobs can be and are stopped, the report affirms.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.
LEADER
APR 22 1933

LYNCHING

Forty states of the union passed through 1932 without a recorded lynching, as shown by the honor roll of states free from the evil, announced recently by the department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches. In publishing the list Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary, said:

"In 1932 there were 40 states that held places on the honor roll of the Federal Council of Churches through having a record of freedom from lynching during the year. This is an increase of one state over 1930 and over 1931; it is three fewer than 1929. The honor roll lists the following states as free of the lynching evil last year, according to available records: Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Nevada, North Dakota, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming."

PORT CHESTER, N. Y.
ITEM
JUN 13 1933

The "Civilized North"

ONE of the thousand-and-one topics touched upon by a group of gossiping men, gathered recently in a club grillroom, was the "lynch law" which prevails in the South—one of the men described a lynching he had witnessed, eliciting from another of the group the comment: "Now it would be impossibe for that sort of thing to happen here in the North—we seem to be further advanced in civilization than are folks below the Mason and Dixon line. Up here, however revolting may be a man's crime, he invariably is given the full protection of the law. We have advanced beyond the instinctive, primitive cruelty of the lynch law."

Yes?

But the other night the bodies of two men, shot to death after they obviously had been tortured with a refinement of cruelty surpassing that of legendary cannibals, were tossed into a ditch right here in our own section of Westchester County. They were, we are told by the police, the victims of a gang feud in New York—were only two of numerous thugs similarly executed by their fellows during recent weeks. Indeed, the total of all lynchings in the Southland since first the Negro problem arose there about a century ago is probably less than the total of murders committed in bootlegging and other "racket" wars right here in the "civilized North" during the past 15 years. Indeed, a lynching in the South today is so rare as to be "news"—a racket murder in New York City, "the finest and most cultured city in all the universe," as Jimmy Walker was wont to observe more sonorously than accurately, is but a routine affair. Indeed, so calloused have we in the cultured North become to the bloody vagaries of our underworld rulers, the police of the metropolitan area no longer consider themselves really obligated to run down and capture gangster killers—"One of them is no better than another, so let 'em kill each other off," is the philosophy of the situation.

So we go on out-lynching the lynchers of the South—permitting to operate in our midst, and virtually without restraint, a tribe of outlaws far more bloodthirsty in its operations than are or perhaps ever have been the headhunters of Borneo. Indeed, these killings here are fulminations of the ugliest forms of commercial vice, the most sordid types of criminality—compared with which the flaming wrath of the South's lynch mob is as an holy inspiration. Nor are we much aroused by the fact that this prevalence of murder-for-hire costs our law-abiding, ostensibly respectable citizenry many millions of dollars in extorted tolls each year.

The purpose of this extended comment? Just this—the bottleggers are not going to surrender their vastly profitable industry, in the face of legalization of beer and impending repeal of the 18th Amendment, without a fight for dominance of the "new deal"—and we're going to have trouble with them right here in Westchester County if we do not handle them with mailed fists. For example—if any applicant for a beer license in Port Chester has an unsavory past, or if he attempts to obtain his license through ulterior influences, he not only should be denied a license forever, but he ought to be tossed into jail in the bargain.

NEW YORK TIMES
JUN 16 1933

LYNCHING

They swung him high on a hempen strand
(Blood must wipe out blood).
He had no chance at the witness stand;
The only justice they understand
Is sudden death with a sudden hand
(Blood must wipe out blood).

No chaplain sounded a prayer for him
(Blood must wipe out blood);
No weeping eyes with tears were dim;
Their eyes were hard and their faces grim;
They laughed as they swung him off the limb
(Blood must wipe out blood).

His soul they damned, but their own as well
(Blood must wipe out blood).
They wrote their names in the pits of hell;
His limp, black body rides the swell
Of the wind that sounds alone his knell
(Blood must wipe out blood).

STEWART ATKINS.

CRIME

28th "Rolphing"

The 26th and 27th lynchings of 1933,* in San Jose, Calif. and St. Joseph, Mo., started a furor of indignation in which President Roosevelt publicly shared fortnight ago. Last week near Columbia, Tenn. the 28th was so peaceful that even the Sheriff did not know it had occurred. Cord Cheek, 20, accused of raping an 11-year-old white girl, had been exonerated by a Grand Jury, had gone to visit relatives in Nashville. Twenty minutes after he arrived a mob seized him, carried him to Columbia, strung him up on a cedar limb after riddling his body with bullets. Before dispersing they telephoned the Sheriff to come and get him. Said the Sheriff after investigating: "The lynching was handled in a very quiet manner. We have no clues whatever." Governor Hill McAlister promptly posted a $1,000 reward for apprehension of the lynchers.

*In 1932, there were 10 lynchings; in 1931 14. Biggest year: 1892 with 226.

Lynchings - 1933

Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3973

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
RECORD

NOV 27 1933

Halfway Measures Against Lynching

Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, in his message to the special session of the Legislature, denounces lynching and calls for changes in the State laws designed to prevent a recurrence of the two disgraceful mob murders on the Eastern Shore.

His program includes:

Prompt consideration of all cases by grand and petit juries. Immediate convocation of the Grand Jury in important cases.

Motions for new trial to be decided within 10 days.

Reduction of the time limit on appeals.

Sheriffs to be held directly responsible for the safety of prisoners. The Sheriff to have power to remove prisoners from the county on his own initiative or on the order of the Governor. The Governor to have the power to remove from office a Sheriff who fails to safeguard his prisoners.

Changing the jury system to permit Negroes to serve on grand and petit juries.

The Governor's recommendations show that he is awake to the necessity for anti-lynching action.

But, in spite of these new safeguards, suppose a lynching occurs. Suppose a State's Attorney, with more interest in his political popularity than in his duty, balks prosecution. What then?

That is exactly the situation facing Governor Ritchie now. John B. Robins, the Somerset county prosecutor, has flatly refused to arrest nine men whose names were furnished him by the Attorney General of the State. The three Judges of the district have not removed Robins from the case in spite of his patent intention not to co-operate.

If Robins can be removed from office by the action of the Legislature why doesn't the Governor inaugurate the proper procedure? And if Robins cannot be removed from office then the law needs an amendment that will take care of situations like the present one.

Local hoodlums who can intimidate a local official must not be allowed to defy a whole State.

BUFFALO, N. Y.
TIMES

NOV 29 1933

THE MARYLAND REBELLION

SALISBURY, Maryland, is in rebellion against the state. Its citizens attacked state officials and state troops, driving them out of town.

The issue is no longer merely the apprehension and punishment of the Princess Anne lynchers. The issue now is whether the state of Maryland will re-establish authority over its rebellious citizens.

The duty of the governor is plain. Local authorities having failed—if indeed they tried—to prevent anarchy and wholesale violence, state troops should be kept there until the reign of law is recognized and respected.

Whether state officials and police by their inaction were partly to blame for the lynching last month is still an open question. Nevertheless Governor Ritchie deserves credit for his belated attempt to use the power of the state to capture the lynch leaders protected by the local authorities.

But the fact that only four of the nine lynching suspects were captured, coupled with the fact that the attorney general and the troops yesterday retreated from the town under attack by another mob, leaves a much more dangerous situation than existed after the lynching.

By yesterday's violence the mob spirit was encouraged. Lawless elements all over the state will grow.

Maryland, like any other state, is made up chiefly of peaceful and law-abiding citizens. The purpose of law is to protect the community from the lawless minority. Governor Ritchie cannot compromise with mob rebellion.

TRENTON, N. J.
TIMES

NOV 28 1933

TWO GOVERNORS

Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, repeatedly has demanded the arrest of nine alleged participants in last month's lynching at Princess Anne, Somerset County. And now the Fifth Regiment of the Maryland National Guard has been dispatched for the apparent purpose of seeing that the gubernatorial order is carried out.

Governor Rolph, of California, praises the lynchers of the kidnaper-slayers of Brooke Hart, San Jose youth, and blandly remarks that "if anyone is arrested for the good job, I'll pardon them all."

What a contrast in official responsibility! Governor Ritchie upholds the law in accordance with his oath of office. Governor Rolph goes on record in favor of mob violence and barbarism.

Serious and despicable as were the original crimes in Maryland and California, no right-thinking citizen would condone the use of lawless methods in meting out punishment to the accused. Orderly judicial processes are a characteristic of civilized countries. They cannot be overthrown or disregarded without blackening the name of the nation involved.

American lawlessness has long been viewed with amazement by critics from other lands. And this deplorable condition will maintain so long as Judge Lynch is recognized as an acceptable medium for the dispensing of justice.

Rule by rope and fagot is bad enough under any circumstances. But when, as in the case of California, it meets with the approval of a State's chief executive, the time has come for the American people to hang their heads in shame.

TRENTON, N. J.
STATE GAZETTE

DEC 1 1933

The Mob Spirit Abroad in the Land

During the last two weeks there have been lynchings in Maryland, California and Missouri—all huge demonstrations of inhumanity in which thousands of people took part, and all of a character to horrify the land and fill its people with a sense of humiliation and disgrace.

Until recently, the public reaction to these mob murders has consistently been one of shame. They have been deplored and condemned and stimulus has been given the movement, which has made such encouraging progress during these last few years, to wipe out this heinous national crime.

Now there is a different feeling and it is not confined to the moronic Governor of California, who gazed upon the work of the frenzied mob and called it good. It is one of condonation and is to be found in surprising quarters, among people who usually think along sane lines.

Not only these lynchings, but the spirit which they have caused to surge to the surface in all parts of the country and which is being reflected in Maryland in the mob's defiance of National Guard troops, constitute cause for national concern.

Whether it arises from the innate viciousness of individual participants or, as has been charged, from disgust with the slow-moving processes and the occasional futility of the law, the result is the same.

Lawlessness in a new and a more hideous form has arisen to take the place of the gang warfare of prohibition days—the lawlessness of mobs, drunk with passion or with rum, that set themselves up as agencies of justice, resort to murder and are viewed benevolently by witless officials of government and indifferently by public opinion.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
POST

DEC 2 1933

The End of His Rule?

Franklyn Waltman, jr., of The Post's national news bureau, speculated in yesterday's paper upon the possibility that Gov. Ritchie's long rule of Maryland had been broken by his sending of troops into Somerset County to arrest the lynching suspects.

A native of Maryland and an authority upon its affairs, Mr. Waltman said that the governor's action had strengthened him, perhaps, with racial groups in Baltimore, but it had weakened him not only in the Eastern Shore counties but also in sympathetic Western Shore and rural sections.

It is Mr. Waltman's feeling that, despite the fact that Gov. Ritchie has broken all Maryland tradition by three reelections and has "demonstrated that he is one of the best political tacticians in the country," it appears on the surface to be "highly doubtful" whether he can again win State office.

The Post has no idea whether Gov. Ritchie aspires to another term or not. He will have served 16 years at the expiration of the present term. But The Post would like to see the issue of law enforcement carried to the people of Maryland with all the uncompromising directness of the governor.

It would be a fight worth making in a cause worthy of the best fight of even so experienced a campaigner as Gov. Ritchie. If he won it, the country would have Maryland's most effective answer to the hoodlum-

ism and defiance of the Eastern Shore for the past two years. If he lost, at least it would have been in a fight worth making.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
INQUIRER
DEC 1 1933

Aftermath of the Mob Outbreaks

There was bound to be a revulsion of feeling over the four almost simultaneous outbreaks of the mob spirit in widely separated parts of the country. Had there not been, the repeated charge that the American people are congenitally lawless might have seemed to be sustained. As it is, sympathy for lynchings has been expressed by people who should have known better. The utterly indefensible boast of Governor Rolph that California has taught the Nation a lesson has roused a number of eminent citizens of the State, headed by Mr. Hoover, to a vigorous protest. "The very spirit of Government," their statement says, "has been violated, and the State has been disgraced in the eyes of the world by a brutal outburst of the primitive lust for vengeance."

This precisely describes the episode which the Governor defends. His laudation, as the protestants point out, has intensified the humiliation and shame. It "undermines the very foundations upon which the State and all civilized society is built, respect the reverence in the mind of the citizenry for law, order and justice." The Governor insists that the protests have been balanced by congratulations, and declares that he will retract nothing. Even so, it is impossible to believe that the sober judgment of the great majority of people, in and out of California, will not in the end condemn him harshly. To believe anything else would be to confess that the mob spirit represents the national sentiment.

Governor Ritchie of Maryland is equally outspoken in his criticism of the judges who have released the men arrested for participation in a recent lynching in that State. In justification of their action they contend that the evidence against them was insufficient. To this the Governor replies that they dismissed the prisoners absolutely knowing that "evidence entirely sufficient to hold them would be promptly produced if they were willing to hear." In answer to the criticism the Chief Judge has announced that he will reconvene the Grand Jury "at an early date" to reconsider the evidence. Obviously the Governor's attitude has not failed to have some effect. His language, like that of Mr. Hoover and his associate, is calculated to awake the country to a full realization of the danger of letting any body of men take the law into their own hands.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS
REPUBLICAN
DEC 4 1933

THREE PASTORS HERE DENOUNCE LYNCHING WAVE

Denounce Brutality of Mob Outbreaks, Viewing it as Attack Upon Whole Structure of Society

CONDEMN GOV ROLPH FOR LAUDING VIOLENCE

Quicker Prosecution and Legal Reforms Urged — Massachusetts's Record, Free From Lynchings, Given Commendation

Condemnation of the recent lynching outbreak was contained in the sermons of three Springfield pastors yesterday. Besides denouncing the brutality of mob violence, they denounced the attack upon the structure of civilized society of which they said the lynchings have been mere symptoms.

Sees All Law Attacked

To Rev Owen Whitman Eames of the Church of the Unity, the lynchings indicate a pernicious attack on all civilized law, which, if allowed to continue, will crumble the structure on which all civilized society is built. Rev Dr Alfred Grant Walton, in his sermon at Hope Congregational church on "Victims of Violence," saw in the lynch spirit a resentment against the present judicial system which is so riddled with legal loopholes that its process of justice is often only a travesty. Without condoning the crimes of kidnaping and murder which incited the mob violence, Dr Walton declared that the evidence of instability and utter lack of social control was to be heartily condemned.

For Rev Roland T. Heacock of St John's Congregational church, "The Rising Tide of Lawlessness" was an encroachment on the liberty and democracy of the nation. These treasures, he said, were purchased at too great a price to be thrown away in a moment of passion.

As other pastors of the city had spoken out earlier in the week against the sanctioning of mob violence by Gov James Rolph of California, so did the three ministers who preached the subject from their pulpits throw their force against official approval of violence.

Mr Eames declared that "Because he (Gov Rolph) had betrayed and violated a solemn oath to uphold and defend the laws of his state, he should be impeached and driven from office as an enemy of the commonwealth he was sworn to defend."

At the same time he gave thanks because Massachusetts citizens have never committed a lynching. Dr Walton called upon his pastorate to guard against those forces which excite and finally spur mob violence into action. He found ample reason for patriotic resentment against the judicial system but could not accept lynch-rule as the proper remedy for such impotent law. Change the law and their enforcement, he said, rather than discard them.

Sees Society Crumbling If Lynchings Continue

Rev Mr Eames spoke, in part, as follows:—

"California has given the nation a good lesson indeed. But it is a different lesson from that which its governor applauds and recommends—the lesson of mob violence and murder. . . . California has helped to teach the folly of electing to public office that type of cheap politician who is America's greatest curse today.

"Underlying this recent tendency on the part of America's citizens to take the law into their own hands there must be certain fundamental conditions, which we as thinking people, ought to take into account. The kidnaping and murder (in the California outbreak) was only the spark which set off the fuse. But the dynamite, the underlying cause of the explosion, lay much deeper. In the opinion of Col Franklin L. Hutchinson, director of investigation for the Senate committee on racketeering, the present outbreaks of lynching are evidence of the widespread discontent of the American people with the present administration of criminal law.

Lynching is Anarchy

"The fact that one recognizes the symtoms of an existing condition does not necessarilly imply that he approves of the remedy which is desperately employed in an effort to cure that condition. Lynching in any form and for any reason whatever is anarchy and anyone who condones or applauds lynching is, therefore, to that extent an anarchist—a traitor to his country and an enemy of civilized society.

"Is there anyone who will have the temerity to argue that a bloodcrazed passion-ridden mob is more capable of administering justice than the cool, sober and impartial processes of law properly executed? Persons who under normal circumstances are law abiding and even tender hearted citizens exhibit maniacal fury when under the sway of mob passion.

"Remember this, when you can find it in your heart to defend lynching: You deplore the existence of the gangster who takes the law into his own hands and metes out rough justice to suit himself. If men can gather in mobs to lynch kidnapers, they can also gather in mobs to hang dishonest bankers, or stone the homes corrupt officials, or to wreak their prejudices upon Jews, or Socialists or pacifists, or anyone else who happens to displease them. And make no mistake about it, if this spirit is encouraged and permitted to grow, it won't be long before men will be doing that, taking matters into their own hands, without discrimination or sanity, instead of resorting to the constituted methods of law and order which now prevail.

Urges Quicker Prosecution

"Our crime detecting and prosecuting agencies do need to be speeded up and made more effective in the pursuit and punishment of criminals. Our cumbersome legal processes do need to be brought up to date and made to fit the needs they were created to meet. The reform of law, the acceleration of legal procedure, the elimination of notoriously crooked lawyers, the freeing of courts from political interference—all of these are the responsibility of the legal profession and of legislative bodies. But they are also our responsibilities as citizens of a democracy and we shall do well to assume that responsibility more conscientiously than most of us do—instead of abandoning it and taking the law into our own hands.

"That government of laws has its weaknesses no one can deny. But those weaknesses will never be remedied by overthrowing all law. Civilization has its faults. They will never be cured or corrected by the establishment of mob rule. Bad as any system of law and order may be, it is never as bad as anarchy. Let us remember this and exert our influence to strengthen the foundations upon which our nation and all civilized society is built—reverance and respect in the minds of all citizens for the sancitity of law and order and justice.

"Nor is it necessary for me to point out to you the only attitude which is compatible with our claim to be Christian. So I content myself with simply reminding you of a lynching that took place nearly 2000 years ago—when a Roman mob cried for blood and wreaked its awful will in a public crucifixion."

Dr Walton Commends Record of Bay State

Dr Walton said in part:—

"The citizens of Massachusetts may be proud that in the entire history of the commonwealth we have not had a single lynching. But we should guard against those forces that assert themselves in the manifestations of the mob spirit.

"Kidnaping, racketeering and murder are the three major crimes which now menace the peace and happiness of America. The city of New York has 15 times as many homicides as the city of London and it has been estimated that the racketeering business costs the American people hundreds of millions annually.

Justice Often Too Slow

"In our present administration of justice it is possible to postpone and delay judicial action so long that the law does not instill a great amount of fear in the heart o fthe criminal. Money can purchase shrewd lawyers, bribe jurors, and even corrupt judges, so that the perpetrator of crime made rich in his nefarious business is able to avoid the consequences of his act.

"We suffer from the menace of the moron and many of our major crimes are committed by weak-minded persons of subnormal mentality who are allowed to propagate their kind without restriction. It is not unlikely that our future social state will practice sterilization in the cases of the morally degenerate and the socially unfit. Criminals should be given a psychiatric examination as is done in Massachusetts and justice should be meted out with full consideration of the mental factors involved.

Lowest Minds Mark Mobs

"Mob violence is marked by instability and lack of social control. The measure of its conduct is determined by the lowest minds in the group. We may heartily condemn such action without condoning the crimes against which mobs are directed. When we take human beings and torture them, drag their bodies behind automobiles and burn them, fight for pieces of the rope and wearing apparel as souvenirs, we are doing something that no nation may be proud of. Such action is a contempt for law and makes for the debasement of every individual who participates in it."

Mr Heacock Deplores Rising Lawlessness

Rev Mr Heacock said in part:—

"No more disturbing indications of the internal state of our American commonwealth exist than the marked increase in lawlessness within the past few months. Christian citizens all over the country deplore the wholesale abandonment of law and order by mobs estimated by newspaper dispatches to contain as many as 10,000 individuals. Thinking persons know that law, and with it the other orderly processes of society, have been evolved at great cost through long centuries, and the price of liberty and democracy has cost too much to be thrown away in a moment of passion. Every lynching is a direct attempt to set up chaos and confusion in the place of law and decency.

"Our laws may not be divine, nor above error, but in the main they are wholesome and restrain us from the sheer individualism which would quickly wreck society. Laws derive their ultimate power from the people and that power in turn grows out of the respect which the people have for their laws. The Negro ought in all ways to be a law-respecting and law-abiding citizen inasmuch as he has more to lose by the breakdown of the law than other groups.

"Yet greater than law is love. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' is the real coefficient of law. Law goes as far as its limits; love exceeds all limits. The task of Christian people is to labor for an increasing love among all peoples. Our neighbor is our fellowman, as Jesus revealed in the parable of the Good Samaritan. We then, are to love him. But to love him you have first to respect him, his personality, the infinite possibilities within him. Terms like 'Wop,' 'Cheeny,' 'Dago,' 'Chink,' 'Darky,' 'Nigger,' reveal a want of respect for the personality of the other man. Here in America respect for law, and respect for human personality are our great need.

"I call upon all good people to aid the nation rid itself of this tendency on the part of some of its citizens toward lawlessness, and to work ceasessly for the welfare of all."

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THE INTIMIDATION THEORY IN OUR RACIAL ATTITUDES

Gary American 9-9-33
Gary, Indiana

The eleven prominent citizens of Birmingham who Thursday published a statement deploring "the injury done the cause of law and order" by the shooting of three Negroes taken from the custody of Tuscaloosa deputies are to be congratulated upon the clarity of their vision and their eagerness to place in full view the attitude of the right-minded citizens of Alabama.

This group of eleven men, representing as it does, the ministry, finance, the law, business and higher education, offers no revelaton of a surprising state of mind. Citizens of the type composing this group for generations in the South have felt virtually the same way about racial problems. It is not that they have just this moment come to a sane attitude as the result of shocks produced by the recent outrages in our state.

At a polar extreme from the points of view held by the signers of Thursday's statement, is the feeling, which also has been cherished for generations, held by quite another level of citizenship in Alabama, as well as throughout most of the South. It is this attitude toward the Negro which represents the kind of anarchy which now and then breaks forth around the lynching tree.

Before we can get very far in any constructive action toward bringing this outlaw element into harmony with elements of civilization, it is necessary that we face the nature of the philosophy which motivates them.

These people have been fed the wild medicine of "white supremacy" in such large doses and over such long period by loud political leaders that their original antagonism toward the Negro, first developed during slavery days—has been fanned into a white heat at almost every popular election held in Alabama during the last 20 years. Should the final tabulations of guilt in the recent outrages ever be assembled, it probably will be found that the thoughtless politicians who have periodically stirred the deepest passions and most terrible hatred of some of our people, ought to be credited with no little of the responsibility.

In Alabama, as elsewhere in the South, the will to lynch springs from the deep, black wells of the philosophy that the Negro must be "controlled," and that the only way to achieve this end is through intimidation. Between the class of people represented by the signers of the Birmingham statement and the class of people who would glory in the deed so solemnly deplored, there exists a tremendous gulf, which has appeared to grow wider through the years as environment and inheritance on one side have become increasingly separated from environment and inheritance on the other.

Until this gulf is bridged through the extension of sympathetic intelligence, it will do little good for humanitarians in the South and in the North to cast the hot lightning of condemnation across the chasm. For the people who consider Alabama's recent lynching as a victory for "white supremacy," have been accustomed to condemnation all these many years. They thrive upon condemnation; it strengthens the arm of their determination.

Like members of the communistic International Labor Defense, they have been suppressed by ill-fortune in an unfriendly world. When their smoldering coals of resentment are fanned by a favorable wind, they break into flame. They make a furious onslaught upon the vested interests of the world—demanding their "rights" with a vengeance.

Before we can ever be sure that these outbursts will not recur in Alabama, it will be necessary to provide our people with a leadership of integrity, which will teach them that the Negro is not really their enemy, and that they may attain self-respect in better ways than by a querulous insistence upon "White control." The indomitable passion and strength of will with which they have tried to maintain their present beliefs would be contrbuted by them to any cause pictured to them as worthy by a leader whom they respect.

It is, therefore, sgnificant that these 11 strong men of Birmingham have asserted themselves. Let us hope that their action marks the beginning of a trustworthy leadership of racial attitudes in Alabama.—From the Birmingham News, Aug. 26. 1933.

NEW YORK TIMES

SEP 24 1933

War on Lynching Urged in America

Uncle Sam Ought Not To Omit It in Drive To Curb Crime

To the Editor of The New York Times:

In THE NEW YORK TIMES there appeared an article by Joseph B. Keenan, Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States in charge of the nation-wide drive against gangsters, entitled, "Uncle Sam Presses His New War on Crime," and I quote three excerpts that strike me most impressively:

"Attempt is now being made to outline some sound plan destined to produce results of some degree of permanency. * * * Law enforcement has been lax and the spirit of obedience to law has generally been at low ebb. * * * With the same courage and willingness displayed in grappling with other problems it [Federal Government] is eager to do everything to combat the apparent growth of racket crimes."

Lynching Must Go.

It is gratifying to note the recent public indignation at racket crimes and the government's concentration of its law-enforcement agencies against such crimes. When we consider the prevalence of lynching, with so little concern being manifested, and with no attempt being made to eradicate it, it is to be hoped that it will be annihilated with other crimes in this "war."

In order effectively to combat the wave of rackets and crime and produce "results of some degree of permanency," the American people must realize the principles of good government and be educated to be law-abiding citizens. This cannot be done by becoming hysterical about some crimes and lackadaisical about others. Respect for law enforcement cannot be obtained if we close our eyes to any form of interference with the orderly process of the law. If lynching, which combines murder, denial of constitutional rights and insurrection, is sanctioned, how can it be expected that other minority groups will respect the government?

Education Is Needed.

It is the duty of the law to educate us all so that there is no de-

sire to do any crime. Such education will come only by a swift prosecution of every crime. It is the lack of this that gives cause for Mr. Keenan to say: "Law enforcement has been lax and the spirit of obedience to law has generally been at low ebb."

The United States can see fit to warn Japan for encroaching upon China, to rush battleships to Cuba so that law and order might be preserved, yet within the United States law and order are not preserved because another race is persecuted. Why doesn't the government, therefore, show that "with the same courage and willingness displayed in grappling with other problems it is eager to do every sound thing to combat the apparent growth of racket crimes," and also the crime of lynching?

JOHN T. DOLES Jr.

New York, Sept. 22, 1933.

NEWS
Springfield, O.
SEP 27 1933

ALABAMA MOBS

Once more the shadow of lynching falls over Alabama. A Tuscaloosa Negro under bond on charges made by a white woman is taken from his home at two o'clock in the morning by a group of men posing as officers. With daylight comes discovery of his body, riddled with bullets. The epidemic of lynchings and attempted lynchings in this southern state curiously follows a three year period which was entirely free from crime of the sort.

The first outbreak of the present series was likewise in a Tuscaloosa case. Three Negroes about to be tried were en route to Birmingham for safe keeping. They were taken with little if any difficulty from the sheriff, two of them killed and the third badly wounded. The International Labor Defense, which had intended to provide counsel, was blamed then for exciting racial prejudice, the judge previously having made questionable remarks about its interference. At Huntsville a little more than a week later a mob twice attempted to lynch another prisoner. This one met a determined sheriff who with his well armed deputies turned it back with a mere denial.

Now once more there is tragic evidence of the ugly spirit and official laxity. In view of the feeling engendered by the Scottsboro case and the recent lynchings, there must be serious question of the wisdom of the authorities who released and left unprotected while awaiting trial the latest victim of mob fury. The state promptly ordered a grand jury investigation of the earlier Tuscaloosa lynchings. This new outrage is a challenge to the seriousness of its purpose. The state should show the mobs without further ado that it means business. If this trio of lynchings goes unpunished, the encouragement to further attempts is obvious.

End Lynch and Murder Terror

Daily Worker

THE murderous subjection of a whole people by an imperialist ruling class is embodied in the torture and lynching of George Armwood, Negro, in the "Maryland Free State." The decision to lynch innocent Euel Lee legally prepared the way for this new atrocity.

Plain for all to see in this horrible orgy is the debauchery and degradation of white people of all social categories by the vicious theory of "white supremacy." By the act of the lynching itself and the obscene cruelties accompanying it, involving practically the whole white population of a town, the theory of "civilized" white superiority is effaced by the blood of the Negro victim, is destroyed by the fire that consumed his mutilated body. The struggle for Negro liberation has to become the concern of white workers and their organizations. We must no longer allow the robber class to divide and rule!

Hitler Fascism's torture and murder gangs, recruited from the ruined middle class, seined up from the depths of the underworld, have not exceeded the Maryland lynching in cunningly prolonged sadistic brutality inflicted on Communists, revolutionary workers and members of the Jewish minority.

10-23-33

WE DECLARE that Governor Ritchie, representative of the white ruling class, is directly responsible for the death by torture of George Armwood. This is not the first lynching on the Maryland's Eastern shore. He now cynically turns over the "investigation" to the same county officials who did not raise a finger to prevent the lynching.

New York, N.Y.

We declare that President Roosevelt is directly responsible. This lynching took place within the shadow of the White House. Speaking the day following at the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Washington University, President Roosevelt referred in glowing terms to "American ideals" of "liberty and justice," but said not one word about the latest outbreak of savagery almost at his doorstep. On September 21 a United Front delegation had protested to President Roosevelt against a whole series of just such acts of terror.

These lynchings are organized. They can be organized only with the aid and consent of the authorities. The same government agencies that pretend to be powerless to prevent lynching are able always to secure "protection" for the slave pens of industry.

Nothing shows more clearly the sharpening class relationships in the United States than the rising wave of organized murder and lynch terror against Negroes, directed first of all against unemployed young Negroes, against share croppers, tenant farmers and workers asserting the right to organize for defense against the onslaughts of landlords and employers in the Southern states.

* * *

THESE new attacks arise from the determination of the white ruling class to maintain the system of double oppression of the Negro masses and perpetuate the division between the white and black workers, to weaken the struggles of both against "the daily encroachments" of capital and the whole system of monopoly capitalism based on robbery and subjugation of the toilers of factory and farm.

The Communist Party calls on all workers to arouse themselves to the threat to their lives and liberties, to the menace to their organizations, inherent in the increasing use of forcible suppression to crush their struggles, to divide their ranks, and in this way pull N.R.A. out of the crisis in which its program of hunger, robbery and imperialist war has been plunged by the upward trend of working class militancy and organization and the downward trend of capitalist production and markets.

* * *

DEMAND the unconditional pardon of Euel Lee! The torture and murder of George Armwood prove that Negroes have no rights in Maryland. Free Lee!

Enforce the death penalty for lynchers!

Organize mass meetings of Negro and white workers to demand an end to the lynch and murder terror! Make clear to President Roosevelt and Governor Ritchie that they, as official representatives of Wall Street imperialism, are held responsible for the fascist terror methods against the Negro masses and white workers! Protest against the Paterson massacre to Governor Moore of New Jersey! Support the struggles for Negro liberation and full social equality! Support the League of Struggle for Negro Rights! Support and join the Communist Party, which leads the struggle against the N.R.A. program of suppression and war, which leads the struggle for Negro liberation!

Organize mass defense against lynch and murder terror!

throughout the Southland the black men often appear to fare ill when they come into conflict with whites, it seems that there are some Southerners who do not endorse mob procedure. While the slayers of the Negro may not be severely punished, that they are to be prosecuted for murder implies that they may suffer some penalty for their wanton crime. And the police chief deserves not less than those who participated in the beating.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y.
MORNING POST
OCT 11 1933

A SOUTH CAROLINA CASE.

In South Carolina it appears to be the effort of chiefs of police to please. At least, that official in the village of Ninety-Six was an accomodating personage. When a group of men applied to him for the privilege of taking a Negro prisoner out of the village jail, he told them to wait until after dark and that they would find the door unlocked. He was as good as his word. The men got into the jail, seized the Negro, took him down the road and then beat him to death. We assume that the group felt that they had done a good work. The men had some trouble with the Negro earlier and this was the means they adopted for adjusting the difficulty.

Though this occurred in South Carolina it appears that it does not receive universal approval in the community. A Coroner's jury has held the four men concerned and it calls the killing of the Negro murder. While

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MIRROR
Mt. Holly, N. J.
OCT 25 1933

Human Passions Have Not Changed

A PUBLIC lynching in which more than 2,000 people are said to have taken part in killing a Negro, accused of attacking an aged white woman, took place at Queen Anne, Maryland, on Wednesday night. That such an outbreak of primeval emotions and violence should have been possible in an enlightened community, is not so remarkable, however, as that some people seem to have believed that the veneer which clothes our civilization, reaches to the bone. Man is not so very different from what he was two thousand years ago, when the crime of all the ages was laid at the door of man's prejudice and unbridled passions.

The usual demands in such cases, whom Judge Lynch has usurped the offices of constituted authority, are being made for the law's vengeance, but what is Governor Ritchie, what are the other state or the county authorities to do in the circumstances? Obviously, two thousand usually law-abiding citizens, driven to frenzy by an unspeakable crime against womanhood, cannot be sent to the chair. Neither can one man or a dozen, who led the mob, be made the scapegoats for the crime which causes not only the proud state of Maryland but the nation to hang its head in shame. The mischief has been done. No vengeance that the law can inflict can revive the belief that our boasted civic spirit and our civilization in the east was a guarantee against such hideous outbursts of human passion.

ST. LOUIS, MO.
GLOBE DEMOCRAT
OCT 25 1933

The Globe-Democrat is an independent newspaper, printing the news impartially, supporting what it believes to be right and opposing what it believes to be wrong without regard to party politics.

THE PRINCESS ANNE LYNCHING.

It is a long time since any such roar of indignation has arisen over mob law as that which followed the lynching in Maryland last week of Negro George Armwood, charged with attacking a 71-year-old woman. It was deplored by the press in many parts of the country and nowhere more earnestly than in Baltimore, and made a subject of protest by the Interracial Commission and many Negro and other organizations. The Socialist party of Maryland demanded the impeachment of Gov. Ritchie.

It was a well-dressed mob, not one of whose members was under the influence of liquor, as described by an eye-witness, who was horrified by its savagery. He pays a tribute to the self-restraint of the state police, who took a severe beating from the mob, but resisted only by main strength and with their fists. It is his belief that had they used their weapons, a massacre would have followed.

On the other hand, the state police are severely criticised for not drawing their firearms. According to some, certain views widely held in the Free State of Maryland caused the very presence of the state police to be resented by residents of Somerset County, who felt that their own local authorities were being subordinated.

A lax sentiment and lax courts and officials on the Eastern Shore of Maryland figure in explanations; also the unnecessary removal of Armwood to Princess Anne from Baltimore, where he was being held in safe custody. Gov. Ritchie's power over local officers, like that of executives in Missouri and various other states, is meager, but it is held that he might have prevented the removal and might also have used his state police to more purpose. Furthermore, delays in the case of Euel Lee, twice convicted of murdering a farm family of four more than two years ago, had aroused deep impatience. After the lynching, pleas in Lee's behalf before the Governor were dismissed and he was ordered hanged next Friday.

Details preceding the lynching are instructive, as is often the case. No such surge of angry resentment as has followed this lynching can go through the country without a deterrent influence. A gratifying state of public opinion on mob violence is also indicated.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
MORNING PUBLIC LEDGER
OCT 24 1933

THE LAW'S DELAYS

To the Editor of the Public Ledger:

Sir—In an editorial today you reprove disrespect of the law in connection with a brutal lynching. Considering the inefficient, costly, dawdling, not to say corrupt methods thereof, how can one ever respect such things?

The law seems to protect and thus encourage the murderer, and what President Taft said is terribly true, that our maladministration of the criminal law is a disgrace to civilization.

Skillful and unscrupulous lawyers spring to the aid of the most brutal and callous murderers, and the rubbishy pretexts which gain a verdict of mistrial are scorned by all decent citizens. Appeal seems to be granted over microscopic defects such as a misspelling, or some unwise remark by a juror or attorney, and the case is dragged out for years at enormous expense to the overburdened taxpayers.

Finally a verdict, by a packed or cowardly jury, of manslaughter in the second degree enables a somewhat indifferent Judge to award a dozen years in prison, with radio, baseball, football and other recreations which are a mockery of justice. A complaisant Board of Parole lets the murderer out in three or four years, all ready for another assassination.

Judge Kavanagh, of Chicago, showed that about 125,000 discharged murderers are walking around in our midst. If that does not give us a hearty contempt for the law, nothing will.

In Canada the percentage of homicides is only one-sixth of ours, and our average is twenty-four times as great as in Britain. These are ghastly and disgraceful figures.

M. L. HUTCHINSON.

Philadelphia, October 20, 1933.

LEWISTON, IDAHO
MORNING TRIBUNE
OCT 20 1933

WE AMERICANS ARE SO SU[illegible]OR, YOU KNOW—

Americans [illegible]o have been pointing a finger in shame at racial persecution of Jews in Hitlerized Germany will be hard put to justify the hideous outrage in Maryland Wednesday night where a mob of more than a thousand men, women and children dragged a negro from jail, tortured and hanged him and then burned his body in the public square. He had been accused of attacking an aged white farm woman. Had the color of his skin been white instead of black there is no doubt he would have been given the fair trial guaranteed by the law of the land.

If you ask the average apologist for lynching why we must take the lives of helpless men, in open defiance of the laws and constitutions of the state and nation, you will be told that it is to protect the honor of womanhood. Yet there is an organization which has gained considerable strength in the south called the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. Those women do not fear for their honor as women, but they do hold precious the honor of their states as governments obligated to give every man, innocent or guilty, a fair trial upon any charge under criminal statutes.

Not all women are of their mind—at the terrible affair in Maryland Wednesday night there were women in the mob, screaming and cursing, anxious to do their part in making the torture more hideous, out to see as much as they could of the atrocity. But these other women who are banded together to speak out in the name of the best citizenship have the eternal verities on their side. Theirs is a sex quick to mercy and to sympathy for the weak and oppressed. They will some day win their cause with womankind.

The truth of the business is that men riot and take human life in mob murder because they have remnants of the beast in their hearts. They have not yet become wholly human, to say nothing of becoming wholly humane. Human blood-lust has not changed with the centuries. Education, awareness to life's finer things that economic stability creates, may remove it. But in spite of our laws and traditions, the mob spirit that still breaks out is identical with interest or downright enjoyment that drew the crowds to the Roman amphitheater to see martyrs die or that took Englishmen within a few centuries to watch men burned at the stake.

It is a tragic commentary on the limitations of our boasted civilization that men still consider it necessary to kill other men in mobs. There is need of a stronger faith in justice as promoted through the courts. There is need also that the public recognize mob spirit as a force wholly evil and destructive of the very ends it pretends to seek.

Daily Worker
11-2-33

Burroughs Tells of War On Lynchers

New York N.Y.

By CARL REEVE

NEW YORK.—"The 'New Deal' for the Negroes of the United States has meant an increase in lynching of Negroes to 36 so far this year, an increase in the number of legal lynchings, a cutting of wages and firing of Negroes under the N. R. A., and Jim Crow and discrimination against

Daily Worker
11-2-33
New York, N.Y.

unemployed Negroes," said Williana J. Burroughs, Communist candidate for Comptroller of New York City, today.

"Not only has the brutal terror against the Negroes increased along with lynchings, but the legal lynching by the government bodies and courts has increased.

"This increase in terrorization of the Negro workers is an attempt through bloody suppression to force the Negro workers to accept the extremely bad conditions imposed on them by the N. R. A. without a struggle," Burorughs charged.

"Not only does the N. R. A. discriminate against Negroes by setting differential wages for North and South, but the Negroes are given the starvation minimum wages in the codes, those more skilled are being fired and replaced by white workers. The Conservation Camps, President Roosevelt's personal pet, segregate and Jim Crow the Negro unemployed youth. The increase in terror under the N. R. A. is seen again in the legal lynching of Euel Lee, the attempt now to legally lynch Crawford in Virginia, the legal lynching of George Meadows in Alabama, Grady Brooks and George Zuber in Georgia, and many others."

Socialists Support Lynchers

The Communist candidate for Comptroller showed that the Socialist Party has the same policy against the Negro workers as the other old line parties. The Socialist Party's unemployed committees in Harlem tell the workers not to fight, but to go home and wait, and they will take up the question. The Socialists' unemployed work is carried on like a welfare or charity body. The Socialist Party tells the workers that there are no special demands for the Negroes. They tell the Negroes in the South that they must accept the Jim Crow and must not challenge the ruling class of the South,, that they must "use different methods" in the South and take no action. They do not run Negro candidates in the South.

"The Amsterdam News today comes out for the Fusion Party," stated Williana Burroughs. "This is the paper which in the beginning favored the march to Washington to protest against the Scottsboro frameup, and then, while the International Labor Defense and other workers' organizations were leading the march, the Amsterday News dropped out. This paper betrayed the Scottsboro case. They say in yesterday's issue: 'The Amsterdam News has not whooped it up for the election of Negro candidates this year.' They make this statement to cover up the fact that the La Guardia Fusion Party, which they support, does not have a single Negro candidate for any important office. The Amsterdam News tries to make out a case for La Guardia. He made a gesture, they say, for Oscar De Priest.

"But Oscar De Priest is a big landlord in Chicago, charging Negroes high rents, segregating them, and he was one of those responsible for the murder of the Negro unemployed workers in Chicago who were protesting against evictions and demanding more relief. They say La Guardia has supported the anti-lynching bill. But what does this mean in the face of the fact that La Guardia has not even made a gesture in support of the Scottsboro boys, of Euel Lee, or against the lynching of Armwood. La Guardia boasts of his work for the Sleeping Car Porters Union. He helped to make this Union a Jim Crow union."

Replying to the advertisement in the same issue of the Amsterdam News, in which Samuel Leibowitz comes out for McKee and the Recovery Party, Comrade Burroughs stated, "Leibowitz has lined up with the party in the New York elections closest to the "New Deal" and Roosevelt, the Democratic Party which is trying to carry thru the lynch program against the Scottsboro boys in the South and which dominates the Jim Crow South. The Recovery Party, like the Republican and Socialist parties and Tammany, are all united in upholding the oppression of the Negro and the maintenance of this oppression through legal and illegal lynchings. Leibowitz was selected by the I.L.D. as one of the attorneys to defend the Scottsboro boys and is now trying to cash in on the case to advance politically the lynch party of Roosevelt.

"The condition of the Negro of Harlem is typical of the conditions of the Negroes throughout the country, Comrade Burroughs declared. "The Negro workers more than any other section are kept out of jobs, are given less relief, are forced to accept the worst work, often degrading and sometimes illicit work, to keep from starving. What are they going to do? The Negro is the first evicted, the first fired, and last hired. The Y.M.C.A. building stands idle at 135th Street, and meanwhile workers are put out on the street because they can't pay rent. There is only one home relief buro in Harlem, and this was won after the fight of the Unemployed Council and the Communist Party. Fully 65-70 per cent of the workers of Harlem are unemployed. The children are crowded together in old schools, no new ones being built by Tammany. Housing is the worst in the city, the Negro families forced to live in crowded tenements, and often in basements.

"The Communist Party is the only party which has opposed segregation and has led the fight for better conditions for the Negro workers and for full social, industrial and political equality for the Negroes. The Communist Party has supported the fight of the Unemployed Councils for Unemployment Insurance and for relief. The Communist Party has supported the splendid struggle of the International Labor Defense against legal and illegal lynchings. This struggle prevented the lynching of Euel Lee for two years, and has so far prevented the lynching of the Scottsboro boys. The Communist Party has led the demonstrations before O'Brien and Police Commissioner Bolan against the killing of James Mathews at Welfare Island. The other parties do not even mention the Negro workers in their platform.

"The Negro reformists, such as Pickens, have betrayed and sabotaged the Scottsboro cases. Adam Powell, now coming out for McKee, refused the use of his church for a protest against the Mathews killing.

"These reformist leaders among the Negroes, like DePriest, etc., are trying to keep the Negro workers chained to the N.R.A. and its discriminating program. Adam Powell is a member of the N.R.A. board in Harlem, and is trying to hide the viciousness of Tammany against the Negro workers as shown in the Mathews killing and in Whalen's strikebreaking activities. The A. F of L. and its leaders continue to tr to keep the Negroes out of th unions, or if they come in, brir them in on the Jim Crow basis," Wi liana Burroughs concluded.

"The Communist Party, the I.L. and the other militant organizatio of the workers supported by the Cor munist Party have done splend work in the South, as for exampl in the struggle of the sharecroppers in Alabama, and in the North, in leading ever growing masses of white and Negro workers in the struggle for better conditions for the Negro and against lynching and discrimina-

WASHINGTON, D. C.
POST

NOV 1 0 1933

Group Against Lynching Holds Meeting Tonight

A mass meeting under auspices of the Washington Provisional Committee Against Lynching will be held at 8 p. m. today at the Phyllis Wheatley Y. W. C. A., Ninth and Rhode Island avenue northwest.

Bernard Ades, International Labor Defense Counsel for Euel Lee, Negro executed for murder, and Charles L. Houston, dean of Howard University Law School, will speak.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

OCT 3 1 1933

Subcommittees to consider proposals for reorganization of the judicial system in Maryland were named by State's Attorney Herbert R. O'Conor today. Uniform methods for selecting juries, proposals that the State government bear the expense of criminal cases moved from one jurisdiction to another and possible changes in the power of criminal court juries were revealed among the points under consideration.

Mr. O'Conor, who yesterday was elected chairman of the commission recently named by Gov. Albert C. Ritchie for a survey of the judicial system for the purpose of preventing delays in disposing of criminal cases, named Chief Judge Carroll T. Bond, of the Court of Appeals; former Attorney-General Alexander Armstrong, Attorney-General William Preston Lane, Jr., and State Senator Walter G. Mitchell, president of the Sena[te] as a subcommittee to consider "... provisions relating to appeals in crim[i]nal cases in order to propose metho[ds] by which appeals in criminal cases can be expedited and final decision made effective with the least possible delay and expense."

Jury Change Proposed

Another committee to study six proposed changes in criminal procedure also was named, consisting of former Attorney-General Edgar Allan Poe, W. Mason Sheehan; James M. Hepbron, of the Criminal Justice Commission, and Mr. O'Conor, as an ex-officio member.

The six proposals to be considered by that subcommittee include the question of whether recommendations should be made to repeal the constitutional provisions that juries in criminal cases should be judges of the law as well as of the facts. Such a change would cause criminal court juries to be instructed by presiding judges concerning the law of cases before them, which is the usual procedure in most States.

A proposal to secure able counsel for an accused person, "free from conflicting outside interests, in order to eliminate the possibility of attorneys injecting themselves into cases to serve ulterior purposes," was another proposal referred to a subcommittee.

Insanity Defense Problem

A third proposal was that "the State government bear expense of removed cases instead of imposing the entire burden" of the expenses of such removals "upon the county from which the trial is removed."

Another proposal was the adoption of a "more uniform method for counties of the state and the city of Baltimore for the selection of grand and petit juries, to afford fair representation of the entirec itizenry and to avoid any apparent discrimination."

The other proposals given the subcommittee for study were possible limitation "upon the right of the general public to attend trials where charges concern outrages upon women," in order to avoid "embarrassment to victims of felonious assaults under aggravated circumstances"; and a proposal to consider new provisions regulating insanity as a defense in criminal cases.

The Governor's commission was appointed after the recent lynching on the Eastern Shore at Princess Anne, and following statements made from several sources that delays in finally settling the Euel Lee case had helped to arouse the feelings of people on the Shore. The Governor indicated that he believed that speeding up of criminal procedure to prevent long delays in disposing of cases would remove one of the incentives for lynching.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

NOV 2 1933

And Has Baltimore No Crimes Of Violence By Half-Wits?

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—*Sir:*

I am in no way connected with the Baltimore city schools, but am merely an interested observer of the wonderful work they are doing for all races of children.

I have read with patience the editorials and Forum letters on the "Armwood lynching." I have been disappointed in the lack of constructive criticism. We have here a real problem which no amount of indignant beratings can solve.

George Armwood was a product of Somerset county and was, according to his mother, a half-wit. What was done in educational, medical and social supervision of this child? If he had been born in Baltimore city today, he would at the age of 6 be required to attend the public or private schools. The teacher, with the aid of the medical examiners, would have discovered his subnormal condition and he would have been separated from the normal children and placed in a separate class for these types. Under a trained teacher for subnormals, and the continued supervision by medical men, all possible would have been done to help him to become a good citizen. If that were impossible, however, he would be placed in a school or institution where, under supervision, he could be taught labor and recreation suitable to his needs. A sex maniac, which Armwood had evidently become, should never have been trusted to live in a normal community.

Are we not therefore putting the "cart before the horse" in agitating anti-lynch laws and fines for lynching. Wouldn't we be "chopping at the root of the tree" if better educational opportunities were required? Instead of fining a community after the lynching, can't we convince them of spending the money in this constructive work.

I glory in men who love and honor womanhood, whose blood runs hot when such attacks are visited upon their women. I challenge the men of Somerset and every other county to make their community safe for women and children. It will never be done by lynching or any amount of punishment after the crime.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3976

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
NEWS

NOV 3 1933

LYNCHINGS TO BE STUDIED BY BODY FROM NEW YORK

Party En Route Here To Look Into Tuscaloosa Affair Of Pippen, Harden

A delegation representing the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners of New York is en route to Tuscaloosa to investigate the Harden and Pippen lynchings, according to word received in Birmingham Friday.

Most of the delegation are Southerners, it is stated. The group consists of Howard Kester, Southern secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Vann Woodward, formerly on the faculty of the Georgia School of Technology; Bruce Crawford, editor of Crawford's Weekly, Norton, Va.; Grace Lumpkin, novelist, South Carolina; Jessica Henderson, Boston; Hollace Randsdell, of Pennsylvania, and Alfred H. Hirsch, of New York, secretary of the national committee.

The delegation is said to have left New York Thursday and is expected to reach Birmingham next Sunday. The Harden and Pippen lynchings took place last August as these Negroes, charged with criminal assault, were being brought to Birmingham from Tuscaloosa for safekeeping. A Grand Jury investigation of this affair brought no indictments for lack of sufficient evidence.

Lincoln Steffens is chairman of the national committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners and John Dos Passos in its treasurer.

The Southern Commission on the

Continued on Page from ... of 1 —

Study of Lynching, of which George Fort Milton, Chattanooga, is chairman, has conducted an investigation of recent lynchings of Tuscaloosa County offenders, and the findings were announced Friday at Chattanooga.

The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners is the same under whose auspices a committee headed by Theodore Dreiser went to the Kentucky coal fields for investigations in November, 1931, of conditions there.

Southern Commission Reports On Lynchings

CHATTANOOGA—(AP)—The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching made public here Friday a summary of the report upon the situation in and about Tuscaloosa, Ala., where within the last three months three Negroes have been lynched.

This report, which came from the commission's investigation staff, of which Dr. Arthur Raper is the head, was made at the request of Dr. W. W. Alexander, executive director, and George F. Milton, of Chattanooga, chairman of the commission to study lynching of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a southwide group which for years has sought to reduce race tensions and to better racial conditions.

The summary follows:

"Since Aug. 12 mobs in the vicinity of Tuscaloosa, Ala., have taken the lives of three Negroes and left a fourth for dead. Careful investigation of the situation reveals these facts:

All "Probably Innocent"

"1. One of the four mob victims was undoubtedly, two others probably, the fourth possibly innocent.

"2. Unquestionably the police officers of Tuscaloosa County have not performed their duty in safeguarding these prisoners or protecting them from violence. . .

"3. In spite of the vigorous charges which the circuit judge made to two Grand Juries, Tuscaloosa County's law-enforcing agencies have taken no effective step to punish the lynchers.

"4. While only a few white individuals in the Tuscaloosa neighborhood resent the tragedy of errors, the community's white citizenship has variously accepted the sorry train of events as inevitable, excusable or commendable.

"5. The extreme community hysteria was the result of the superaddition to the ever-present latent white group phobia against the black man—a phobia in large part traceable to the group insistence upon the right of economic exploitation—of the newer but equally consuming fear of communism injected by the attempts of the International Labor Defense to force its way into the case. Much of the hysteria observed in the Tuscaloosa vicinity is directly traceable to a pervasive, unreasoning fear, even on the part of some of the most intelligent people, that Communist agents had actually organized conspiracies of violence, outrage and insurrection among the large Negro populations of the area.

"No Insurgent Spirit"

"The most careful search has failed to reveal any insurgent spirit whatever among the Negro popula-

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.
OBSERVER

OCT 12 1933

SOUTH CAROLINA'S CHANCE

South Carolina is in the fortunate position of having captured four lynchers and secured from them confessions of their crime.

South Carolina can do the South a service by sending them to the electric chair not so much for the lynching of the prisoner but for the lynching of the law.

No citizen, white or black, is secure as long as the law allows mobs to run riot and then winks at their crimes either through half-hearted efforts to detect them, or by giving them light sentences when the non-detection proves impossible.

And the officer who condones and abets mob action should be made to suffer equally with the most guilty member of the mob.

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

Lynchers And Agitators

In a very interesting and able article on the investigation which is being made at Tuscaloosa by a delegation from the League for Freedom of Political Prisoners, Associate Editor Walling Keith of The Montgomery Advertiser, wisely concludes that "unhappily the good men and women who are investigating the lynchings are professional crusaders and reformists. The more zealous the reformist, the less competent the investigator. Sincere crusaders, righteous and honest, make poor judges when they seek fields of reformation. They are too eager for good work."

There is such a thing as a sincere agitator, and there is such a thing as a sincere lyncher. Each of them thinks he is doing something to save or improve a situation. Without regard to the methods employed, and granting the sincerity and the good intent, neither the agitator nor the lyncher is a competent judge. Each of them, in his way, is a reformer, and as Mr. Keith points out, the reformer's zeal disqualifies him for the judge's bench. If a judge's bench is worth having, if law is worth honoring and maintaining, if the calm justice upon which our notions of civilization depend is worth doing, then the reformer who sets himself up as a judge and attempts either to usurp or defeat the law is an enemy of society.

That is why the lyncher and the type of agitator who puts his propaganda above the law and cares more for his cause than for the doing of legal justice are kinsmen. They are blood brothers in enmity to the society and civilization of Alabama. That they accuse and hate each other excuses neither one. That they believe in their own righteousness and that they may even be working for desirable objectives is no answer at all to the fact that the means they employ to attain their ends are socially destructive. If their consciences tell them to destroy society, the same consciences should tell them not to complain if society resists and damns them.—John Temple Graves in The Birmingham Age-Herald.

Savannah, Ga., News
November 22, 1933

CHURCH DEPLORES LYNCHING

Beneficial effects from an educational and civilizing standpoint are expected to result from the action of the South Georgia conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at Brunswick when it voted to ask the legislature to give the Governor power to act when regular officials fail in the cases of lynching.

The report upon which the conference acted said lynching had increased threefold this year as a result of the failure of the church to carry on an educational program against such crime. Local churches were called upon to make a thorough investigation of each case occurring within their territory.

Good sportsmanship was displayed in the adress to the conference by Rev. John F. Phillips, head of the Consolidated Forces For Prohibition in Georgia. Declaring that the drys were just beginning to fight, he said they recognized temporary defeat in repeal, but that, like good sports, they were taking it standing up with determination to overthrow the Twenty-first Amendment with another carrying advantages of the Eighteenth. He said they recognized the "political rottenness" of the days of the saloon were coming back with repeal and declared the church must again destroy that group.

"We shall do our best," the report said, "to preserve and strengthen local and state prohibition laws in Georgia."

Southern Woman Bares Tricks of Higher-Ups to Shunt Lynch Blame

Shows Up Lynchers

GRACE LUMPKIN

Use Civil War Metho[d] to Conceal Share in Crimes

By GRACE LUMPKIN

Author of "To Make My Bread," Member of Recent Tuscaloosa Investigating Committee

A descendant of a Southern famil[y] which helped make the laws [o]f Georgia and build up the economi[c] and political power of the Southern upper class whites, I recently becam[e] a member of a delegation which we[nt] to Tuscaloosa, Alabama, under th[e] auspices of the National Committe[e] for the Defense of Political Prisoners to investigate the peculiar working[s] of Southern "justice."

Three Negro boys had been take[n] out on a lonely [road] and two of them shot to death, the other wounded. They were under the protection of the Sheriff of the county. We found every evidence to show that the crime against these boys, accused, but not convicted of murder, was done with the knowledge and approval of those higher up. Because, as Judge Foster told us, "People seemed to feel that they didn't want another Scottsboro case." The boys were shot at a junction of three counties. The deputies who had the boys in charge said a band of masked men stopped them and took the boys in order to kill them. This manner of getting rid of prisoners who might bring Alabama into the eyes of the world again through another prolonged trial, is a new method to us, but it was well known to members of the Ku Klux Klan during Reconstruction. It seems that Alabama is learning from those who took the law into their own hands just after the Civil War.

Ku Klux Diary

I have with me some excerpts from a diary written by a member of the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia. In copying these excerpts I am frankly not giving the point of view of the man who wrote it, his justification for the crimes committed. That point of view belongs to a historical treatment of the economic and political causes of the Civil War and the fight which Stevens, Sumner and Wade made in the U. S. Congress for some economic provision for the freed slaves.

The diarist, a member of the Ku Klux Klan in 1876, writes as follows: "The object of the Ku Klux Klan was this—the preservation of our women and our lives and the establishment of law and order. Our plan was for the Klan in our neighborhood to go to another section, where a Negro was to be regulated (whipped). When a Negro was insulting, he was reported to the Klan outside of the section he lived in, and that Klan would go at night, take him and whip him and scare him as badly as possible. The white men who lived near the Negro would plan some way to prove an alibi, for whenever a Negro was whipped, he would report to the troops. "We alway arranged to have some of the Negroes in the neighborhood where he lived see us that night, to prove an alibi. I worked all one night and hired three Negroes to help me so I might have an alibi . . . . . We opened every meeting with prayer—we had three ministers in our Klan,—and we committed no act that could not be approved by any Christian man or woman on earth.

"The first Negro the Klan in our county whipped lived in another county. We were called upon to go to that county. We rode about eighteen miles to the place where the Negro lived. We got him and it was the impulse of every man of us to kill him. We we gave him 200 lashes and told him if another day found him in that section it would be bad for him. He left and did not return.

"A few months after the Klans had become busy, a new sun arose for the South. The glory of the Anglo-Saxon shone in every man's face."

In Scottsboro, in Tuscaloosa, all over the South, they are trying by violence and lawlessness to establish the glory and power of the Anglo Saxon. An ominous silence that is so loud it is alive, stirs around the courthouse in Decatur. Men go quietly about their business, just as they did the day before Pippen and Harden and Elmore Clark were taken out to be shot in the night.

The shooting of those boys was done at the junction of three counties. When asked about it, the sheriff of Tuscaloosa said, "If must have been men from another countrry came in and did it." The old Ku Klux technique.

Is this technique to be used in the Scottsboro trial? Are people being kept quiet until the Scottsboro boys, their defenders, the lawyers in the trial, and any witnesses can be got to the borders or across the borders to another county, so that a grand jury investigation can say, after they been shot to death, "It must have been men from another county?"

"Glory of Anglo Saxon?"

So that the "glory of the Anglo-Saxon" may shine on the faces of the murderers, and those who instigate the murders, the political and economic owners of the state and the counties?

As a member of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, as a Southerner, as a writer, I call on all intellectuals to examine this trial, to follow it closely, and to express in writing, and in as many other ways as possible, insist on adequate protection for the Negro boys and for those who are defending them.

I ask you to examine the validity of this "glory of the Anglo-Saxon." I know Jews who have lived in the South for many generations, who made fortunes there who are as relentless as any other Southerner in their wish to punish Negroes for crimes they have not committed. But on their faces shines the glory of the Anglo-Saxon, the same glory that shines on the faces of other Southerners who have fine houses and plenty to eat and drink.

What is the "glory of the Anglo-Saxon?" Do you look for it in the faces of pallid, worn-down Anglo-Saxon factory workers? Do you search for its glow in the ignorant, half-starved faces of the Anglo-Saxon tenant farmer?

You will find it in the faces of the judges and judges' sons and their political and economic equals. Their hands are clean. They can look you in the face with clear eyes, and say, like Pontius Pilate, "My hands are clean. Look, I have washed them." But those who know the South know that they keep those other Anglo-Saxons, the factory workers, the poor farmers in ignorance and poverty, not consciously, not with dirty hands, but in many devious ways, politically, and economically, they must keep these whites ignorant so that they may have a group which through ignorance and superstitution and prejudice will perform the dirty work which their delicate hands must not touch. With sweet courtesy, they live a life of calm beauty and harmony, while under the life they are carrying on another life, setting one race of poverty ridden people against another race. But their hands are beautiful and clean. And on their faces shines the glory of the Anglo-Saxon.

Why the Lynchings?

Knowing the facts, the history of what has gone before, I believe that the lynchings in Alabama, the arrest of the Scottsboro boys, are a direct result of the determination of upper class Southerners to keep the Negro, as well as the poor white, in economic and political subjection. The poor white is a necessary tool, as well as a necessary part of the industrial "progress" of the South.

Knowing the facts, I appeal to all intellectuals of the North and of the South, to look closely into these matters. I appeal to them to fight for a new glory, the glory of those who look for economic freedom for all men, of whatever race, Anglo-Saxon, Negro or Jew.

This can be done only by using every weapon we may have at our command. The Scottsboro trial is taking place now. It will continue for at least a month, according to those who understand the workings of the court. Let us examine what is happening there. Let us not be timid about placing the blame where it should be placed. Whether we are far away, or close at hand, let us watch the events and make our protests as the trial progresses. And let us always keep in mind that those who have murdered before, will murder again. Let us know that anything will be done to keep the Negro race ignorant, miserably oppressed so that the "glory of the Anglo-Saxon" may continue to shine in the faces of Southern judges and lawyers governors, and their economic and social equals.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
November 22, 1933

The state executive committee, in preparing its resolution, did not make the mistake of excusing lynchers because of agitators. It condemned both. It did assert that the recent lynchings were "caused, or largely contributed to, by communistic and radical influences now being projected into the social life of Alabama, with no thought of serving the best interests of either the Negroes or the whites, but with the purpose of stirring up feeling, discord and prejudices between the races, and with the ultimate purpose of upsetting our traditions and destroying our system of government." But the assertion was coupled with an "unreserved" condemnation of lynching "and every other form of mob violence in our state" and with an offer of the legion's services "to the authorities in order that there may be an end to these practices and that law and order may be promptly restored, and we here call upon the officers of the law to exert their best efforts to bring to the bar of justice all who may be found guilty of participating in such practices."

* * *

"There has never been any doubt in my mind," says State Commander W. Arthur Abramson in a letter to this column, "how the legionnaires stand on lynching and all mob violence. The fact was proved by the unanimous approval of the department executive committee, who are all elected officers of the Alabama American Legion." Commander Abramson points out that, contrary to press reports, the resolution of which he speaks has not been presented to individual posts. Since this is so, the posts of Birmingham, Alabama's metropolis, have before them the timely opportunity and duty of expressing themselves on the subject. That their position coincides with the enlightened one taken by their executive committee is not to be doubted.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
STATE

OCT 1 5 1933

Not Lynching But Murder.

Chester Reporter.

As Governor Blackwood said about that Clinton affair three or four months ago when a Negro was taken out of the town lock-up by three or four white men and put to death, it was not a lynching, but a murder, and the same is true of the killing at Ninety-Six, which very closely resembles the Clinton murder, and may have had its inspiration in the Clinton crime. As has been remarked by several exchanges when a car-load of Chicago gangsters fire upon a fellow-gangster or an officer, and shoot him down in cold blood, it is never called a lynching, but a murder. This is not to excuse such affairs as the Clinton and Ninety-Six murders, which should be ferreted to the bottom, and punished as the law prescribes, but to suggest that the proper officials should see that they are not put down in the records as lynchings, and broadcast to the world as such.

Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

White Press, Northern

3978

WASHINGTON, D. C.
NEWS
OCT 27 1933

Asks Where Regard for Aged Woman Is, Following Lynching

Editor, The News:

THE Eastern Shore lynching has brought much protest and sympathy, from some of the readers of The News, for the man that was hanged; but the victim of the assault, a defenseless, gray-haired old lady, has received no sympathy at all.

The South always has and always will treat the offenders of their sacred law with frontier justice, crude but effective, whether they be white or colored.

ANDREW ... MOSBY.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
TIMES
OCT 31 1933

Roosevelt Asked To Probe Lynching

Bailtimore college students have called on President Roosevelt to investigate the recent lynching of George Armwood at Princess Anne, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

The delegation, headed by Miss Aileen McQuown of Goucher and representing that institution Johns Hopkins and Morgan College, left a petition with Marvin H. McIntyre of the White House secretariat.

The petition asks Roosevelt to make a public announcement censuring lynching and aid in enacting federal legislation to prevent lynching.

OCT 20 1933
PROVIDENCE, R. I.
BULLETIN

What Officers Were Shot?

The state of Maryland has been thrown into turmoil over the lynching of a Negro prisoner under circumstances far from usual, although some of the features have been quite too common on former occasions. The exceptional part is that the Negro had been taken out of the locality of his crime, for safe keeping that the governor had received warning of a probable lynching and had queried the judge and state's attorney connected with the case; that each assured the executive there was no reason to fear trouble; that the Negro was taken back against the protest of the state police. The old familiar details involve the failure of the law officers to make rational defense of the jail and the prisoner.

We are told that tear gas bombs were used by the officers, but the "mob of 1,000" improvised a battering ram and several of the state police "went down" before the crowd—not the battering ram. We have a picture of the judge who pooh-poohed caution vainly appealing to the mob and another of the sheriff impotently running around with his keys in his pocket, "afraid that the mob would take out the wrong man."

We have no word of any firearms being employed on either side. We have, instead, the jail entered without a peace officer being killed while doing his duty. We have a picture of the defending forces all out on the street instead of employing the protection of masonry walls.

It will take Maryland a very long time to wipe out this disgrace.

OCT 21 1933
ROME, N. Y.
SENTINEL

EASTERN SHORE LYNCHING

The terrible part of the tragic lynching on the Eastern Shore of Maryland is that it could have been avoided. The Negro, George Armwood, charged with assaulting an aged woman, had been moved from the Eastern Shore territory, where another lynching had taken place two years previously, and moved to the city jail of Baltimore for protection.

But on the advice of the local judge at Princess Anne and the State's Attorney for the county he was returned. Nevertheless, as a safeguard, 25 State Police were thrown around the Princess Anne jail. Last Wednesday night a mob gathered, overpowered the police, broke into the jail, dragged the Negro through the streets of the town past the home of the judge who had given his judgment that the man was safe, lynched him, burned the body and distributed lengths of the rope as souvenirs. "I was badly mistaken in my judgment," said the local judge "and am deeply grieved."

Had the Negro been allowed to remain in the jail at Baltimore, the lynching would not have occurred. As it is, a smirch rests against Maryland which every decent citizen of that State will resent. The second lynching since 1931 in a State which proudly calls itself the Free State should not be allowed to go unpunished. No State can tolerate a mob's trampling on public authority and thwarting the regular course of justice without eventually suffering violent repercussions. Such lawlessness in a State with so many Northern characteristics is disturbing and should stir greater activity to the ending once and for all of this shameful blight upon American civilization.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN
NOV 7 1933

Named Honorary Head Of Anti-Lynching Group

Rev. Peter Ainslie Appointed At Meeting Held At Home Of Miss Elisabeth Gilman

The Rev. Peter Ainslie yesterday was named honorary chairman of the Maryland Anti-Lynching Federation at a meeting held at the home of Miss Elisabeth Gilman, who was named secretary of the federation.

Other officers were: The Rev. Asbury Smith, chairman; George B. Murphy and Rabbi Edward L. Israel, vice-chairmen, and F. N. Trager, recording secretary. Four committees were appointed to draft anti-lynching legislation, to increase membership, to lay out an educational program and to raise funds.

The federation, which is made up of some thirty-five organizations, plans to bring an anti-lynching bill before the special session of the Legislature and expects to launch an educational campaign against lynching.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN
NOV 5 1933

The Rev. Mr. Ainslie Calls For A Citizens' Ticket In The Next Campaign To Stand Against Lynching And, That Failing, For A ~~Federal~~ Anti-Lynching Law

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* The Princess Anne lynching discussion is waning without action and the likelihood is that it will become simply a memory like that of the Salisbury lynching in 1931, only to be revived at our next Maryland lynching. The Governor claims that he has no legal right to do more than he has done, although in other instances he found a way when he wanted to. This lynching was evidently not done by morons from the marshes of the Eastern Shore, but by the so-called best people of Princess Anne and, therefore, there is no likelihood of the Eastern Shore authorities doing anything, nor that the Attorney-General will do anything, nor the next Legislature.

The tragedy is that the emotions from mob action remain to rule Maryland and there is no official voice to call for the reign of law. The protests have not been multitudinous; but some have been strong in print and in massmeetings and committees. It is a deplorable condition and is a sad reflection upon the moral standards of Maryland. We are much further down the line in morals than we have been giving ourselves credit—amazingly low down. I am, therefore, suggesting, as a possible outlet, that in the next election there be a citizens' ticket, composed of fearless citizens who will do two things:

First—Put into our statute books an anti-lynching law, similar to that in Virginia or West Virginia.

Second—Introduce such education into our public schools as will give priority of law over mob rule, and incidentally redistrict Maryland so that Baltimore city and the counties may have such representation in the Legislature as will give to the majority of the citizens of Maryland the right of decision.

If a citizens' ticket is regarded as impracticable, and the Legislature is unwilling to pass an anti-lynching law and to have taught in the public schools of Maryland the priority of law over mob rule, then we must put on a nation-wide campaign and seek to make lynching a Federal offense, and the lynchers to be handled by Federal authorities as well as sworn officials who were derelict in their duty, as were the judge, the State's Attorney and the Sheriff of Princess Anne. The day of action is here and there are some of us who are not going to let this issue die until lynching is outlawed, not only in Maryland, but in every State in the United States.

We have played with it long enough. The time has come when law and not mob rule should be the standard of Maryland.

PETER AINSLIE.

Baltimore, Nov. 1 1933.

RUTLAND, VT.
HERALD
OCT 30 1933

Cowardly Officials and Lynching.

It remained for a judge, issuing an injunction against rioting at the funeral of a negro, legally executed, properly to characterize the cowardice of state police who permitted a lynching. Ordering the sheriff to "shoot to kill" if necessary to preserve order, the court continued:

"However, in view of the recent exhibition of the failure of the State constabulary, armed as they were, to understand the object of their creation and the purpose for which they are sent out for the enforcement of law and order against mob violence if interposed, I need hardly remind of the right of the Sheriff, in case of need, to summon the entire citizenship of the community as the posse comitatus and compel them to act for all intents and purposes as deputy sheriffs in case of need in the preservation of law and order, and that sidearms are made to shoot with and not intended as mere official ornament and decoration."

This recalls the astonishing testimony of a deputy sheriff, in connection with a recent lynching, who said that he could not recognize any members of the mob, as he had fled to a back room in order not to see any of them! When a state is served by such officers, the strong words of the court are more easily understood.

MASON CITY, IA.
GLOBE GAZETTE

OCT 31 1933

WAR ON LYNCHINGS!

FEDERAL anti-lynching legislation is desired by the Women's International league. In a letter to the president, the league asks that he recommend a federal law on the subject to the next congress.

The recent lynching of a Negro at Princess Anne, Md., within two hours' distance of the capitol of the United States, is cited by the women as a reason why such legislation should pass to punish members of lynching mobs and protect this country from the blot of citizens' taking the law into their own hands.

Perhaps difficulty may be found in finding a clause in the federal constitution on which to base legislation for murders committed within a state and subject to state prosecution. The cry of states' rights will probably be raised against federal intervention to prevent lynching.

The states themselves should punish this outlawry against orderly government. Lynchings are a blot on all localities in which they are committed. No defense can be raised to justify mob rule that kills persons without trial.

States should move to end lynchings and should have sufficient self respect to summarily punish lynchers and inform the world that the citizens of the localities in which lynchings have occurred have enough regard for a proper public sentiment to punish the participants in these unlawful and outrageous crimes.

Unless officials of the states where lynchings are staged take this stand and are supported by the voters in their attitude, the federal government will eventually have to take jurisdiction to prevent their continuance.

Even if a constitutional amendment is needed to give the federal government power to punish lynchers, jurisdiction should be accorded, if public sentiment in states where lynchings are permitted and the lynchers escape punishment, does not demand that these blots be removed from their commonwealths.

The United States cannot afford to allow a legacy from barbarism to longer remain as an object of criticism from other nations.

BALTIMORE, MD
POST

OCT 31 1933

ARREST NEAR IN PROBE OF 'SHORE MOB

Lynching Leaders Reported Named by Troopers in State Investigation

10 NEW WITNESSES CALLED

Sheriff Summons Additional Men Identified as Being At Scene of Attack

Arrest of at least one man on charges of being a leader of the mob which lynched George Armwood, Negro, at Princess Anne two weeks ago, was expected when Attorney General Lane, Baltimore detectives and state police go to Somerset County tomorrow to continue their investigation of the lynching.

Although no official word was forthcoming as to the expected arrest, reports persisted that one of the mob leaders had been definitely named by state police who were on duty at the jail the night Armwood was seized.

Names of three of the mob members are said to be in possession of the investigators. Two of these men are said to be from Princess Anne and the third from lower Somerset County.

May Leave Tomorrow

Attorney General Lane said today he will probably go to Princess Anne tomorrow or Thursday to take personal charge of the inquiry there.

He has been in general charge of the questioning of the state policemen who were on the scene at the time of the lynching, and who were roughly handled by the mob which stormed the jail and dragged Armwood to his death.

"This matter of questioning the state police has proved to be a very lengthy procedure—far more so than we expected," Mr. Lane said.

Troopers Testify

"Already 500 pages of statements have been taken from the troopers who were on duty at the jail on the night of the lynching. These statements cover the period from the time the Negro was arrested up to the day after the lynching.

"There is such a maze of material that it had to be boiled down and, to a certain extent, classified before we could do much with it. We tried to get as accurate descriptions as possible from the policemen of members of the mob and what these mob members were engaged in at the various stages of the attack. I think that now we are in a position to go ahead with the inquiry."

Ten New Witnesses

At Crisfield, where lives Sheriff Luther Daugherty, of Somerset County, it was reported today that 10 new witnesses of the lynching have been identified, and will be summoned to testify when the coroner's jury is reconvened to further go into the lynching inquiry. The jury was adjourned subject to call at Mr. Lane's request.

With him will go two Baltimore detectives, Lieut. Joseph Itzel and Sergt. William Flynn, who were assigned by Police Commissioner Gaither on the night after the lynching to aid the county and state authorities to probe the attack.

Also, several state policemen will accompany Mr. Lane, among them Lieut. Ruxton Ridgely and possibly Capt. Edward McK. Johnson, the latter commander of the troopers. Both of these officers were in the battle at the jail door, during which the mob swept aside the defending police and battered its way into the prison.

Somerset County officials, under the leadership of State's Attorney John B. Robins, have been investigating the lynching since the day after it occurred, but have been unable to find anyone who could identify any of the mob leaders. Even the prisoners in the jail from which Armwood was dragged insist they did not recognize any of the mob which hustled the Negro from his cell and put him to death.

Judicial Survey Begun

Yesterday, State's Attorney Robins requested a file of The Baltimore Post containing accounts of the attack upon an aged white woman, of which Armwood was accused; of the arrest of Armwood and the attempt to lynch him at Salisbury the same night; of his transfer to Baltimore and his return to Princess Anne; of the lynching, and of the subsequent investigations.

In Baltimore a special committee, named by the Governor and composed of lawyers, criminologists, prosecutors and judges, has begun a survey of the state's judicial system, from which it is expected they will make recommendations designed to prevent long delays in the administration of jjustice. State's Attorney O'Conor is chairman of the committee.

Leading citizens of the Eastern Shore concur in placing the blame for the Armwood lynching, and for the lynching of Matthew Williams at Salisbury two years ago, upon the delays incident to the trial of Euel Lee, Negro, who was hanged in the Maryland Penitentiary last Friday.

State Plan Considered

A proposal that the state government bear the entire expense of criminal cases removed from one county to another, such as the Euel Lee case, is being considered by the committee.

Former Attorney General Edgar Allan Poe was named chairman of a subcommittee to take up the proposal and other recommendations. Other members of the subcommittee are W. Mason Shehan, attorney, of Easton; James M. Hepbron, director of the Baltimore Criminal Justice Commission, and Mr. O'Conor.

Judge Carroll T. Bond, chief judge of the Court of Appeals, was named chairman of a sub-committee to review the law relating to appeals in criminal cases and to propose methods by which these appeals can be expedited. Other members of this committee are Attorney General William Preston Lane Jr., Alexander Armstrong, former attorney general, and Walter D. Mitchell, president of the State Senate.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
MORNING PUBLIC LEDGER

NOV 5 1933

NEGROES PLANNING TO STOP LYNCHING

National Association Drafting Bill to Present When Congress Meets

SCHOOLS GET U. S. FUNDS

By JOSEPH V. BAKER

The legal staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is drafting a Federal anti-lynching bill which will be introduced when Congress convenes in January. That announcement from the organization's national offices in New York was accompanied by a request that all Negroes write President Roosevelt and their Representatives and Senators urging their support.

"It is plain to every one that the States are unwilling or unable to stop lynching," said Walter White, the national executive secretary, in sending the request to the 380 branches. "The officers of the law either aid lynchers actively or else stand idly by and let the mob do its work. Governors order investigations which never discover anything. Grand Juries find no evidence for indictments."

The organization instructed branch heads to ask members to test their Congressmen and Senators according to their willingness to vote for the measure, and added that "no man who refuses to vote for such a bill can be a true representative of Negro voters, no matter what else he stands for."

And while it was not definitely announced, it became obvious that the association is planning again to call into play the machinery which it used in aiding the defeat of Senators who voted for Judge John J. Parker for the Supreme Court after having been asked by Negro voters to oppose him. The organization sent speakers into the various States to oppose the re-election of each candidate who had upheld President Hoover's nomination of the North Carolinian. An appreciable number of them were defeated.

The Pennsylvania State association, which is headed by the Rev. Dr. Robert Bagnall, pastor of St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, will question candidates who have expressed their intentions to participate in the spring primaries. Much of this work will, no doubt, be done by the Philadelphia branch, of which Herbert E. Millen, attorney, is president, and the Harrisburg unit.

Dr. Ambrose Caliver, senior specialist in Negro education in the United States Office of Education, at Washington, has announced that Negro schools are taking advantage of the provisions of the Public Works Administration and Federal Emergency Relief Administration, which make funds available for work relief in education. The program being worked out will include as its main factor the retraining of persons who have decided to change their vocations either because of their inability to obtain employment in their chosen fields or because of vocational maladjustment.

Lynchings—1933-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3980

WASHINGTON, D. C.
HERALD
OCT 23 1933

PASTOR TAKES LYNCHING FOR SERMON TOPIC

Rev. Dr. Ranck Extols Moral Effect of Good Books; NRA Offered as Lesson in Ideals

The lynching of a Negro on the Eastern Shore of Maryland was singled out by the Rev. Frank S. Niles in his sermon yesterday at Georgetown Presbyterian Church as an example of lack of adherence to moral principles which has not eliminated such ghastly occurrences from modern life. He said:

"In the history of Princess Anne, two events will go down side by side—the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the Presbyterian Church and the lynching of a Negro.

GREAT MORAL EFFECT

"If such a thing had happened in China, we would have blamed it on their 'heathendom.' If it had happened in Turkey, we would have blamed Mohammedanism. But what shall we say of this thing that has happened in our very midst?"

Preaching on "What Shall I Read?" the Rev. Dr. Henry H. Ranck, pastor of Grace Reformed Church, directed attention to the abundance of good books, particularly in Washington.

He said:

"There is no excuse for any one not reading good books. It is true there are lots of vile books, but there are many good ones too, just as there are bad movies and others that are worth seeing.

"The moral effect of reading is very great. While some hold that we should know evil to avoid it, such a principle does not work well in practice. There is too great a likelihood of embracing the evil, as Dryden tells us in one of his poems."

Urging his hearers to be faithful especially in little things, the Rev. Edward G. Latch, preaching yesterday at Chevy Chase M. E. Church, cited the NRA as an illustration.

He said:

"There can be no permanent or real recovery unless it is based on character. The moral fiber of our people must be strengthened. As American people we must emphasize spirit rather than material things, real gretness rather than apparent bigness, and place a higher value on honestly truthfulness and all of our ideals."

DOING THE IMPOSSIBLE

Premising his sermon on the text, "All things are possible to him who believes," the Rev. Irving W. Ketchum at the Peck Memorial yesterday emphasized the need for faith. He said:

"We often hear the expression, 'Snap out of it,' or 'Get a grip on yourself.' These are phrases that are replete with meaning. We lose our snap, so to speak, for many reasons. It may be a result of loss of health, position, relatives or money. And we cannot face those situations without faith in ourselves and faith in God.

"The greatest example of faith in the Bible or in the whole world was Jesus. He did things that others thought impossible."

PONTIAC, MICH.
PRESS
OCT 21 1933

JUDGE LYNCH

Governor RITCHIE of Maryland is incensed. Probably he was the maddest man in the World when news came to him of the recent lynching of a Negro within the borders of his State. Lynching has no justification, and the Governor is well within his province in promising that those participating therein are to be apprehended and punished. The country would be in a state of disorder and anarchy if law and regulated order are to be overthrown every time a mob seeks vengeance upon someone accused of crime. The Negro victim in Maryland was charged with a serious offense. If guilty, death was not too severe a penalty, but it could not justly be imposed until guilt was proven in the Courts society sets up for that purpose.

WILMINGTON, DEL
JOURNAL
OCT 30 1933

LYNCHING MURDERERS AND RAPISTS

From The Snow Hill Messenger.

The first of the week we wrote about two columns concerning the lynching of Armwood and the influence the Euel Lee case had on it but what's the use? We threw it in the waste basket.

When Williams shot down and killed Dan Elliott, his employer, in Salisbury, a mob, influenced no doubt by the delays in the trial of Euel Lee, took the law into its own hands and lynched Williams.

Last week, when Armwood ravished and left naked in a woods near Princess Anne, a poor old white grandmother, another mob — no doubt influenced by the delays in the Euel Lee case—lynched Armwood. Armwood confessed his crime while in jail in Baltimore.

There is no doubt that the leading spirits of these mobs were moved by the thought that it was necessary if the courts were powerless to protect the peo[redacted] murdered and the wom[redacted]eing raped by hellish fiends, to see to it that the perpetrators of such crimes be punished.

We are opposed to lynching. We believe in law and order. But others say we also are opposed to lynching but believe in protecting our homes when the administrators of the law will not or cannot do it.

WALTHAM, MASS.
NEWS-TRIBUNE
OCT 31 1933

That Maryland lynching

The one feature of the lynching in Maryland recently, which reflects credit on the state when a mob took a negro from a Princess Anne jail and hanged him, burning his body, is that the guard of state police did its duty. It fought the mob till overcome by numbers, with several of its members severely injured. Whose judgment was at fault in bringing about the incarceration of the victim in a neighborhood where feeling against him ran high, is a secondary question now. Maryland can prove its determination to prevent such affairs by sparing no effort to bring the culprits to justice.

Governor Ritchie has ordered an investigation, and as it is said that the state police obtained the names of some of the leaders of the mob, it should not be long before some of them are in custody. Maryland cannot afford to let such a crime go unpunished.

BUFFALO, N. Y.
COURIER EXPRESS
OCT 20 1933

MARYLAND MADNESS

Lynching a man to make a public holiday seemingly still prevails as an old custom in Maryland, which has had fifteen lynchings since 1885. The latest one appears to have been the last word in lynchings, for sheer mob enthusiasm, gruesomeness and stark horror.

The Negro accused of attacking an aged white woman may have been guilty, but the mere impression that he was served the town of Princess Anne with enough of a verdict to doom him to the very limit of inhuman ingenuity. Dragging him by the neck through the streets with strident acclaim, hanging his apparently inanimate body to a tree, burning it in the public square with wild ceremony, distributing parts of the noose to participants in the ruthless orgy as souvenirs—these were the high lights of the affair. About 25 officers of the law suffered physical violence in the course of the jail delivery rather than resort to impressing the maddened townsfolk with the efficacy of armed resistance, though the attack was one the authorities had every reason to anticipate.

In the mob that made summary dispatch of this Negro there must have been not a few individuals who were familiar with the tradition that "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord," yet proceeded blindly to carry out the dictates of their worst impulsive selves.

Thus does Justice in Maryland continue to be blindfolded with a wide black band, and thus must Civilization be moved to speculate about the stage of its establishment in a progressive age.

CANDEM, N. J.
POST
OCT 20 1933

MARYLAND'S LYNCHING HORROR

Lynch law is horrible in its mildest form.

But nothing so frightful has taken place in many years as the strangling, hanging and burning of a Negro at Princess Anne, Maryland.

Said to have confessed to an attack upon a 71-year-old white woman, a fiendish offense, he was taken to the county jail. Although sentiment was running high, he seems to have been meagerly guarded, despite assurances given Governor Ritchie that there was no danger of mob violence.

Then came the march by several thousand enraged townsfolk. Not even tear gas hurled by State Police deterred them. Nor did the pleas of the judge scheduled to preside at the man's trial move the crowd to reason.

The man was strangled and beaten to death, and his body burned—a spectacle grim and terrible.

There can be no question of the magnitude of the man's offense. There can be understanding for the sentiments of the mob.

But mob rule never can be and never will be a substitute for orderly justice. Nor was there any reason to fear, in this case, that the man might escape the law.

As a result, the very ferocity of the lynching has led to the danger of a general racial outbreak and two companies of the Maryland National Guard have been assigned to keep order.

Governor Ritchie may be expected to press to the limit the investigation of the case, already under way. It is a disgrace to Maryland justice which can be mitigated only by swift and courageous measures.

WILMINGTON, DEL.
NEWS

OCT 30 1933

Thinks Lee Delay Prompted Mob

Eastern Shoreman Hits A Baltimore Ballyhooer

(Snow Hill Messenger)

The first of the week we wrote about two columns concerning the lynching of Armwood and the influence the Euel Lee case had on it but what's the use? We threw it in the waste basket.

When Williams shot down and killed Dan Elliott, his employer, in Salisbury, a mob, influenced no doubt by the delays in the trial of Euel Lee, took the law into its own hands and lynched Williams.

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There is no doubt that the leading spirits of these mobs were moved by the thought that it was necessary, if the courts were powerless to protect the people from being murdered and the women from being raped by hellish fiends, to see to it that the perpetrators of such crimes be punished.

We are opposed to lynching. We believe in law and order. But others say we also are opposed to lynching, but believe in protecting our homes when the administrators of the law will not or cannot do it.

In the big cities, we are informed there are gunmen who may be employed to shoot down human beings for a sum of money, and there is not much hue and cry to convict these gunmen or to put them out of business. In Baltimore there is an ordinary individual who some toughs of the city slums think the quintessence of greatness. He doesn't care what the morons think of him. It is pleasant music to his ears to hear them berate him, because it is an evidence that he has served well his employers. He says so himself. But what's the use—if you push your hands into muck some is sure to stick to them.

This man maligns an Eastern Shoreman with the utmost complacency. The Eastern Shoreman may not be the smartest individual in all creation, but he knows his superiority over the idol of the slums. He knows his superiority over Broadus Mitchel, Ades and the Negro Communists and Socialists and of the nit-wits who so foolishly expect Governor Ritchie to leave the Governor's mansion and play the part of detective at Princess Anne, or assume to himself prerogatives of the Sheriff and the Court. We are very glad there were no Eastern Shoremen present when the great Governor of the great State of Maryland was insulted by this band of character assassins, some of whom no doubt received their inspiration while on their visits to Russia.

Everyone who knows anything about the Euel Lee case holds it responsible for the two lynchings which have occurred on the Shore. Many people, believing it impossible to have the law carried out for the conviction of murderers and rapists, were determined there should be no miscarriage of justice and no delays that would burden the taxpayer with "another Euel Lee case."

We have tried, in a brief way, to give the attitude of many Eastern Shore people. We regret that Armwood was lynched and the Eastern Shore is again made the butt of the metropolitan press.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
STAR

OCT 27 1933

CHURCH OPPOSITION TO LYNCHING SOUGHT

Dr. Edmund McCrea Cavert Asks "Public Confession" at Sunday Services.

Suggestion that the churches of the country make "public confession of the sin of lynching" at services Sunday, because of the recent lynching at Princess Anne, Md., was made today by Dr. Edmund McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of America.

In a statement, Dr. Cavert declared "such outbursts of mob violence and race hatred make us realize how far we are from being truly civilized or Christian in an important phase of our social life."

He urged that the churches engage in a "great corporate act of penitence" and "a united dedication to the task of removing the blot of lynching from our land."

"Any lynching," he said, "is an outrage upon our sense of justice. Information at hand indicates that this one was especially so, in that the lynching plans were well known in advance and warnings to keep the victim in a place of security were disregarded. It seems clear that the authorities could have made a more determined effort to control the mob."

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
RECORD

OCT 22 1933

Lynch Law Survival of 'Tragic Era'

Old Klan's Methods Followed by 'Poor Whites' in South.

EDITOR'S NOTE:—The author of this article, a member of The Record's staff, is a native Virginian. In view of the lynching at Princess Anne, Md., last Wednesday, the article is a timely history of mob psychology in the South.

By JOHN McBRAIR

THE mob spirit in the South is a survival of the old Reconstruction Era.

Soon after the close of the Civil War Southerners, under the leadership of General Nathan B. Forrest, the famous cavalry officer, organized the Ku Klux Klan solely to combat carpetbagger rule.

The original purposes of this organization got out of hand, however, and tortures and murders of Negroes soon were laid at its doors.

The period from 1865 to 1870 marked a bloody chapter in the history of the South.

Emulating Judge Lynch.

In 1870 the Klan petered out insofar as its original leaders were concerned, but its tenets and methods were followed by the "poor whites" of the south.

The Klan of Reconstruction days drew its methods from Judge Lynch of Virginia, who made his name and actions famous by hanging Tories without benefit of trial soon after the Revolutionary War.

After the Reconstruction Klan ceased to exist mobs, with no fraternal identification, continued to use its methods and many bloody lynchings occurred in the ensuing half century.

In 1915 the Klan was revived in Georgia by William J. Simmons.

Its Three Enemies.

Its antagonisms were threefold: opposition to the Negro, the Roman Catholic and the Jew. In form it was comparable to the old Know Nothing party of an earlier era, the tenets of which rested upon a rigid attitude of nativism.

The Klan of 1915 was active until the year 1917, when America entered the World War. Strangely enough many of its members fought shoulder to shoulder in France with individuals from the very groups they had sworn in 1915 to suppress, and possibly destroy.

During the World War period it was inactive; but in 1919 it showed its ugly head again. Negroes were its principle victims, but it extended its activities to whites as well.

Fought by Newspapers.

In the five-year period following the World War the new Klan became a nationwide organization and formed many branches in the East and West.

Publicists in the East launched an attack on it in which newspapers, notably the late lamented New York World, led. It was discovered that its leaders were making a profitable racket of it and this fact was widely exposed. Ridicule was hurled upon its hooded head, and by the year 1928 its wings were clipped. It soon died a natural death.

Meanwhile, the old methods of the Klan took root with certain groups of Southern hoodlums who never lost an opportunity to practice the hooded order's tenets when the least provocation arose.

The South's Attitude.

Intelligent people in the South—particularly those who owned landed estates and were once slaveholders—have always discountenanced these mob outrages; and the history of individual towns and villages is filled with instances of courage shown by prominent citizens in the face of mob dangers.

One case I recall was that of a prominent Presbyterian minister in a Virginia town who son lives today in Philadelphia.

A mob captured a Negro boy charged with attacking and stealing from an aged white woman. He was being dragged to the Mayor's home. The minister stood over the youth's body and exclaimed that the boy would be taken over his dead body.

The mob desisted.

"Shoot and Be Damned."

Another time a prominent Virginia lawyer stopped a would-be lynch-crowd by standing on a box in the town square.

Someone in the crowd cried, "Shoot the——!"

"Shoot and be damned!" retorted the lawyer, baring his breast melodramatically.

His courage cooled the mob and it turned away from its bloody intentions.

Intelligent Southerners condemn vigorously the mob outrages in their borders; but they complain that Northerners too often emphaize their bad points and overlook their good ones.

Cites Segregation Here.

"I was amazed," observed a Southerner in Philadelphia recently, "to see the bitterness between the races in the North. We don't have that where I come from."

He called attention to the local fight in regard to schools segregation.

"What surprises me," he said, "is the persistency with which the white people retain their attitude in regard to segregation—a thing for which my people have so long been condemned."

"Is it because your Negro population is growing up close to what it has always been in the South?"

New York Evening Journal

OCT 25 1933

LYNCHING LAID TO 'OUTSIDERS'

PRINCESS ANNE, Md., Oct. 25—State's Attorney Robbins today had summoned witnesses before a coroner's jury in the effort to gain information as to the identity of members of the mob which lynched George Armwood, Negro last week, after it was charged he had assaulted an aged white woman.

Local citizens insisted that the lynching party was composed of outsiders.

Attorney-General W. P. Lane Jr., continued an independent investigation, as directed by Governor Ritchie.

Lynchings - 1933
Discussions

White Press, Northern.

3981

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS
DEC 3 1933

Home Folk Demand Rolph Quit as Lynching Inciter

San Francisco, Dec. 2 (U.P.).—Resignation of Gov. James Rolph Jr. must be demanded in order to "clear California's good name" in the San Jose lynchings, a group of leading Bay region citizens decided, it was announced today.

Gov. Rolph

Prof. Guy Montgomery, University of California, announced the decision of the meeting which he said thirty-five San Francisco, Oakland, and Berkeley leaders, "including professors, attorneys, rabbis and ministers," attended.

The plan outlined by Montgomery called for State-wide organization of all persons opposed to Rolph's attitude condoning the lynchings of two kidnap-slayers at San Jose last Sunday night.

Protest Meeting Here Against Rolph Today.

Calling Gov. Rolph's official approval of the San Jose lynchings "a tragic reflection upon modern civilization," Rabbi Joseph Zeitlin of Temple Ansche Chesed yesterday called on his congregation to discourage such policies of public officials.

A mass meeting to protest the lynchings and the California Governor's approval of lynch law will be held at 3 P. M. today in the Great Hall of City College, 139th St. and Convent ...

BALTIMORE, MD
NEWS
NOV 30 1933

Governor Ritchie Comments On Freeing Of Prisoners

ANNAPOLIS, Md., Nov. 30.—Governor Ritchie today declared that the judges who released the four men arrested in connection with the Armwood lynching knew "absolutely" that evidence sufficient to hold the men could have been produced.

He asserted that neither John B. Robins, State's Attorney for Somerset county, nor Judge Robert F. Duer had notified him, W. Preston Lane, Jr., Attorney General, or any other State official of the habeas corpus hearing.

Governor Ritchie's statement follows:

"No notice of the habeas corpus hearing was given to Attorney General Lane or to any other State official by Judge Duer or Mr. Robins or any official of Somerset county, and I do not believe that any was intended to be given. Simply by chance I happened to hear some time after midnight last night that the writs had been issued and that the Sheriff of Somerset county was on his way to Baltimore to get the men.

WRIT IS PRIVILEGE

"The writ of habeas corpus is a privilege to which the men were entitled under the Constitution, but there was no reason at all for the Sheriff to be rushed up to Baltimore in the middle of the night, or for the hearing to be fixed as early this afternoon without any notice to the State officials. The only reason I can imagine is that the Attorney General's witnesses were not wanted, and that the Attorney General was not either.

"When the local officials refused to arrest the men, and I had to have this done with the militia, which was the only agency I could direct to do it, the responsibility for all further judicial action passed completely to the local officials of Somerset county. Their duty is now inescapable. From the time the men were arrested and lodged in jail the only power to proceed with the case rested on the judicial machinery of Somerset county. The Governor can cause arrests to be made through the militia, when the normal methods fail, but only the court can hold the prisoners and only the grand jury can indict.

"EVIDENCE AVAILABLE"

"Early this afternoon I wired Judge Duer at Princess Anne that while the hearing on habeas corpus involved principally the legality of the custody of the men, at the same time it seemed clear to me that any judge hearing the case should have before him the testimony on which the men were arrested. It has often happened that men are let out on some technicality in habeas corpus cases, and yet a judge should hesitate to do that if he has before him the evidence which justifies holding the prisoner on the merits of the charge.

"Statements embodying the testimony against the men have been in the hands of State's Attorney Robins for more than ten days, and in my telegram I reminded Judge Duer that he was aware of that fact. I requested him, therefore, to secure these statements from Mr. Robins before rendering his decision in the habeas corpus case.

"Moreover, while the Adjutant General was exercising under the law all the powers of a sheriff, still the men were being held without warrant, and I called Judge Duer's attention to the fact that should he decide to release the men for that reason, then the statements in the hands of Mr. Robins of the evidence against them made it appropriate for him to consider their immediate arrest on bench warrants.

"I assured Judge Duer further that the witnesses who had testified to these statements would be made available if he advised me that he would hear them and would give sufficient time to secure their attendance at Princess Anne.

TELEPHONES JUDGE

"Later in the afternoon and before the hearing I asked Attorney General Lane to read over the telephone to Judge Pattison, who I had just learned was to sit in the case, the full telegram which I had sent to Judge Duer. Mr. Lane did so in my presence and gave Judge Pattison the telephone number where he could be located in Annapolis. The next we learned was that the men had been dismissed on insufficent evidence.

"If the men were really dismissed for that reason, then the three judges knew absolutely that evidence entirely sufficient to hold them would be promptly produced if they were willing to hear it."

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN
NOV 29 1933

A GAIN IS REGISTERED

The people of the lower Eastern Shore were shocked, and some of them were enraged to the point of another violent and lawless outbreak by Govenor Ritchie's dispatch of a battalion of troops to cover the arrest of several of the men named in Attorney-General Lane's investigation of the lynching of George Armwood, Negro.

~~It is natural~~ that people on the Shore were shocked and humiliated; other parts of the State also have been shocked and humiliated by the necessity for the movement of troops But it is not in order for the people of the lower Eastern Shore, certainly not the decent and the responsible and the intelligent elements, to be enraged. Let them look calmly at the record.

Armwood was lynched in Princess Anne on the night of October 18 in an orgiastic outburst of ferocity and cruelty that would shame savages. No serious effort had been made by the local authorities to prevent the lynching, or even to guard against it by moving the man. No serious effort was made by the local authorities to apprehend the lynchers and start the machinery of legal punishment.

Attorney-General Lane, to his lasting credit, assumed the duty of investigation sincerely and bravely. He gathered evidence which he confidently declared to be sufficient to warrant a magistrate in holding the accused men and to leave a grand jury no legal escape from indictment. Two weeks ago Mr. Lane requested State's Attorney Robins to arrest the men. And two weeks have passed without action either by the State's Attorney—or by the court of the First Judicial circuit.

What does that mean? It means only one thing. It means that there is no effective law against mobs on the lower Eastern Shore, and it means that there is no will on the part of the constituted authorities there to have any law against mobs. Mr. Robins' position against enforcement of law upon mobs has been clear and unashamed. The court of the First Judicial circuit has been less candid, but not less supine before mob spirit.

It is ten days since Governor Ritchie laid the issue before Judges Pattison, Bailey and Duer in a public statement. And not a single move have these judges made. Remember that these same judges fell in with public clamor in the Euel Lee case and botched the handling of it so badly that the Court of Appeals had to intervene and months of litigation and delay resulted; and that one of the judges (Duer) was on the popular side when he botched the precautions against the lynching of Armwood.

When these facts are recalled, the recent feebleness of the court becomes a part of a pattern of official standards and conduct too glaring to be mistaken.

It was no longer possible for Governor Ritchie to ignore the plain facts. And when he could no longer ignore them the issue before him was clear: If the constituted authorities of the lower Eastern Shore had no will to enforce law against mobs; if they, in fact, bowed to mobs, was the State of Maryland powerless? Acting with Attorney-General Lane's advice, the Governor resolved to use the powers at his command in a drastic attempt to drag the alleged murderers out of their holes and to assert before all the dignity and the integrity of the laws of Maryland.

At this writing the practical results in punishment of the members of the mob cannot be assessed or forecast, and, unfortunately, the Governor is ill at the moment when legal battles may develop, and conditions may arise which call for further positive action. But something has been gained. The mob has been taught that the entire State is not terrorized. The outbreak yesterday in Salisbury was another example of intolerable mob spirit, but it met sterner treatment than at Salisbury in 1931 or at Princess Anne on October 18: The prisoners are in jail.

And we undertake to say that in this battle for decency and against disgrace the State will become increasingly effective in support of decency. Until yesterday the affirmative was with the mobs. Today it is with civilized men. And, once on the march, the intelligence of civilized men will always overcome and dominate the savage and the stupid. Happily, too, the State has been shown that in Preston Lane it has an official who is prepared to go out on the firing line and personally lead the fight for civilized government.

BALTIMORE, MD
MORNING SUN
DEC 4 1933

MOB MENACE CIT[ED] BY REV. DR. BEA[CH]

First M. E. Congregation Hears Pastor Deplore Shore Lynchings

If the United States in this present crisis is to give itself over to mob rule we face the end, the Rev. Dr. King D. Beach told his congregation last night, preaching in First Methodist Episcopal Church on "The Menace of Mob Violence."

He urged that Christian sentiment in the community rise up 100 per cent against mob rule, even if someone had to pay the penalty for it with his life. Revenge, hatred, suspicion, fear and prejudice characterize mob rule, he said, and he contrasted them to kindness, consideration, courage, forgiveness, mercy and fair dealing, which he said were qualities of Christianity.

Blow To Methodism, He Says

"Recent lynchings on the Eastern Shore," he declared, "were a blot on Christianity and on Methodism, the latter stronger in proportion there than in any other section of the country. It cuts me to the quick to think that a lynching could occur on the Eastern Shore, where Methodism has been for 150 years.

"Lynching is not necessarily a protest against horrible crime. Since 1889, of the 3,734 lynchings which occurred, one-sixth were for rape and the other remaining number for crimes of a lesser or minor nature or for no crimes at all."

Dr. Beach cited the instance of one Negro lynched because he brought suit against a white man and of another because to conceal a black mule he had stolen, he painted it white.

80 Per Cent. Negroes

"Four-fifths, or eighty per cent., of the number were Negroes," he said.

Dr. Beach asked if it were reasonable to suppose that the small percentage of Negro population could be responsible for so large a percentage of major crimes.

"Nor are lynchings necessarily a protest against delays in legal procedure," he said. "All share in the protest against delays as we share in the protest against horrible crimes. Yet we know that in the South a few Negroes are able to employ lawyers who can delay procedures. It is the white man generally who employs such lawyers. The Southern Commission on Lynching in a recent book said it could not see that delays in criminal procedure figured largely.

Psychology Of Mob

"One also must take under consideration the psychology of a mob and remember that in a mob individuals, controlled by the spirit of the mob, do what they would not do if alone."

WASHINGTON, D. C.
NEWS
NOV 29 1933

THE MARYLAND REBELLION

SALISBURY, Md., is in rebellion against the state. Its citizens attacked state officials and state troops, driving them out of town.

The issue is no longer merely the apprehension and punishment of the Princess Anne lynchers. The issue now is whether the State of Maryland will re-establish authority over its rebellious citizens.

The duty of the Governor is plain. Local authorities having failed—if indeed they tried—to prevent anarchy and wholesale violence, state troops should be sent back and remain there until the reign of law is recognized and respected.

Whether the Governor, other state officials and police by their inaction were partly to blame for the lynching last month is still an open question. Nevertheless Gov. Ritchie deserves credit for his belated attempt to use the power of the state to capture the lynch leaders protected by the local authorities.

But the fact that only four of the nine lynching suspects were captured, coupled with the fact that the attorney general and the troops yesterday retreated from the town under attack by another mob, leaves a much more dangerous situation than existed after the lynching.

By yesterday's violence the mob spirit was encouraged. Lawless elements all over the state will grow.

Maryland, like any other state, is made up chiefly of peaceful and law-abiding citizens. The purpose of law is to protect the community from the lawless minority. Gov. Ritchie cannot compromise with mob rebellion.

A SOUTHERN FINDING.

The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching has rendered its report on the three acts of mob violence which have taken place since August 12 in the vicinity of Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

It declares that one of the four mob victims, all Negroes, was undoubtedly innocent; two others probably and the fourth possibly so. Blame for the lynchings is placed upon failure of the officers of the law to protect the prisoners and upon another cause which had nothing whatever to do with the guilt or innocence of the men. A local organization, incensed because the International Labor Defense wished to employ a lawyer for the accused, is declared to have instigated the riots.

"One was undoubtedly innocent—two others probably." None had the benefit of the law; all were victims of mob hysteria. There can be no attempt to point in superior way at Alabama, but there is commentary in the circumstances which may be brought to the attention of lynch law advocates everywhere.

ELMIRA, N. Y.
ADVERTISER
DEC 6 1933

JUDICIAL LYNCHING

Now and then in every country some criminal case comes before the bar of public opinion as well as that of the law; such cases have implications which extend far beyond the fates of the accused.

France had the Dreyfuss case with its undercurrent of government corruption and its background of anti-semitism; Germany today has the Reichstag fire case; Russia tried the German and then the English engineers, the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti has not yet been forgotten in the United States.

Such a criminal case is that of the Scottsboro Negro boys.

They are charged with criminal assault upon two white girl hoboes, who with some young men got on a freight train upon which a dozen or so Negro lads were riding. A fight ensued, the white youths were thrown from the train. At the next stop the Negroes were taken from the train by peace officers, acting on telephonic advice from the dispossessed white hoboes.

The evidence that there was any criminal assault on the two girls is of the slightest, one of them has denied under oath that any such attack occurred, the other has stuck to her story.

Sentenced to death on their first trial, a mockery of justice, the accused won a new lease of life from the Supreme Court of the United States; the second trial resulted in errors; the third, just concluded, has resulted in a second death verdict.

Actually it is not the Negro boys who have been on trial but the right of a sovereign state of the deep South to refuse justice to the Negro. Had Heywood Patterson and his companions been white they never would have faced a jury.

The judge presiding is reported to have permitted the prosecutor in his final address to the jury to make an appeal to race prejudice which alone should have been sufficient to have caused a mistrial. He neglected even to charge the jury how it could find the defendants innocent until reminded of this slight oversight by the defense counsel.

To maintain a Negro can get a fair trial in Alabama on such a charge, regardless of the supporting evidence, is patently silly.

The Scottsboro case has become a struggle between the barbaric justice of Alabama and the public opinion of the rest of the United States.

It was disgraceful of Governor Rolph of California to exonerate the San Jose lynchers last week. It will be equally disgraceful of the governor of Alabama to exonerate the judicial lynching of the Scottsboro boys.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3982

Emergency Meeting to Fight Lynchings Called for Tomorrow

Daily Worker

NEW YORK.—A special emergency conference has been called for tomorrow by the National Committee of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights to formulate plans for a relentless fight against the increasing wave of mob and legal lynchings, as shown in the recent lynching of George Armwood in Maryland and the legal lynching yesterday morning of Euel Lee in the Maryland penitentiary.

The conference will be held at 119 W. 135th St. at 1 p.m.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Eagle

OCT 18 1933

FUSION TO ENLIST CLERGY

A campaign to enlist more than 100 Negro ministers in the cause of LaGuardia was announced last night by the Rev. Dr. Sylvester L. Corrothers, county fusion chairman among the colored voters.

WASHINGTON, D. C. HERALD

NOV 10 1933

Antilynch Group Will Meet Tonight

The Washington Provisional Committee Against Lynching, recently organized after the lynching of George Armwood in Princess Anne, Md., will hold a mass conference of delegates open to the public at 8 o'clock tonight in the Phyllis Wheatley Y. W. C. A.

This meeting will be preliminary to an all-Eastern antilynching conference to be held in Baltimore on November 19. Speakers will be Bernard Ades and Charles L. Houston, dean of Howard University Law School.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. NEWS

NOV 6 1933

Demands Penalty For Lynchers

To Editor of the Daily News:

I want to express my opinion concerning the barbarous and unlawful treatment accorded that Negro at Princess Anne, Maryland, a short time ago. The participants of such an act should be punished. Such an outrage is a blot on any civilized community. I feel that even Hitler would feel compassion for such an atrocious crime.

E. M. QUARLES,
Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. NEWS

NOV 6 1933

Lynchings Blot On Civilization

To Editor of the Daily News:

I think that lynchings are disgraces to our civilization. Regardless of color, race, or creed, any man deserves an opportunity to prove himself not guilty. The victims of the mob have the same God the lynchers have.

BEATRICE JORDON,
Philadelphia.

LOWELL, MASS. EVE. LEADER

OCT 25 1933

SUGGESTED BY THE NEWS.

One commentator on the lynching in Maryland says that the fault cannot be shifted to any locality—cannot be placed on any one group of people, but rests on the United States as a whole. One judges that he attributes it to the widespread disrespect for law that has characterized our recent history. Yet the crime of lynching is not a new development. It was committed at a period when we had the reputation of being a more law-abiding people than can truthfully be claimed today. Certainly it cannot be due to the World war or to prohibition. There have been suggestions for a federal law to deal with it. But in the last analysis it is a local problem. There is no excuse for any group which takes the law into its own hands. Yet it must be admitted that in some instances there has been provocation in the law's delays.

WASHINGTON, D. C. STAR

NOV 11 1933

LYNCHING CONDEMNED BY METHODIST BOARD

Resolution Is Adopted Expressing Horror at Increase in Such Lawless Events.

By the Associated Press.

The Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church today made public a resolution adopted by its Board of Managers in condemnation of lynching.

"In view of the fact that lynchings have recently increased in our country, and in view, especially, of the lynching of a colored man at Princess Anne, Md., this board wishes to express its horror for all such lawless events," the resolution stated.

A lynching, the resolution continued, "gives to a town an evil name, and even if outsiders are the chief offenders, connects such town for 30 or 40 years with the reputation for such an event until even guiltless citizens are made to share a blame that does not belong to them."

N. Y. EVENING POST

OCT 21 1933

HE IS "GRIEVED"

After the lynching of a Negro criminal in Princess Anne County, Maryland, Judge Robert F. Duer admitted, "I was badly mistaken [illegible] deeply [illegible] thing happ[illegible] [illegible]r county. I am grieved for [illegible] state as well." He should be. The lynching itself is overshadowed by the fact that local authorities used neither judgment nor wisdom to prevent it, but permitted the return of the criminal from a Baltimore jail, which afforded the opportunity the mob needed. Governor Ritchie, who is himself a center of sharp criticism for this affair, will have to go far now to rehabilitate the good name of Maryland.

NEW BRITAIN, CONN. HERALD

OCT 20 1933

WHAT CAUSES LYNCHINGS

There is no defense of lynching. The mob spirit, such as once more protruded its gory head on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, is not to be condoned under any circumstances.

Several years ago, in Salisbury, Md., there was a lynching in the center of the town. And Salisbury is no backwoods town, but a lively, progressive place, before the crash the fastest growing spot in Maryland.

Two days ago there was another lynching nearby, in the town of Princess Anne, a settlement that sprang into being before the days of the Republic. Both lynchings were barbarous in the extreme, and in the later one 25 state police were overpowered, as well as jail attendants.

But—

Two years ago a Negro committed a similar crime for which lynching so often follows, and this Maryland Negro was not lynched. The defense lawyer or lawyers took advantage of every technicality of the law, and it went from one court to the other, until only this week it reached the U. S. Supreme Court, which refused to review the case.

It is this interminable delay of the law that aids and abets lynching. The delay is what the crowd referred to when it yelled to the law officers seeking to stop the mob's rush in Princess Anne.

There is good reason to believe that if legal technicalities were not so frequently trotted forward for the benefit of prisoners, and the law showed reasonable speed to its goal, there would be less of a tendency to indulge in mob murder.

BALTIMORE, MD. MORNING SUN

OCT 26 1933

Which Side Is Our Correspondent Really On?

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* In regard to lynch law, no one can be more opposed to it than I am. I agree with those who protest against it, that it is debasing and brutalizing. But those who make this protest seem to lose sight of the brutality of the crime that causes the lynching. If a wild beast attacks your wife or child you shoot him down. The same attack, made by a man, white or black, is far worse and demands the same treatment as given to a beast, which he is. Personally, I believe in giving a criminal a fair trial with none of the legal delays which are one great cause of lynching. If the law acquits him, then, and not before, take the law into your own hands. There are two sides to every question.

R.

Gaithersburg, Md., Oct. 20, 1933.

Recommends Lynchings For New York And Philadelphia

To THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* In view of the political and criminal records of New York and Philadelphia, the editorials which you reprinted in today's *Sun* from the New York *Herald Tribune*, Philadelphia *Record* and *Public Ledger* are in very bad taste. A few lynchings in their respective cities might help to clear their atmosphere. However, if this is repugnant to their sensitive feelings, they might at least mind their own business, and that might help them.

R. J. PURNELL.

Crisfield, Md., Oct. 21, 1933.

CORTLAND, N. Y. STANDARD

NOV 9 1933

The Princess Anne Lynching

It is a long time since any such roar of indignation has arisen over mob law as that which followed the lynching in Maryland recently of Negro George Armwood, charged with attacking a 71-year-old woman. It was deplored by the press in many parts of the country and nowhere more earnestly than in Baltimore, and made a subject of protest by the Interracial Commission and many Negro and other organizations. The Socialist party of Maryland demanded the impeachment of Gov. Ritchie.

It was a well-dressed mob, not one of whose members was under the influence of liquor, as described by an eye-witness, who was horrified by its savagery. He pays a tribute to the self-restraint of the state police, who took a severe beating from the mob, but resisted only by main strength and with their fists. It is his belief that had

they used their weapons, a massacre would have followed.

On the other hand, the state police are severely criticised for not drawing their firearm. According to some, certain views widely held in the Free State of Maryland caused the very presence of the state police to be resented by residents of Somerset county, who felt that their own local authorities were being subordinated.

A lax sentiment and lax courts and officials on the eastern shore of Maryland figure in explanations; also the unnecessary removal of Armwood to Princess Anne from Baltimore, where he was being held in safe custody. Gov. Ritchie's power over local officers, like that of executives in Missouri and various other states, is meager, but it is held that he might have prevented the removal and might also have used his state police to more purpose. Furthermore, delays in the case of Euel Lee, twice convicted of murdering a farm family of four more than two years ago, had aroused deep impatience. After the lynching, pleas in Lee's behalf before the governor were dismissed and he was ordered hanged next Friday.

Details preceding the lynchings are instructive, as is often the case. No such surge of angry resentment as has followed this lynching can go through the country without a deterrent influence. A gratifying state of public opinion on mob violence is also indicated.

NEW YORK [redacted] WORLD — Telegram

NOV 14 1933

Views on the Lynching

By John Cowper Powys.

I WRITE to congratulate your paper on its admirable article (November 3) by Joseph Mitchell on the Tuscaloosa lynchings.

It is most encouraging to all liberal-minded observers of the trend of events in this country to note that a newspaper as prominent and weighty as the World-Telegram should call attention to such examples of illegal and unconstitutional violence.

I shall await with interest further news of this Delegation of Investigation.

Hillsdale, N. Y.

By Miriam Burger.

I wish to commend you for publishing a special article on the lynchings in Tuscaloosa, Ala., which appeared in your issue of Friday, November 3.

This very important matter has been consistently neglected by all the other New York papers. It seems to me that an issue of major importance should receive more attention when terroristic methods are becoming more prevalent in the world at large.

It is encouraging to find one paper liberal enough to give at least one special article to this question.

Brooklyn.

By Ruth and David Hall.

As daily readers of the World-Telegram let us congratulate you on your continued liberal policy.

We have in mind particularly the timely article entitled "Seek Truth in Lynching," by Joseph Mitchell. Many of us who sympathize with the underprivileged in the South will look for further news in your columns concerning the adventures of the investigating committee, the majority of whom are Southerners.

New York.

By Roger N. Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union).

We desire to express our appreciation of an article in your issue of Friday, November 3, by Joseph Mitchell, under the head "Seek Truth in Lynching." Your column gave a story of the shocking murder of two Negro prisoners at Tuscaloosa, Ala., now being investigated by a committee of Southerners on behalf of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.

Calling public attention to these neglected issues of "black justice" in Southern courts is a service which cannot be too highly commended as an essential part of the fight against lynching and lynch law.

New York.

By Jacob Lippman (Lawyer).

The special article which appeared in your issue of November 3 on the lynchings in Tuscaloosa, Ala., deserves praise.

In times like these, when there is so much bigotry and racial hatred, it is gratifying to see at least one newspaper manifesting an interest in such a vital problem.

New York.

By Mrs. Adelade Kahn.

I shall not attempt to justify mob-lynching. No one could uphold the frenzy that turned innocent people into fiends. One can justify the emotions and underlying motives of a people who do such things if one has lived, studied, breathed and felt the same emotions.

. . . Is it small wonder that when an innocent white girl has been brutally assaulted and slain by a colored man, and the people are in a frenzy, seeking some solution to a problem which they alone can understand, when a jaunty, suave, blase lawyer suddenly comes into the scene, ignorant of its details, prejudiced beforehand, feeling his superiority, lamenting their ignorance, the people resent his coming? I am speaking now as a Southerner justifying the seeming hostility of such people. . . .

The South would not attempt to dictate to New York courts how to deal with the gangster situation, because it is a foreign menace to Southern people. Yet the New York courts do not hesitate to send debonair lawyers to defend a cause equally foreign to them.

I say that New York interference is responsible for three-fourths of the mob spirit in the South. They are decidedly a detrimental influence. The sooner they realize this the sooner will Southern courts be given more jurisdiction by the people.

I deny that the majority of lynchings is imposed on innocent victims. In every other incident a confession has been obtained save the Tuscaloosa case. I should have to be convinced more fully that it was not. Take the Scottsboro case, made famous by outside influence and dictation to Southern courts. What happened? The men were made national martyrs by a few New York lawyers. As a result they became arrogant, domineering, demanding certain privileges over other prisoners, defying authorities because they believed evidence had been bought for their freedom.

As a Southern woman I simply state my views and interpretations of the Southern attitude. I would recommend a more tolerant, sympathetic, broader view, plus a little knowledge of the situation by those who attempt to remedy it. If upon returning to New York your peacemakers would write articles of at least attempted understanding instead of articles seething with hate, insults, race prejudice, reflected ignorance, upon the white people of the South (for example, your Scottsboro lawyers), I venture to say they would not have to be guarded, protected and disguised for their investigation.

If we preach tolerance let us be tolerant.

Amagansett, L. I.

By Quincy Howe (Editor Living Age).

I have just read with admiration Joseph Mitchell's column on "Seek Truth in Lynching" in the World-Telegram of November 3. It is refreshing and encouraging to find at least one metropolitan daily giving the subject of lynching the attention it deserves. May I also express the hope that the World-Telegram will follow through on this story by reporting the activities of the seven investigators?

New York.

By Lincoln Rothschild.

It was a pleasant surprise to encounter your full and accurate account of the Tuscaloosa investigation in last Friday's (November 3) World-Telegram. Continued fearless and unbiased covering of this type of material will certainly establish for you a unique position among the large dailies of this city, if not, indeed, of the entire country.

New York.

By Olga Shapiro.

The reign of terror against the Negro in the South must be stopped. Daily the papers are filled with accounts of new outrages. It is enough to read about the Scottsboro boys to realize that it is done only to intimidate the Negro.

The lynching of two young boys in Tuscaloosa, Ala.—Dan Rippen and Harden—is something which must not go unheeded. The lynchers must be brought before the court of justice.

New York.

Anti-Lynch Conference

Daily Worker

11-18-33

New York N.Y.

THE bloody orgy of lynching now raging throughout the country, the hideous lynching of George Armwood in Maryland, the legal murder of Euel Lee, the more than forty reported lynchings this year, the sinister preparations of Alabama lynch officials to hand the Scottsboro boys and their defendants over to a lynch mob on the eve of the new trials, all sharply emphasize the need for united, vigorous action of all elements opposed to lynching and the hideous oppression of the Negro masses.

It is to achieve this purpose that the Public Inquiry and Anti-Lynching Conference, which opens in Baltimore today, was called by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, with the support of the International Labor Defense. The Public Inquiry will be presented with a mass of unanswerable evidence exposing the complicity of Gov. Ritchie and other Maryland officials in the lynching of Armwood. More, it will receive the reports of careful investigations of lynchings in Tuscaloosa, Ala., and other parts of the country. These investigations give irrefutable proof of the participation of State and County officials, governors, judges, sheriffs, etc., in organizing and carrying out the lynchings of Negro victims.

All of this factual material and concrete evidence will be placed before President Roosevelt, backed with the force and determination of white and Negro workers who demand the enactment and enforcement of the Bill of Civil Rights presented by the Scottsboro marchers and ignored by both Roosevelt and the U. S. Congress.

The unmasking of these officials strikes a smashing blow at the theory advanced by the ruling class, of which they are members, and the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other white and Negro reformists, that lynchings are spontaneous, are due to ignorance and are initiated by the white toilers.

The evidence will include facts on the economic background of the lynch terror, the brutal exploitation of Negro and white toilers, the swindling of Negro croppers and share croppers by the white landlords.

The Anti-Lynching Conference should give direction and leadership to this indignation. Every working-class organization, every worker, every honest intellectual, must be mobilized in a nation-wide struggle against lynching. The fight against lynching is at the same time a fight for the national liberation of the Negro People, for full democratic rights for Negroes all over the country, and for self-determination for the Negro majorities in the "Black Belt."

Support the Baltimore Public Inquiry and Anti-Lynching Conference!

Defend the Negro masses! Defend the innocent Scottsboro boys!

Lynchings - 1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

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HARTFORD, CONN.
COURANT
OCT 27 1933

MR. BLACK RETURNS

Lynchings He Finds Regrettable But Necessary

To the Editor of The Courant:—

I would like to say a word in commendation of the letter of Mr. R. B. Mathews, also an answer to the reply of L. I. Duncan in The Courant concerning the recent lynching in Maryland. Mr. Mathews has certainly given the real reason for this lynching, as well as several others that have occurred in the South in the last six months.

I note in your editorial comment on this lynching you said that such things could be expected of the people who inhabit the States of Georgia and Mississippi, but you were surprised that it could happen in Maryland, which was about as Simon Pure as New England in being free from lynchings. But if New England had to contend with the things the South has had to contend with the past year or two, I am not so sure it would be entirely free from lynchings.

Mr. Mathews gives an account of the Euel Lee case in Maryland, which, while there was absolutely no question as to his guilt, was carried through several courts for two years in the hope that through some legal technicality he might escape punishment for his brutal crime. What a travesty on justice, a sad commentary on our system of courts, and condemnation of the race itself when it can through lawyers keep a case like this in the courts for two years, trying to keep him from paying the penalty for his dastardly crime.

This case is almost parallel to the now famous Scottsboro case, which has been in the courts for over two years, and the end is not yet in sight. This case has been the direct cause of no less than six lynchings in the South.

And they not only try to keep the members of their race who they know to be guilty from being punished, but they try to keep them on any pretext whatever from even having to stand trial for the crimes of which they are indicted. They must think they are a favored class. In the Johnny Williams case in Hartford their claim in resisting extradition was that they were holding an election down South and they wanted to get Johnny back and lynch him so that someone might be elected to office. In the recent Virginia case it was because there would not be any Negroes on the jury to try the case. There is no question of guilt in this case, as the Negro confessed to brutally beating to death two white women; yet they try every known means to keep him from even being tried for his crime. And even though they know he is guilty I have no doubt but that they will carry the case through all the courts in the hope that by some means he may escape paying the penalty. Is it any wonder that through this open contempt of the law and their efforts by fair means or foul to keep their known guilty criminals from being punished or even standing trial, that there are lynchings? This is the cause of them, and they have no one to blame but themselves. Remove the cause and you automatically remove the lynchings.

Mr. Mathews is exactly right. If justice had been meted out in this way in these brutal crimes there would have been no lynching in Maryland, and six Negroes who were lynched in the South as the direct result of the Scottsboro case would be alive today.

I note that Mr. Duncan wants to know if all the crimes against white women are committed by Negroes. Ninety-nine per cent of them are. If they have no respect for the law and continue these dastardly crimes and if punishment for them is delayed by unscrupulous lawyers for two or three years, just that long you will have lynchings.

If these Northern agitators, who by their tactics in this case have done more to revive race hatred and prejudice in both white and black in the South than anything that has happened in the last fifty years, really want to help the Negro, they will pursue far different tactics. Instead of trying to obstruct justice, they will let the courts and the law alone and do all they can for the Negro in an educational way, and try to teach them the majesty of the law and the certainty of quick punishment by it for their crimes. In no other way can these lynchings be stopped.

W. J. BLACK.

Hartford, Oct. 25, 1933.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
NEWS
OCT 30 1933

Lynchings Cruel, Inhuman

To Editor of the Daily News:

After reading the details of the hanging and burning of the Negro accused of attacking an aged woman, I sat still for several minutes—shocked, horrified. It is almost unbelievable that such a cruel and inhuman act could have been perpetrated by sane, civilized humans. It reads like an account from the Dark Ages, when cruelty and hate walked hand in hand with ignorance and intolerance; when the rack and the torture chambers took heavy toll of their victims, whose pitiful cries for mercy were answered by the mocking laugh of the torturers and the jeers of the onlookers.

Let us hope and pray that such an outrage shall not occur again, and when hearts are filled with an unreasonable, uncontrollable anger, let those who are without sin cast the first stone.

HARRY RICHMAN,
Philadelphia.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN
OCT 30 1933

One Thing To Do

Last Friday night "The March of Time," a radio feature presented by the magazine, *Time*, was devoted to an account of the Princess Anne lynching. This went out over one of the national broadcasting chains, and listeners aver that its effect was terrific.

A day or two previously Alexander Woollcott, a radio star, whose feature is also presented over a nation-wide chain, devoted his half hour to the affair at Princess Anne, and his account, while it contained none but well-authenticated facts, was blistering.

All the New York and Philadelphia papers featured the lynching, many of them having their own representatives on the ground, and the press agencies, of course, carried long, circumstantial narratives of the affair. As far as we are able to judge, there is no section of the country in which the grisly details are not well known. Rarely, if ever, has a lynching had wider publicity.

The result is that through the efforts of the Princess Anne mob the name and fame of Maryland have been stamped upon the consciousness of the country in such a way that they will not soon be forgotten. When a man says he is from Maryland today, people raise their eyebrows. It may be the Rev. Peter Ainslie. It may be Dr. William H. Welch. It may be any other citizen of unimpeachable standing. It may be in Bangor or in San Diego. It may be in Seattle or in Santa Fé. But whoever the man, and wherever he may be, when he says he is from Maryland, people raise their eyebrows.

So it is evident that when people say nothing whatever can be done with reference to this lynching they are in error. At least one thing may be done. That is to discontinue any appropriations that may have been made, whether by the state, the city, the Association of Commerce or any other agency for the purpose of advertising Maryland. Such appropriations are now supererogatory, for Maryland has already been advertised—and how!

NEWS
Princess Anne, Md
NOV 4 1933

NO PROGRESS REPORTED IN LYNCHING PROBE

States Attorney Knows No More Witnesses And Attorney General Has Not Been On Scene

At the request of Attorney General Preston Lane, the Coroner's jury recessed on the 24th of October until such time as he could be present to examine State Police and any other witnesses to the lynching of George Armwood that might be produced.

Since that time local authorities have had no word from Mr. Lane as to what progress he is making in the investigation nor as to when he expects to come to Princess Anne. The Baltimore press reported that he expected to come down the middle of this week and continue his investigation and perhaps ask that the Coroner's jury be reconvened so that evidence might be produced before it. Neither the State's Attorney nor the Coroner had this report verified and as a matter of fact Mr. Lane did not come down at that time.

Several Baltimore detectives have been here on the case but what, if any, information they have secured has not been revealed. On Thursday morning they had a consultation with the Sheriff, Mr. Luther Daugherty. That official had no additional information to give them, except the names of eight persons given him as witnesses to the affair. Mr. Daugherty said that he had tried to locate these persons, but had not been successful and he had about come to the conclusion that the names were fictitious.

The State's Attorney offered all the evidence in his possession at the first session of the jury. Since then he has been unable to uncover anything of importance. Unless the Attorney General is able to discover witnesses who can place responsibility there seemes little likelihood of the grand jury being called in special session.

It is known that the Attorney General has interviewed all of the State police who were on guard when the jail was stormed and Armwood removed. Just what information he got from them has not been disclosed. Most of these officers were new men on the Shore and it is entirely possible that they knew no members of the mob. The officers who had been stationed in this section might have been able to recognize faces but it is hard to believe that even they could have picked out persons whose names were known to them, for at best, they actually know few persons in this vicinity. They ride through frequently but it is impossible to become acquainted with many persons in that manner.

Right now, the result of the whole investigation seems to rest on what Mr. Lane and his force are able to uncover. Local officers have run up against a stone wall and the citizens as a whole have dismissed the matter from their minds.

To recall the grand jury would only serve to revive the talk and give the newspapers something to play up. Nothing material could be accomplished and the taxpayers feel that it would be a needless expense.

BALTIMORE, MD.
POST
NOV 2 1933

No Justification For Lynchings

After reading all the attempted justifications of lynchings and lynchers by the culprits and their sympathizers, and their efforts to convince an uncomprehending world what social-minded and noble beings they really are, I have come to the conclusion they are all morons.

Their arguments are incredibly worthless and idiotic. For instance, one who signs himself "Shoreman" gives an account in the Day by Day column of The Post of how a mob bent on lynching the Negro attacker of a white girl was finally persuaded against the act. And the writer of that letter ends with this gentle sarcasm, "So you see, not all Eastern Shoremen are savages."

Of such standards are the arguments advanced in defense of Maryland's Eastern Shoremen and their tactics as this occurrence related by "Shoreman," the essential truth of which he believes to be self-evident — namely, that because it was possible at one time to prevent them from perpetrating a despicable lynching, the proof is clear that the Shoremen have been unfairly judged, are not as bad as they're painted.

In fact, as I see it, his sarcasm implies that their true characters have been decidedly underrated. However, I am sure most of us will require stronger proof than this of the fine characters of the lynching populace of the Shore.

SOLOMON STARR.

BALTIMORE, MD
POST
NOV 2 1933

LYNCH PROBERS RETURN, REPORT TO PROSECUTOR

Detectives, Back From Shore, Hold Conference With Lane And Johnson

VISIT TOWNS IN SOMERSET

Suspected Members of Mob Interviewed by Lieut. Itzel, Sergeant Flynn

Returning from the lower Eastern Shore late last night without making any arrests in connection with their investigation of the Armwood lynching at Princess Anne, two Baltimore detectives conferred today with Attorney General William Preston Lane at his office in the Baltimore Trust Building.

Confer With Prosecutor

The detectives, Lieut. Joseph Itzel and Sergt. William Flynn, of the Baltimore Police Department, spent about 24 hours on the Shore questioning numerous persons they thought might have information regarding the identity of leaders of the mob which lynched Armwood.

Yesterday they visited numerous small towns in the county, ending up at Crisfield, where conferences were held with State's Attorney John B. Robins and Sheriff Luther Daugherty, of Somerset County, who have been making an independent investigation of the lynching.

Among the civilians interviewed near Princess Anne was a brother of Mrs. Mary Denson, the 82-year-old woman Armwood was accused of attacking.

Reports were current in Somerset County yesterday that at least three arrests would be made by the detectives. They had communicated with Attorney General Lane by telephone, using a specially arranged code, and had informed him that "13, 15 and 17 are O. K.," but following their conference with the state's attorney and the sheriff at Crisfield, the decision was made to return to Baltimore and confer with Mr. Lane before taking further action.

Ritchie Joins Conference

Traveling in a police car, the detectives returned to Baltimore last night, arriving shortly before midnight. Attorney General Lane had ordered them to report to him immediately upon reaching the city and they proceeded immediately to the Belvedere Hotel, where Mr. Lane is stopping.

While they were talking with him, Governor Ritchie arrived and joined in the conversation for a short time. The session with Mr Lane continued until after 2 a. m.

It was arranged last night to continue the conference today at Mr Lane's office. Shortly after the session started, Capt. Edward McK. Johnson, commander of the state police, arrived to join the discussion.

Information learned on the Somerset County trip yesterday was to be placed in detail before Mr Lane today, and it is considered possible that the attorney general may order the detectives back to the lower Shore to make the long-expected arrests.

New York American
NOV 10 1933

RITCHIE FINDS SELF CENTRE OF POLITICAL ROW

Some Critics Demand His Impeachment While Friends Hasten to Defend Record

BALTIMORE, Nov. 9 (AP).—Gov. Albert C. Ritchie, for 14 years chief executive of Maryland and last year a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, within the past few weeks has become the center of a fight between his critics and defenders in political, religious and inter-racial circles thoughout the State.

Some critics are demanding his impeachment, others distributing petitions asking him not to run again. His friends are rushing to his defense in the press and at public meetings. Last week arrangements were made for 800 plates at a dinner in his honor. Two thousand attended.

LYNCHING CITED.

The recent lynching at Princess Anne after the Governor had been advised to have the Negro prisoner removed from the jail, his long term in office and his advocacy of a State-operated lottery are being used as the basis for many of the attacks.

His pioneer work for repeal of the 18th Amendment, his efforts for revision of the State criminal court procedure and his recent fights against proposed increases in the State's bonded indebtedness are among the points being raised in his defense.

The Governor has given no indication if he will seek re-election but 15,000 individual petitions were distributed recently by his opponents asking him "for the best interest of our people" not to be a candidate for a fifth term.

ONE CANDIDATE IN FIELD.

The only announced Democratic candidate for Governor, Dr. Charles H. Conley, a Frederick physician, has characterized the administration as an "office-holding aristocracy whose sole purpose and ambition is to seize everything not nailed fast."

Lawrence Lockwood, Baltimore Democratic leader, said the results in the New York mayoralty election "prove conclusively the Governor cannot be re-elected."

Last night Wendell D. Allen, chairman of the Republican City Committee of Baltimore, in a statement asserted that "long continuance in office has created the most costly and oppressive political machine Maryland has ever witnessed."

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.
STAR ENTERPRISE
OCT 30 1933

TOBIAS ASSAILS NEGRO LYNCHING

Says Christianity Can Solve Race Problem

C. H. Tobias, eminent leader of the negro race and national secretary of negro branches of the Y. M. C. A. deplored the recent lynching of a negro at Princess Anne, Maryland and pointed to the teachings of Christ as the solution of the race problem in an address at the First Presbyterian church last night.

"Lynchings are product of evironment", said Mr. Tobias, "and as such they cannot be excused". He denounced prejudice and discrimination against negroes and commented on the merits of their ability. The speaker highly praised the work of Rosa Cooley of this city, who for years has directed a school for negroes in St. Helena island.

Touching on the negro spiritual Mr. Tobias said it has been one of the finest contributions of the race to the culture and art of America. It is, he said, a real and deep expression of the religion of the negro, giving voice to his yearnings for freedom from bondage, first the bondage of slavery and now the "bondage of prejudice."

Mr. Tobias led the congregation in the singing of negro spirituals. The service marked the conclusion of an interested series on "Singing Up from Slavery", an interpretation of negro spirituals, conducted at the church by its minister, the Rev. Harold B. Kerschner.

Prior to the service, Mr. Tobias spoke to a county-wide gathering of young people from several different churches. The Rev. Leland W. Kuns, assistant minister, was in charge of supper-conference.

CHRONICLE
Ardmore, Pa.
OCT 27 1933

Governor Acknowledges Ardmore Post Protest Of Maryland Lynching

Governor Albert C. Ritchie, of Maryland, has pledged every authority at his command to apprehend the persons guilty of the Princess Anne lynching in a letter to W. H. Williams, commander of the Leon Spencer Reid Post, American Legion, Ardmore, in reply to the recent protest of the Post.

The South Ardmore branch of the Negro Independent Voters League, at a second protest meeting Wednesday night at 35 East Spring Avenue, Ardmore, decided to appeal to the Lower Merion Commissioners for the dismissal of William Denson, Lower Merion policeman, following alleged statements he issued in regards to the case.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
POST
NOV 8 1933

Antilynching League Will Be Formed Friday

A mass conference against lynching will be held at Phyllis Wheatley Y. W. C. A. Friday night, under a temporary committee composed of Charles L. Houston, attorney; George B. Murphy, editor of the Afro-American; B. V. Lawson, G. M. Price, Charles Spencer and S. Ross.

A permanent league of Negro and sympathetic white organizations will be established for the protection of Negro people, it was said. More than 200 organizations have been invited to send delegates.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN
OCT 31 1933

As A Boy Scout Views The Lynching

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—Sir: For days people have been making high-sounding speeches about the recent lynching being a stain on the history of Maryland. Did it ever occur to these people that it is a far greater stain on our fair State to have it known that the lynching came about from the rotten incompetency of our courts?

Being a scout, it is my duty, privilege and honor to live up to our State laws and to boost our State as much as possible. But when I see laxness in the justice of our State such as was shown in the Euel Lee case, I believe it's time to call a halt, and let some one or something step in and see that we get justice, even if through violence.

SCOUT G. J. SMITH, JR.

Catonsville, Md., Oct. 27.

White Press, Northern.

3984

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN
NOV 2 1933

A Preacher Is Amazed At Our "Temerity," And Would Muzzle Criticism Of Lynching Because It Might Injure Trade

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—*Sir:*

I am amazed at the temerity exhibited by *The Evening Sun* in publishing H. L. Mencken's article with re to the lynching at Princess Anne.

I am not an Eastern Shore-man, neither do I hold a brief for this section of our State, but for H. L. M. to denounce this whole section for what some irresponsibles and outlaws did is a species of assinego unworthy of a great paper.

Do you not know that there are thousands of excellant men and women, filling every position of honor and trust in this great city that came out of his so-called "Bible swamps?"

What had Dr's Ames, Tolloway, Fountain to do with this latest violation of the law?

Why drag the fair name of Clarence True Wilson across this serpents trail? Did he incite the mob? Oh no! Because the Eastern Shore will not tolerate H. L. M.'s brand of religious ethics, neither his views on the temperance question he must use his vitrolic spleen in indicting the Whole population of the Sho' for a crime perpetrated by a few leaders in a mob.

The reaction that follows the publication of such articles is felt by every merchant in Baltimore. I was living in Kent Co during the Euel Lee episode, and I know it to be a fact that thousands of dollars were diverted from the Baltimore trade to Wilmington, and Philadelphia. The Wilmington *Journal* stated "we have no prejudice here against the Eastern Shore people."

Young men going to the Delaware College at Newark, Del, had posters on their grips "I am from the Eastern Shore, and am proud of it."

You can advocate the building of a bridge that will link the Eastern Shore with the Baltimore merchants, but it requires the good-will on the part of the newspapers, aided by its merchants, and people to recover that which has been lost by the stupidity of such writing referred too.

J. M. Brown.

Baltimore, Oct. 31.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN
NOV 1 1933

Would Have Maryland Cede The Eastern Shore To Delaware

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—*Sir:*

A distinguished colleague of mine on the teaching staff of the Catholic University glories in the fact that he was born in Montgomery county. The day after the horrible lynching at Princess Anne, I twitted him on the high and exquisite level of culture and civilization attained by his fellow-Marylanders of the Eastern Shore.

I am sorry that I had not at that time come upon Mr. Mencken's characterization which I have just read in *The Evening Sun*—"Transchoptankian *Kultur.*" My colleague indignantly repudiated the Eastern Shore and all its works, asserting that real Marylanders do not regard that benighted region as an authentic part of the Free State. After reading Mencken's article in your issue of October 30 and your own editorial, "One Thing to Do," I wish to offer what seems to me to be a very helpful suggestion. Indeed, this is not the first time that it has occurred to me. It is that the great State of Maryland should cede the Eastern Shore to the little State of Delaware. There seems to be a rather close affinity, spiritually or otherwise, between the inhabitants of the Peninsula and those of rural Delaware. From the viewpoint of geographical situation, the appropriateness of the suggested rearrangement is obvious. If this generous example were set by Maryland, in all probability Virginia would be willing to follow it and surrender to Delaware the two lower counties of the Eastern Shore. In order to make the sloughing-off process complete, geographically speaking, Maryland might also yield up that portion of Cecil county which lies north and east of the Susquehanna river, even though the other reasons for making that transfer might be less cogent than those relating to the Eastern Shore.

Dr. John A. Ryan.

Washington, D. C., Oct. 30.

Not Yet Presented To Delaware

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—*Sir:*

Under date of October 23, J. Moody Harp, of Hagerstown, suggested that we, the Eastern Shoremen, be given to Delaware. I am sure Delaware would gladly accept.

Well, Governor Ritchie has not, as yet, made the presentation. The Governor visits us as often as he does Hagerstown and I am sure he is perfectly willing and satisfied to hold us a little longer, at least until another 72-year-old mother is molested, such as was the case at Princess Anne last week. My own mother is just that age and a resident of the Eastern Shore. Far be it from me to take issue with any lynchers or lynching, but I couldn't guarantee my feelings toward anyone, colored or white, should the same thing happen to her.

C. C. Chilcutt.

Denton, Md., Oct. 28.

An Eastern Shore Opinion Of Mencken

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—*Sir:*

In Mr. H. L. Mencken's article on Monday, "Plans to Put Down Lynching," he gave the Eastern Shore some very lenient names which the Eastern Shoremen didn't mind at all. The people of the Eastern Shore don't hold this against him, because this literary musketeer writes these criticisms to get arguments on, which is his job. He has, or at least I think he has, as many friends on the Eastern Shore as he had before he wrote on the lynching troubles. I have always enjoyed reading his barks, knowing that his barks are worse than his bites, because I have read that he is a well-behaved gentleman in private life. There's nothing more that I can say of Mr. Mencken, except that he is most assuredly the dominant literary critic of today.

Leonard Hudson.

Claiborne, Md., Oct. 30.

Race Hatreds

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—*Sir:*

Race hatred has always played a major role in the politics of the world. The administrators of public affairs in order to gain their ends will inject racial prejudice to stifle opposition. The Germans passionately apply race hatred as a means of solving economic and human problems. Here in America we daily witness the desecration of the principles of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln.

What is the result? People become extremely sensitive and a race class consciousness is created. The natural intelligence of a nation becomes warped and impaired. A conspiracy against human progress is formed, causing a lethargy to infect the entire people.

Mother Nature has made the body of man the same in all sections of the world. Of course, there are differences, yet wherein can physical characteristics be classed as the cause of economic evils? Industrial revolutions have changed our problems. Not the people, but the mode of living has caused us untold evils; not human beings, but the changes thrust upon us have rendered us incapable of coping with the problems. Why, then, shall defenseless peoples be singled out as the causes of evil? We are out of the dark ages; let us continue forward. We must attempt to conquer the evils of human relationships. Racial prejudice must be eradicated.

Baltimore, Oct. 26.

Salem Rivkin.

"That Old Debel" Capitalism

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—*Sir:*

In the Forum today J. W. H. carefully enumerates all the evils of capitalism, and then lays the blame on dishonesty, forgetting that dishonesty is founded, built on and begot by capitalism as recent Senate disclosures and news items prove conclusively.

If Mr. J. W. H. would read a few books on political and social economics, such as Marx and De Leon, I am sure he would quickly change his mind.

Observer.

Baltimore, Oct. 25.

BALTIMORE, MD
EVENING SUN
OCT 31 1933

An Appreciation Of Mr. Johnson's Article On Lynching

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—*Sir:*

The Negro public deeply appreciates Mr. Gerald W. Johnson's attitude as shown in his article of October 26.

I agree with him that the mob victims must be half wits to commit such crimes. It also seems clear that mob members who punish by such means as those used in the Princess Anne lynching must rank very low in intelligence.

When a State is unable to control a group of half wits such a State is craven indeed.

Most good, intelligent Negroes feel sorry for the members of the mob. However, we are very happy to know there are many fine members of the white race who are ashamed their race must own such a group as the members of the Princess Anne mob.

Sarah I. Sampson.

Baltimore, Oct. 27.

He Has A Plan To Prevent Lynchings

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—*Sir:*

Get rid of elected judges, lawyers who have sworn to enforce the laws and who spend their lives trying to block enforcement and laws made for the criminal, not for the law-abiding citizen, and you will need no laws against lynchings.

C. H. H. Rumbold.

Covington, Va., Oct. 28.

Those Heroic Lynchers

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—*Sir:*

I have worked out a plan by which lynching on the Eastern Shore could be prevented. That is to take all the Forum uplifters and send them to the Eastern Shore as missionaries to teach those vile heathens not to commit capital crimes so the law-abiding citizens will not have to take the law in their own hands in order to hand out justice to the offenders.

I have noticed in the Forum lately that it is a burning shame to lynch a Negro for a capital crime on an aged white woman. The same uplifters have not made one single protest against murder and criminal assault.

In my personal estimation the only people on the Eastern Shore that need to bow their heads in shame are the people that had an opportunity to go to the lynching and did not avail themselves of the opportunity.

Peter Sharp.

Glenburnie, Md., Oct. 26.

Reasons Assigned For Mob Murders

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—*Sir:*

Your staff correspondent who interviewed fourteen leaders of the Eastern Shore this week on the inevitability of lynchings did a fine piece of work. The courageous utterances of the gentlemen from Talbot and Dorchester counties, notably, go far toward setting up a lighthouse in this darkened section of our State.

The statement of only one leader fell below the scale of dignity and supposed intelligence of a leader—that of State Senator Creston Beauchamp, of Princess Anne who gives sympathetic support to these examples of barbarity. He says that lynchings in Somerset county will continue so long as Negroes attack white women, for lynching has a "far more salutary effect in ending these attacks."

Does he not read history? Does he not know that not even one-third of the lynchings in America have resulted from alleged attacks upon white women? A recent study of the causes of lynching over a period of nine years revealed that of 224 lynchings only seventy of the victims were accused of rape or attempted rape. Seventy-seven were accused of murder, twenty were lynched for apparently no reason at all; some were lynched for "not knowing their place," "improper conduct and insulting language," "insisting on eating in a restaurant when refused service," "acting as witness against white men accused of murder," etc.

Has the Senator ever heard of attacks on Negro women by white men? Yet has the Negro ever formed a mob? Of course stories of these attacks don't get in the headlines! Yes, newspapers sometimes lynch, and down through the years have spread race hatred with its attendant evils.

Now is the time for all good men to stand by the Constitution, which guarantees liberty and justice for all.

Daniel Lyman Ridout.

St. Michaels, Md., Oct. 25.

BOSTON, MASS.
POST
OCT 29 1933

ANTI-LYNCHING MEETING

An anti-lynching meeting, under the auspices of the Suppression of Lynching Department of the Northeastern Federation of Women's Clubs, will be held Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock in the Ebenezer Baptist Church, West Springfield street, South End, with the Rev. William S. Ravenell, Allan Taub and others as speakers.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN
NOV 9 1933

The Fine Points Of The Public Attitude On The Lee Case

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* As [illegible] have not yet been allowed to settle this lynching question, permit me to say there are three parties to this controversy:

First—The Negroes. The colored man is not usually made a pet of in the courts or anywhere else, so we cannot blame Mr. Negro if he does not believe in Lee's guilt; at any rate, he wanted it proven before he would desert him. For them we have sympathy.

Second—The Communist who wishes to destroy the capitalistic form of production and distribution and the democratic form of government. They will do anything to accomplish this. They are now in the Euel Lee case "fishing in muddy water." They do not know or care a hoot if Lee was guilty or not. What they want is to be seen and heard, to be well advertised and by posing as the champions of the weak to win the sympathy and votes of the Negro and the rest of the population who sob easily. For them we have no sympathy.

Third—The foreign lawyers who for a fee come into the State of Maryland and impugn the honesty and integrity of the people and courts of Maryland and abuse the courtesy of the State of Maryland by trying by every subterfuge to defeat the end of justice and help a black-hearted murderer to escape. They do not care a loud vociferous whoop if Lee was guilty or not. They were not trying to safeguard the rights of anybody. They were simply trying to get their client off for the money and reputation there was in it for them. For them we have less than no sympathy.

In one of our Western States where they safeguard the rights of the taxpayer as well as the criminal, I am told, when a criminal hides behind the alibi of insanity they appoint three alienists to examine him. If these experts say he is sane, that is all there is to it. He is tried; if convicted, he gets the works. He does not spend the court's time and money hunting for a loophole of escape.

Maryland should take notice. As to the lynchers, I would not advise lynching, but if there is no other way to get justice—well, who is to blame?

W. O. Purvis.

Seaford, Del., Nov. 3, 1933.

BALTIMORE, MD.
POST
NOV 2 1933

MINISTERS CALL ON GOVERNOR TO HALT LYNCHINGS

Demand That Ritchie Exercise 'Moral Authority' To Save Name of Maryland

STATE POLICE CRITICIZED

Pastors Say They Believe Troopers Could Have Saved George Armwood

Sixteen Baltimore church leaders, including nine ministers, members of the executive committee of the Baltimore Federation of Churches, today called on Governor Ritchie "to exercise a moral authority that needs no other support than the esteem of good citizens" to help blot out lynching in Maryland.

In the form of a letter addressed to the Governor at his Baltimore office, the clergymen deplored the fact "that the forces of law, education and religion alike have failed to prevent another outbreak of mob violence within our borders."

Criticize State Police

They said they believed, from their knowledge of other instances of mob violence, the state police could have successfully defended George Armwood at Princess Anne two weeks ago.

If the Governor lacks the legal authority to prevent such violence, they declared, he should ask immediately for a revision of the laws.

In addition, they asserted their own responsibility thus:

"As church leaders we do not attempt to dodge our own responsibility and pledge ourselves to help build up in Maryland a social condition and a public opinion that will make further lynching impossible."

'Profound Shame'

The full letter follows:

"As citizens of the State of Maryland and as followers of Christ serving on the executive committee of the Baltimore Federation of Churches, we desire publicly to express our profound sense of shame that the forces of law, education and religion alike, have failed to prevent another outbreak of mob violence within our borders.

"In particular we regret what the Crisfield Times rightly calls 'the unusually poor judgment' shown in allowing the return of a prisoner to a community roused to so high a pitch of hostility against him. We condemn the failure of the state to maintain its authority against a lawless mob. From our knowledge of other instances where impassioned mobs have been dispersed, either by persuasion or by public instructions to troopers to protect the prisoner at all costs, we believe that the state police could have successfully stood their ground against the mob.

Cite Moral Authority

"We are convinced that the state administration cannot successfully evade its present responsibility by any plea of inadequate legal authority. When the good name of the commonwealth is at stake, it is the high privilege of all leadership to exercise a moral authority that needs no other support than the esteem of good citizens.

"If legal authority is lacking to provide adequate protection to citizens endangered by mob violence, or to punish those engaged in lynching, then we believe that it is incumbent upon you as chief executive of the state to have legislation framed as is needed to secure these ends, and to use all your influence to secure its passage by the Legislature. We assure you of our full support for such anti-lynching legislation. . . ."

The letter was signed by Peter Ainslie, John L. Barnhart, Emelia Beale, Margaret T. Carey, Don S. Colt, Bliss Forbush, Robert Garrett, G. W. Haddaway, George H. Haines, Robert G. Leetch, William B. Levy, J. Louis Raap, Eleanor Richardson, David A. Robertson, Samuel A. Snyder and Edward L. Watson.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN
NOV 3 1933

"In Bad Company"

From the Brooklyn Eagle

Three Negroes have been lynched within the past two weeks, one in South Carolina, one in Louisiana, and this one in Maryland. In no case was the traditional "unprintable crime" charged. The South Carolina victim had merely quarreled with some young white men. The Louisiana victim was not technically accused of anything, merely "held for questioning." Maryland is in bad company. Her honor demands at least substantial punishment for the ringleaders at Princess Anne. We hope and believe that Governor Ritchie, who has the respect of Americans generally all through the United States, will do his duty in the premises.

MERIDEN, CONN.
RECORD
OCT 27 1933

Maryland's Lynch Law

(From the Worcester Telegram.)

That lynching in Princess Anne, Maryland, is particularly shocking because it was perpetrated in a Commonwealth generally regarded as enlightened. Had it been staged in some of the states farther South or even farther West, the shock would not have been so great. But that the Free State of Maryland, as Governor Ritchie likes to call it, should be the scene of such an atrocity cannot but be disheartening.

It is now up to the governor and the people of Maryland generally to see to it that those responsible are brought to justice. It would be a sad smirching of American civilization if the criminals should be permitted to go unpunished. Fortunately it would appear that Mr. Ritchie is properly roused to the enormity of the offense.

It is not the suffering and fate of the victim which constitute the worst feature of a lynching, though that, to be sure, is deplorable enough. Nor is it the breakdown in the administration of law and order, though that, too, is quite discouraging. The worst feature of a lynching is the brutalizing effect it has upon those who participate, an effect made lasting by the need ever after of self-justification. A community which perpetrates a lynching is in the nature of things brutal to begin with but it is far more brutal afterward.

BALTIMORE, MD.
POST
OCT 17 1933

NO MORE EUEL LEES

In bringing to Baltimore George Armwood, the Negro accused of attacking an aged Somerset County woman, the state police acted promptly and wisely. In all probability they forestalled another lynching on the lower Eastern Shore. The purpose and temper of the crowd which gathered in the vicinity of the Salisbury jail during the few minutes that the Negro spent there could hardly be mistaken.

Prompt action by the state police in removing Armwood also removed the temptation and the opportunity for another Salisbury disgrace.

Obviously the Negro cannot be assured of an impartial trial or even of any trial at all except by Judge Lynch if he is taken back to Somerset County or transferred to Wicomico or any of the Shore counties within the inflamed belt. He should be tried in a jurisdiction where popular passion is not stirred up. He should be tried speedily as well as justly.

The state does not want another lynching. Neither does it want another Euel Lee case. Let justice be done, but let justice be swift as well as sure. Obstructions and technicalities, whether on the part of the local authorities or on the part of the defense, can do only harm.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
MORNING PUBLIC LEDGER
NOV 1 1933

MARYLAND SEEKING WAY TO PREVENT LYNCHINGS

Ritchie Informs Negro Council Steps Are Being Taken

Changes in the judicial procedure of the State of Maryland are being considered with a view to preventing future lynchings, according to a message from Governor Ritchie to Leslie Pinckney Hill, president of the Pennsylvania State Negro Council.

Assurance that "every authority and resource at the command of the Governor and the Attorney General" is being used "to get at the bottom" of the lynching of the alleged assailant of an aged white woman at Princess Anne, Md., last Wednesday, was contained in the Governor's response to a telegram from the council.

"No one could be more deeply concerned about that deplorable affair than I am," Mr. Ritchie wrote. "A thorough study of our system of judicial procedure is under way in order to see whether any changes can be made in it which might tend to prevent a repetition of anything of the same kind in the future."

PITTSBURG, PA.
SUN TELEGRAPH
NOV 2 1933

New Yorker to Talk Here on Lynchings

Walter White, of New York, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will speak this evening on lynchings at the Macedonia Baptist Church, Bedford avenue. The meeting is under the auspices of the Pittsburgh branch of the association.

Lynchings - 1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3985

Daily Worker 11-16-33 New York, N.Y.

POVERTY, DEGRADATION OF NEGROES AND WHITES TO BE EXPOSED AT PUBLIC INQUIRY

"Daily Worker" and L.S.N.R. Prepare Facts for Saturday's Hearing; Anti-Lynching Conference in Baltimore Sunday to Take Action

EDITOR'S NOTE—This is the fourth of a series of articles in which the Daily Worker is exposing the facts and the background of the wave of lynch terror which is sweeping over the South, and centers at this moment around preparations to lynch the Scottsboro boys, their attorneys and witnesses.

The Daily Worker will publish further exposures in this series.

*

What is the social and economic background of the recent lynching of George Armwood, Negro farm laborer, in Princess Anne, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland?

The Daily Worker and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights sent an investigator into the region, who obtained a vast amount of evidence in regard to the lynching and its background, for presentation to the commission of inquiry of the Baltimore Anti-Lynch Conference, which will sit on Saturday, the day before the meeting of the delegated conference.

Report on Mass Misery

The first of these reports, dealing with the general economic and social situation of Negroes and poor whites, is given below:

To the political bosses of Maryland, the only importance of the Eastern Shore is that it must be carried in an election to carry the state. For this purpose, the blacks and whites are carefully divided by a consistent campaign of lynch-propaganda. Sops are thrown to the poor whites to keep them "contented" with the misery and degradation, second only to that of their Negro neighbors, into which they are forced.

George Armwood, Matthew Williams and Euel Lee were in effect such "sops" thrown to them by the political machine of Governor Albert C. Ritchie.

Otherwise the region is neglected and left to decay in its isolation. In those nine counties, covering 3,400 square miles, with a population of 200,000, there is no railroad and only one main highway, running north and south. A single road and four slow and ponderous ferry services are the sole connection with the mainland.

Lynch Belt Most Isolated

Most isolated of all is the so-called lynch-belt, where two years ago Matthew Williams was taken from a hospital by a blood-thirsty, ruling-class mob, and lynched; where the legal lynching of Euel Lee was engineered; where attempts were made to lynch him and his attorneys; where George Armwood was stabbed, flogged, hanged and burned.

The territory known as the lynch-belt lies south of the Choptank River, four counties on the furthermost tip of the peninsula—Wicomico, Somerset, Dorchester and Worcester. The bourgeois writer, H. L. Mencken, refers to this region as "Trans-Choptankia," though, as a matter of fact, the lynch feeling runs high throughout the entire peninsula.

Threaten Negroes, Communists

About a year ago, one of the natives of Talbot County, in discussing the Euel Lee case with a visitor, remarked: "All the niggers and all the Communists ought to be hung." The visitor replied: "Don't you want to kill everybody else, too?"

Two hours later his informant brought a gang of twenty men to attack the stranger and drive him out.

It is perfectly true, of course, that the four southern counties on the Eastern Shore are the most completely isolated and ingrown. For Negroes and poor whites, this isolation from the main stream of modern industrial civilization is complete. The so-called "county families," however, frequently come up to Baltimore for medical care, to shop or to see the races, and they send their children away to school.

"Old Families" in Control

Most of the books that have been written up to now about the Eastern Shore stress the fine old southern mansions with their mellow woodwork and romantic tradition. John J. Raskob, Democratic National Committeeman and backer of Tammany, is the proud possessor of one of these mansions. Coal and steel barons, especially from the Pittsburgh region, have also acquired country estates here in recent years, where they enjoy the fishing and duck-hunting seasons in an atmosphere removed from sharp industrial struggles.

Some of the old familes, who received their land-grants back as far as 1662, have managed to maintain themselves on their ancestral lands, though many of them have been obliged to sell. They still have all the clannishness of an isolated caste, with ties made stronger by much intermarriage. However poor they may be, even ruined completely in a number of cases by the recent bank failures, these old familes continue to have great prestige and to control all the leading offices of the county. There is a great deal of cracker-box politics in this region, which produced so many leading statesmen of revolutionary days and which now presents a picture of bourgeois statesmanship gone to seed.

Little Industrial Development

The majority of the people are small truck farmers, whose crops mature later than those of Tidewater, Virginia, across the bay, and consequently never bring top prices. People usually grow enough corn, potatoes, greens and cabbage to see them through the winter. This, together with the seasonal oyster dredging and shucking, constitutes the principal means of livelihood.

A few small canneries, shirt factories and box factories, employing no more than 100 to 200 people, been opened, mainly in the waterfront towns, but many of them have closed again in the past four years. In those that have remained open, wages run as low as 10 cents an hour, working more than ten and a half hours a day.

Few Negroes Own Land

Contrary to the general notion, there are more than twice as many whites as Negroes on the eastern shore. While more than two-thirds of the whites owned their land in 1931, only a little over a third of the Negroes were owners. The proportion of Negro share-croppers to the total number of Negro farmers has generally been about a third higher than among the whites.

As far as values of farm lands and buildings went, the whites in each county owned more than $5,000,000 worth, while the Negroes in each county owned between $200,000 and $300,000 worth of property. In other words, the Negroes comprising almost half the population owned one-twenty-fifth of the estimated wealth in land and buildings. With the sharpening of the crisis in the past two years, there is no question that a far greater proportion of the Negroes has since been forced into dependence.

Negroes Denied Education

More than four times as many Negroes as whites are forced to remain illiterate. In Worcester County, which seems to have the worst record, one out of every four Negroes is illiterate, and one out of every 20 writes. Thirty per cent of the Negro children stop school after the age of 13, and 22 per cent of the whites. Negro schools only run for eight months a year, white schools for nine months.

There is also discrimination in the salaries of Negro school teachers. In Wicomico County, for instance, Negro teachers have recently been cut from $65 to $58 a month, while white teachers still get from $800 to $1,000 a year, on the books. This year the teachers in Wicomico have as yet received no wages at all.

Masses on Verge of Starvation

The majority of people on the Eastern shore have always lived pretty close to the subsistence level, and deaths from pellagra and malnutrition figure in the health records—always with a greater percentage among the Negroes. In the past few years, with the drop in farm prices, the closing of many of the seasonal industries and the falling off in oystering and crabbing, the struggle for existence has sharpened a great deal.

Until very recently, however, leading citizens have protested that no distress existed, that the people of their county, being "used to a low standard of living, are no worse off than they were and need no help." The ruling class has covered up the sore spots and refused to allow any outside agency to intervene, with offers of relief.

The local relief consisted of a little food in return for forced labor, with some fuel, no rent and accommodations in the city jail for transients.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN
NOV 3 1933

Taft's Warning Quoted As A Defense Of Lynching

To the Editor of The Evening Sun—Sir:

H. L. Mencken takes up two columns on what he terms "Plans to Put Down Lynching." His so-called "plans" seem to be the thoughts of a genuine yokel. Mr. George A. Whiting, in his letter to the Forum of October 30, tells the whole story and puts the blame where it belongs. His thought is backed up by no less an authority than William H. Taft, who, in a speech delivered in 1908, said:

"There are, however, abundant evidences that the prosecution of criminals has not been certain and thorough to the point preventing popular protest. The existence of lynching in many parts of the country is directly traceable to this lack of uniformity and thoroughness in the enforcement of our criminal laws. This is a defect which must be remedied or it will ultimately destroy the republic."

From this it would seem that as long as our courts and the legal profession permit such men as Lawyer Ades to practice their technicalities then we will continue to have bigger and better lynchings. The spirit that built the U. S. A. is expressed in Longfellow's "Psalm of Life"—"Be not like dumb driven cattle, be a hero in the strife."

History records that few reforms have occurred without violence so that it may be that "down in the Bible swamps of the lower Shore" the men have more iron and iodine in their blood because of their diet of spinach and oysters, and the so-called cultured city dwellers may be suffering a loss of fiber due to a preponderance of white corpuscles.

C. H. Mohr.

Baltimore, Nov. 1

Time

Old Southern Woman

Sirs:

I listened to your dramatization of the lynching of that Negro in Maryland. Now then, why not dramatize the scene of the crime? Let the world hear the piteous cries and pleadings of that poor old woman when the burly black brute attacked her and why not turn back the "March of Time" a few years and dramatize the scene of the brutal attack and murder of a young woman—the mother of little children—that occurred near Durant, Okla. That little woman was a kinswoman of mine. That was one of the most fiendish crimes I have ever heard of. I can't say that I approve of the methods that are sometimes used in these lynchings, but they should be handled rough and they *should* be lynched. The law would only give them prison terms, and sooner or later they are pardoned or paroled, and do the same thing over. Just *suppose* that old lady had been *your Mother*. If you have read this, I thank you, for it comes straight from the heart of an old Southern woman.

Mrs. G. M. Rutledge

New York Evening Journal

NOV 9 1933

4 Women on Alabama Tour To Fix Lynching Blame

Four intrepid women, three of them Southern born and bred, headed into the heart of the Alabama lynch country to do battle with conditions which have just led to lynching at Tuscaloosa of four Negroes accused of "sex crimes."

Unmindful of the fate of two similar committees sent to Harlan County, Kentucky, in 1931-32 to investigate stories of terror there, the four women, and three male aides, announced themselves determined to investigate the lynchings and fix responsibility for the leaders of the mob which killed the four Negroes.

The four women are Barbara Alexander, an artist, of Savannah, Ga.; Hollace Ransdal, of Kentucky; Grace Lumpkin, novelist of South Carolina and Georgia and Mrs. Jessica Henderson, of Boston. The men accompanying them are Bruce Crawford, of Norton, Va.; former Professor Vann Woodward, of the Georgia School of Technology, and Howard Kester, Southern secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

"I don't see why we should anticipate an unfriendly reception," Miss Alexander said. "After all we are not outsiders. Three of us are Southern women. The men with us are also Southerners.

Miss Lumpkin was not so optimistic:

"No matter what happens, I do not see how we can draw back. Four Negroes have been lynched in Tuscaloosa. All were accused of 'sex crimes.' But we know that Dennis Cross, one of the lynched men, was 50 years old and a paralytic. It has been charged, too, that two of the lynched boys knew too much about a murder and that was why their lives were taken.

"We want to sift these charges to the bottom. We want to find out who is responsible for these murders as well as for the increasing terror against Negroes in the South. And we want to shout our findings to the world so that public opinion can be organized against these outrages."

Members of one of the committees sent to Harlan County, Ky., that headed by Theodore Dreiser, were indicted for criminal syndicalism, while members of the second were kidnaped and badly beaten.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

NOV 3 1933

"Jim-Crow Treatment" Blamed For Inhuman Crimes By Negroes

To THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir:* Your correspondent, George A. Whiting, in your issue of October 30 says with respect to the late lynching in Somerset county that "it sets an awful warning to those human beings who turn animal and it makes the homes that are unprotected when the husbands and sons are away safer for their women."

Why "human beings who turn animal"? Whose is the fault? There is testimony from the best white people all over the South to the effect that Negroes who have lived in the highest and best life of that section are as virtuous, kind-hearted and as trustworthy as themselves.

Following the close of the Civil War any number of white women of culture and refinement not only went south to teach Negroes but sustained the most intimate relationship with them, and yet there never was any such thing as an "assault" upon them by Negro men.

In Jamaica, where "segregation" does not obtain, and where the whites are but a handful as compared with the Negroes, assault upon white women is unheard of.

I submit that white men who really believe in an all-wise God cannot acquit the white race as being guiltless in the presence of the inevitable reaping of the "Jim-Crow" treatment of a fellow-human being for well-nigh 300 years.

Negroes are quite an imitative race, and when the white man sets them a better example then there will be hope for their improvement.

GEORGE F. BRAGG, JR.

"Who's Hugh?"

To THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir:* Hugh S. Johnson, commander-in-chief of the N. R. A. Blue Eagle. Won't *The Evening Sun* publish the story of the life (all the news that's fit to print) of this shrinking violet, direct agent of the Deity and F. D. (Financial Demoralizer) Roosevelt?

One Ford (Model T) is worth a million Johnsons—it made almost as much racket. Do you recall the play "Too Much Johnson"?

W. H. LOGUE, JR.,
N. R. A.—No Roosevelt Admirer.

FRESNO, CALIF.
BEE

NOV 1 1933

Lynching Reactions

Since the recent atrocious lynching of a Negro on the Eastern Shore of Maryland the Baltimore Sun has been full of letters from the public about lynching in general and this crime in particular.

It has been interesting to observe that a good many of these letters attempted to justify the murder at Princess Anne, most of them on the ground that since a recent case taught the Eastern Shore people not to look to the courts for justice, they are determined not to wait for the courts in future.

The notorious Euel Lee case, to which these correspondents of the Sun refer, certainly was an unfortunate example of the law's delay. But for that delay a judge and several other officials on the Eastern Shore certainly were chiefly responsible. And even if they had not been responsible the mob murder of the Negro Armwood, being the greater wrong, hardly made a right out of the state's delay in hanging Lee.

Armwood was certainly guilty, and he deserved hanging just as Lee deserved hanging. But Lee finally was hanged, and there can be no doubt that Armwood also would have been hanged if the law had been allowed to take its course. Nor can there be any doubt that the people of the Eastern Shore would have been better off if they had waited for the law to act, however tardily, instead of themselves indulging in an orgy of bestiality.

All of which, it may be said, is no business of a Californian. And perhaps it isn't save as it permits a Californian to point out once more an important and frequently neglected truth, which is just as true in California as in Maryland.

That truth is this: If the law does not work in a manner satisfactory to the citizens of any community it is their duty to take measures to make it work satisfactorily, not to do away with the law altogether and revert to a state of anarchy.

BALTIMORE, MD
POST

NOV 3 1933

'Shoreman' Cites Another Instance

In Thursday's issue of The Post I note a letter from one Solomon Starr, whose opinion of Eastern Shore citizens does not seem to have been heightened by my letter which Mr. Azrael was kind enough to publish in his column this week. Mr. Starr makes it plain that my arguments, and the arguments of all Eastern Shoreman, that residents of the Shore are not barbarians, leave him decidedly unconvinced.

Very well, Mr. Starr. I'll try again.

In the winter of 1931, a Negro attacked a woman in Kent County, in the northern part of the Shore. For safe-keeping, the Negro was removed to the jail at Easton—the same jail at which a mob was dissuaded from lynching Isaiah Fountain by the oratory and logic of three speakers who addressed the crowd. This incident I discussed in my letters to Mr. Azrael this week.

The Kent countians were up in arms over the lynching in their county, and a mob formed at Chestertown. A traveling salesman, passing through Chestertown on his way to Easton, saw the mob congregating, heard their threats, and drove on toward Easton ahead of them. He went immediately to the jail and notified Sheriff Raymond Carroll.

Sheriff Carroll acted promptly and intelligently. He hurried the Negro from the jail into a police auto, and, under guard of Easton cops and Talbot County deputy sheriffs, took the man out on the state highway leading toward Delaware.

The mob descended upon Easton from the highway to the north, while the police auto bearing the Negro circled around behind them. When the mob reached Easton, Sheriff Carroll obligingly allowed their leaders to search the jail. Naturally, the mob's quarry was not found. The foiled mob returned to their homes. A probable lynching had been averted.

My point, Mr. Starr, is simply this: That an intelligent sheriff can defeat a mob—if he is of a mind to. Sheriff Carroll did. So, you see, not all Eastern Shore sheriffs are of the same mold as Sheriff Daugherty, of Princess Anne. Whatever discredit Sheriff Daugherty may have cast upon the county peace officers of the Peninsula by his antics in the Armwood case, Sheriff Carroll redeemed by his action in saving the Negro entrusted to him.

SHOREMAN.

RENO, NEV.
GAZETTE

OCT 20 1933

LYNCHING IN MARYLAND

THE INDIGNATION expressed by Governor Ritchie at the careless lack of judgment displayed by the judge and district attorney at Princess Anne, Md., through which the lynching of a Negro there was made possible, will be shared by most of the country. The victim, kept in jail in Baltimore because of threats in Princess Anne, was sent to the latter place to be ready for grand jury action, but only after the governor had been assured by the two officials that they did not think there was any danger. Their opinions were proved worthless by the event. Their own feeble protests to the mob that broke into jail, after overcoming the state police, were received with jeers.

Under the circumstances the crime for which the Negro was under arrest would undoubtedly have been avenged in legal manner by the law if the latter had been permitted to take its course. The man would have been convicted in all probability without delay. A recommendation by the jury might have given him life imprisonment, but no such suggestion in this case would have been likely and he would have gone to the gallows. Thus there was no occasion for mob violence even under the influence of tremendous feeling such as had been aroused in this case.

Governor Ritchie is right in feeling that the lynching is a reflection on the name of Maryland. His state is fond of rating itself as one of the Southern section, with which its sympathies and tastes are all aligned, but it is on the border line in fact, neither Southern nor Northern. It surrounds the District of Columbia in which the national capital is situated and is a progressive commonwealth as a whole far removed from the savagery of lynching.

Lynchings 1933
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3986

N. Y. TIME
NOV 1 1933

TO PUSH LYNCHING INQUIRY

Defense Group Plans to Leave To-morrow for Alabama.

The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners announced yesterday that a committee would leave for Alabama tomorrow to investigate a lynching at Tuscaloosa last August.

Two Negroes, Dan Pippen Jr. and A. T. Harden, accused of attacking Vaudine Maddox, were taken from the authorities and killed by a mob, while they were awaiting trial. A third Negro, Elmore H. Clark, left for dead by the mob, recovered, but was unable to identify the lynchers.

The committee which will undertake the task of fixing the guilt for the murder of Pippen and Harden consists of the following members:

Bruce Crawford, editor of Crawford's Weekly; Vann Woodward, a former professor at Georgia School of Technology; Grace Lumpkin, author; Howard Kestler, Southern director of the Fellowship for Reconciliation; Jessica Henderson of Boston and Hollace Ransdell, who investigated the Scottsboro case for the American Civil Liberties Union.

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.
POST

OCT 30 1933

TRAGEDY OF LYNCHING

Entire Nation In Danger of Being Undermined, Says Mr. Jackson

Editor of the Post:

Truly there are many lynchings taking place in this country now adays and as truly it is a great blot upon a Christian nation. It appears to me that there should be a full swing of that government's department of Justice to put a complete halt on this flagrant flaunting of law and order. I truly hope that the campaign for law and order now being staged against other irregularities will include lynching in its program.

To treat a group of citizens in such way as the Negroes are being treated cannot bring to a great country like this any honor and will gradually undermine the whole structure.

I do not need to say that our group has been not only loyal but they have been an important factor in the development of our commonwealth. We have fought for every principle in every way and were proved 100 per cent loyal and efficient. Why not protect them and their posterity now. It can be done.

It appears to me that it is time for Christian America to consider twelve million of its citizens who are every whit Americans. We gave our lives freely for the independence of this country, our records are worth while in the war of 1812, and we were conspicious in the Civil War.

We were there in the War with Mexico, took our part in the Spanish American War and rallied to "Old Glory" in the Great World War. It seems all of this we have done has sharpened the ambition of some of its citizens to lynch us.

It is said we still have friends here. I truly believe we have but we would like come more action than we are getting. This year's record of lynching with two months more to go is ridiculous. Can we depend on you? The Nazis and Russia get your ear for their propaganda. Will you listen to a people at your doorstep, and truly your friends?

H. R. JACKSON.

NEW YORK MIRROR

OCT 27 1933

ASK PRESIDENT AID IN LYNCHING PROBE

BALTIMORE, Md., Oct. 26. — President Roosevelt was asked today by a delegation representing various trade and inter-racial groups to take a hand in the investigation into the lynching of George Armwood, Negro, at Princess Anne last Wednesday night. The appeal charged that the officials of Somerset County are "sympathetic with the mob" which committed the lynching.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

OCT 23 1933

Civic-Political Leaders Assert Speedier Justice Can End Shore Lynchings

Fourteen Interviewed, Only One Holds Mob Action Inevitable—Beauchamp Sees It As Curb On Those Who Fear No Hangman

[From a Staff Correspondent]

Salisbury, Md., Oct. 23—Lynching can be ended on the lower Eastern Shore, in the considered opinion of an outstanding group of civic and political leaders of the peninsula counties, but many factors, some of them not easy to attain, will be required to put a stop to the mob violence that reappeared after a lapse of years with the Euel Lee murders two years ago a survey conducted over the week-end indicated today.

Fourteen men recognized generally as leaders of thought on the Shore were asked whether they considered lynching inevitable on the peninsula and were asked for suggestions to end mob outbreaks.

Seen Inevitable By Only One

Only one considered lynching inevitable. He is State Senator L. Creston Beauchamp, of Somerset county, whose law offices in Princess Anne are within sight of the spot on the Court House pavement where a mob poured gasoline on the body of a lynch victim Wednesday night and set it afire. Senator Beauchamp said:

There will be lynchings in Somerset county as long as there are crimes of the type George Armwood committed. The people of Somerset are convinced that lynching has far more salutary effects in ending attacks on white women by Negroes than has the law. They believe that the type of man who commits a crime of that sort fears the mob ten times more than the hangman. The hangman only hangs, but he fears that the mob will tear him to pieces.

This opinion was not held by any of the others sought for opinions. The suggestions included these:

The administration of justice in the counties must be speeded, especially in cases of the type that tend to inflame mob passions.

The special session of the Legislature should act to end the long delays that arise, because county grand jury meetings are as much as eight months apart. It is possible for judges to summon the grand jury into session at any time, but some judges decline to do this on the ground that a presumption of guilt might be aroused if the grand jurors are called to consider an individual case.

The Court of Appeals could aid if it would not permit appeals from the criminal courts, such as the Euel Lee appeal, to be delayed for months while the court is in recess, [it] would convene in special ses[si]on to hear and consider these appeals.

Appeal Procedure Cited

A change should be made in the procedure of the Court of Appeals, by which it could consider the evidence as well as the law in criminal cases. If this were done, according to this suggestion, the high court could review the evidence taken in criminal trials and disregard legal technicalities if the testimony was such as to convince a prudent person of the de[fen]dant's guilt. Thus new trials [of cr]iminals undoubtedly guil[ty] [o]btained on legal errors such [as] failure to have Negroes on the ju[ry] panel in Baltimore county wo[ul]d be avoided.

Conscientious public [m]e[n] must act to restore the confid[en]ce of the people in the law and [th]e [c]ourts, and to imp[res]s the fact that law violators in the future will not be able to call up the te[c]hnicalities that delayed the execu[ti]on of Euel Lee because the courts have now taken precautionary measures on the points raised successfully [t]o obtain a new trial for Lee.

Would Bar "Outside Agitators"

The instigators and perpetrators of the Princess Anne lynching must be apprehended and convicted if possible. There is widespread doubt that they can be indicted, eve[n] if apprehended.

Interference from outside agitators must be suppressed, if possible, for the mere appearance of these tends to give rise to mob outbreaks.

A final suggestion, made seve[ral] times in the lower counties of [th]e Shore, was that The Sunpap[er]s discontinue editorial attacks up[on] lynchers and the officials whose laxness permits lynching, and th[at] less publicity be given to the Princess Anne outbreak.

Those Who Give Opinions

Those who were asked to utilize their intimate acquaintance with the people of the Eastern Shore and conditions in the peninsula's counties to advance proposals for halting the mob outbreaks were, in addition to Senator Beauchamp, W. Mason Shehan, T. Hughlett Henry, State Senator W. Earle Withgott and Mayor William Herman Hopkins, all of Easton, Talbot county former Gov. Emerson C. Harrington and State Senator William N. Andrews, both of Cambridge, Dorchester county; F. Bernard Wailes, Comptroller William S. Gordy, Jr., and State Senator David J. Ward, all of Salisbury, Wicomico county, the scene of the Matthew Williams lynching two years ago; Marion Hargis, of Snow Hill Worcester county; Franklin Upshur, of Berlin, Worcester county; State Senator Milton L. Veasey, of Pocomoke city, Worcester county, and Mayor W. W. McCabe, of Ocean City, Worcester county.

All were deeply interested in the failure of the law-enforcing authorities in Somerset county to protect their prisoner and each expressed disappointment and shock that the Eastern Shore should again be the scene of a lynching when it had been anticipated that the approaching hanging of Euel Lee after two years would serve to quiet the unrest that had been prevalent.

Cites Jury-Call Handicap

"There is no reason in the world that lynching cannot be ended on the Eastern Shore," Mr. Sheehan said. "Our experience in Talbot county is that lynching can be prevented. It can be accepted at the beginning that determined, courageous officials are needed.

"After that we have the fact that trials of accused persons are often long delayed in the counties because there are only two court sessions a

year. The grand juries are released at the end of each term. Technically, they are still in office and can be recalled at any time. The fact is, however, that a number of judges do not want to summon the grand jury to consider an individual case lest this give rise to a presumption of guilt on the part of the court. I do not think this belief is well founded, but it exists.

"It would be very simple to take away the discretion of the court. If the law requires the grand jury to meet there cannot be any suspicion that guilt is presumed. A long step toward eliminating the unrest that leads to mob action could be taken if the Legislature would make it a law that upon the commission of any offense in which capital punishment might be invoked th ecoroner or the State's Attorney shall certify it at once to the presiding judge who would then be required to call the grand jury into session if it were in recess.

"Judges would then be unable to say that a special session of the grand jury smacks of legal lynching, and accused persons would be given speedy trials and prompt justice. It is the long delay between the commission of an offense and the payment of the penalty for it under our system of criminal jurisprudence that leads to the formation of mobs."

Would Punish Lynchers

Senator Andrews was of the opinion that prompt and effective prosecution of the leaders of the Princess Anne mob would be the most important step toward preventing later occurence of the same sort.

"The first thing that must be done, if the officials of the county are in earnest in their protests against lynching," he said, "is to go out and get and punish the men who lynched the man in Princess Anne. There should be some means of prosecuting everybody in the mob, even though I am well aware that only five or six men ever do the actual lynching. Those men, though, get moral support from the crowds that gather, and the law should provide a penalty for everyone in a mob, even if they merely stand around and look on.

"Under our present statutes we have nothing to cope with this. There is only the English common law maxim that 'two are afraid, three are a riot.' It will not deal with violations such as lynchings. There should be a specific statute for the prosecution of every person in a mob without regard to the actual lynching.

"We have never had a lynching in Dorchester county and we probably never will have one because public opinion here would not support it.

"A State lynching law is probably needed. I suppose the Attorney-General will prepare something along that line while the Legislature is in session."

Wailes Hits Papers' Attitude

Mr. Wailes, who was appointed by the court as attorney for Euel Lee two years ago but withdrew from the defense when the International Labor Defense retained Bernard Ades as counsel for Lee, was bitter in his condemnation of the Sunpapers for their attitude in regard to the Eastern Shore outbreaks and centered his discussion almost entirely on that point. He said:

The first step toward ending lynching on the Eastern Shore must be a change of attitude on the part of *The Sun* and *The Evening Sun* toward our people and our judges. They call our people backward and they are trying to make our judges ludicrous. As soon as something happens here they send representatives who are unmatched for impertience, who want to print things that are none of their business, and who heap ridicule on our people and our officials. The temper of our people cannot be allayed while that continues.

No one in the world deplores lynching more than I, but there will be no relief until these attacks have ceased.

The papers in Baltimore must stop calling for the removal of prisoners from our jails to the Baltimore Jail, and for trying them in some other part of the State. If our people are left alone, accused men can be tried fairly and safely on the Eastern Shore. Euel Lee could have been tried in Dorchester county without any violence, and if he had been I am sure there would not have been the lynchings that followed his crime.

After that, speedier justice would help, but I am not prepared to say just how this is to be accomplished. Punishment of the mob leaders might help, but that is not to be expected, I fear. In the excitement attendant on a lynching people see faces, but they do not recognize or remember them. I base this statement on a case where a mob invaded a courtroom and took a prisoner out. No man was ever more determined to punish a mob than the judge whose court was invaded, but in his natural rage he could not identify a man.

Suggests "Wisconsin System"

Mayor McCabe was in full accord with Mr. Shehan that speedier trials in the counties would end lynching. He said:

It seems to me that the Wisconsin system of administering criminal justice might well be adapted in the counties of Maryland. I have been informed that not more than thirty days ever intervenes there between an arrest and the trial of an accused person.

Until this can be accomplished in Maryland I am afraid there is nothing that can be done about lynchings. The best thing to do about the Princess Anne affair is to forget it. Nobody believes the prosecution will be successful.

If Bernard Aides could be prevented from interfering in Shore cases it would accomplish a great deal of good.

Criticizes Court Delays

Mr. Upshur, whose home is only a few miles from the farmhouse where Euel Lee murdered a family of four persons, said that lynching was a problem for which he was able to offer no ready solution. He added:

It is more than I can tell whether lynching on the Eastern Shore is inevitable. I was taken completely by surprise by the outbreak in Princess Anne. I do believe that vigorous prosecution and punishment of the lynchers would have the most beneficial effect. The lynchers always, of course, bank on nonprosecution for their violence. If they feared arrest and punishment they would fear to take part in a lynching.

A thing that impresses me is the complacence of the Court of Appeals in permitting delay in criminal cases. The delay in the Lee case is undoubtedly in a large measure responsible for the present feeling. Yet the Court of Appeals is willing to adjourn for its summer recess with cases of this type pending, instead of meeting as soon as appeals are taken to rule on them. The Supreme Court adds to this by the leisurely manner in which it goes about announcing whether it will even review a case.

Would Reassure Public

Senator Veasey said he was hopeful the execution of Lee, scheduled for Friday, will serve to settle some of the mob feeling on the Eastern Shore, but that he did not believe that it will be ended permanently until the people regain confidence that the long drawn out delays in his hanging will not be repeated.

For One-Term Prosecutors

Former Governor Harrington, who served as State's Attorney at Cambridge before he went to Annapolis, offered the suggestion that mobs might be more vigorously prosecuted and put down if county prosecutors were not eligible for reelection. He said that his experience as a prosecutor convinced him that it is a fact and not a theory that determined action against law violators has the effect of reducing crime.

"Lynching is certainly not inevitable," he added. "Lynching, as well as crime, generally can be brought to an end by swift and sure administration of justice. On the one hand it will restore the necessary confidence among the people that criminals will be punished and, on the other, the criminal fears the certainty of punishment more than he does the severity of punishment.

"Judges should realize the need for speed and assemble the grand jury when this is advisable. If judges will not face their plain duty there is nothing we can do except elect judges who will.

Favors Use Of Weapons

"I also believe that armed guards should be permitted to use their weapons when the prestige of the law and the protection of a prisoner are at stake. Law violators will quickly take advantage of the knowledge that the officers will not shoot."

Cites Delay In Lee Case

A system of criminal jurisprudence with many faults needs to be mended if lynching is to be ended, Mr. Henry said at his home in Easton.

"I have no doubt that the Euel Lee delays have a great responsibility for this lynching," he said. "Our system of criminal jurisprudence has many faults. It could use a large number of improvements, but as a specific measure against lynching it seems to me that a step forward would be taken if the Court of Appeals could be given discretion to review the evidence in criminal appeals and disregard technicalities in the event the evidence would convince a prudent person of the guilt of the accused.

"In the present lynching, a determinted pursuit and prosecution of the perpetrators would seem to be advised."

Hopkins Gives His Views

Mayor Hopkins, whose father as Sheriff of Talbot county once dispersed a mob bent upon lynching a prisoner by appearing with a gun in each hand and announcing his determination to shoot the first man who moved at the jail door, said that he believes the solution of lynching lies with the bench. He was joined by Senator Withgott in a statement which said:

"Lynching can be ended. It can be stopped by a courageous and a strong bench that will renew respect for law. A judge who knew what to do and had the will to do it would be the strongest influence against lynching in any community, and he would stop it.

Senator Ward, of Wicomico county, declared that "the slack must be taken out of the law." He said that he did not believe lynching inevitable, but that he feared it would continue until the law's delays are ended.

"In the meantime," he said, "we have too much Ades, too much Baltimore *Sun*, too much Mencken."

He discounted the possibility of apprehending and prosecuting the Princess Anne lynchers.

At Snow Hill Mr. Hargis said that "the situation will remain difficult as long as the people of the Eastern Shore are "held up to scorn" by newspapers.

Comptroller Gordy said he believed lynching could be halted by prompt justice and swift and certain prosecution of lynchers.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
NEWS
OCT 20 1933

President Is Sent Lynching Protest by Howard U. Students

Petitioned to Exert Himself to 'Stem Tide of Mob Law Now Nearing National Capital'

Howard University's Student Council yesterday sent a formal protest to President Roosevelt over the lynching of George Armwood, colored, in Princess Anne, Md., Wednesday night.

"For 67 years," they said, "lynching and inhuman treatment of an oppressed people has constantly appeared and reappeared without any effort on the part of our national Government to see that justice is meted out to the violators of our civil rights.

"At times there have been feeble attempts by some of our legislators to alleviate the lynching evil. The most prominent effort was the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, but this and other efforts have failed because of the lack of forceful support of these measures by the executive head.

"Promulgators of mob violence have become bolder and are slowly marching upon our National Capital, for the last episode of this horrible drama occurred in less than a hundred miles of Washington, D. C.

"We are calling to your attention the lynching of George Armwood, a Negro suspected of assaulting a 78-year-old white woman at Princess Anne, Maryland, on the night of Oct. 18.

"Such incidents only serve to incite other lawless acts and to quicken the pulse of the mob spirit. We therefore call upon you, Mr. President, as a last resort of an oppressed people, to stem the tide of mob violence."

White Press, Northern.

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BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN
OCT 30 1933

What Mob Law Leads To

To THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—Sir:

If the people of Maryland cannot be induced to take effective steps to put a stop to lynching for the simple reason that it is a horrible, barbaric practice, they may be induced to do it as a matter of self-interest.

The mob spirit, once it has been aroused, frequently is used as a means of satisfying petty, personal grudges.

These methods of obtaining revenge usually stop short of murder, though not always; but—and here is something for the complacent white man, who is normally indifferent to the fate of the unfortunate Negro, to ponder deeply—it is usually a white man who is shot from ambush or has the epidermis ripped from his back with a blacksnake whip in the course of such playful frolics. I shall not be at all surprised to read, in the near future, that some innocent white citizen of trans-Chesapeake Maryland had been flogged by a masked mob because his wife dressed more fashionably than other women of the community; and that, in consequence, the guffawing of spectators at the coroner's inquests had died away to a whisper of dismay.

Am I too imaginative? If anyone thinks so, let him study the history of "white-capping" as practiced in Monroe county, Indiana, prior to 1912. As a matter of further interest, it should be said that the commitment of just one of the "white-cappers" to the Indiana State Penitentiary broke up the practice completely.

Baltimore, Oct. 26. H. C. BATTON.

Free Copies Of Gerald W. Johnson's Article Should Go To All Prospective Murderers In Maryland, He Advises

To THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—Sir:

If Gerald W. Johnson's "Lynching As An Art" was intended to sicken would-be lynchers it failed utterly with me, as I also think it will fail with other prospective relations of the murdered. Now, if this supposedly hair-raising article could be put into the hands of prospective murderers, lynching would come to an abrupt end for want of victims. Anyway, I offer the suggestion of free copies for all future Maryland murderers.

Princess Anne Is Congratulated On The Lynching

To THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—Sir:

I read the article by Gerald W. Johnson entitled, "Lynching As An Art" and, of course, lynching is horrible, but as horrible as it may be it is brought about willfully by the party who is lynched, and is not so horrible as the crime which the party commits which brings about the lynching.

The one good thing out of all this trouble for which the Princess Anne people may be grateful is that it set an awful warning to those human beings who turn animal and it makes the homes that are unprotected when the husbands and sons are away safer for their women, for the example will certainly live in the minds of every Negro boy or man for time to come. It puts the fear of man, if not the fear of God, into these animals, whether white or black.

I am not a Princess Anne man, but I congratulate the people of Princess Anne on disposing of a vicious brute in the way that the law should dispose of them and without the expense that was put upon Worcester county by Euel Lee. Had Euel Lee promptly been given the punishment for the crime he committed and had not white men stepped in to interfere between Lee and the justice which should have been meted out to him, I believe the citizens of Princess Anne would have allowed the law to take its course, but what assurance had they that the law would take its course when white men were supplying money to protect Lee?

I think the lynching should at least make the courts understand that in such cases swift punishment should be meted to the offenders, otherwise the citizens of the counties in which these atrocities are perpetrated will take the law into their own hands and I, for one, don't blame them.

GEORGE A. WHITING.

Baltimore, Oct. 27.

No Reason For Eastern Shoreman To Be Ashamed, She Thinks

To THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—Sir:

I see no reason why Mr. Barrett should hang his head in shame for his folk back home. Perhaps many of us would have felt the same as did those Eastern Shoremen if our mothers or sisters had been the victims of such assaults. It's a shame that a lady aged 72 years—or any lady, for that matter, cannot take a walk or visit her next-door neighbor without being attacked by some beast, and colored at that. I do not say he had committed a crime worthy of death, but he was taking his life in his own hands.

I do not think Mr. Robins should be removed from office; he believed in his people and since he is a man of law and not a crystal ball reader he should be given consideration. He could not read the minds of the mob. I believe he and Mr. Ritchie did everything possible to prevent such proceedings. If the State officers were injured, it's their wounds and not ours. If they aren't squawking, we could do less.

VIRGINIA S. JONES.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.
TIMES UNION
OCT 27 1933

Failed to Uphold Law

Considerable criticism has been directed at the Maryland State Police because 30 of them did not fire on the mob that stormed the jail at Princess Anne and lynched a Negro. The officers were beaten and several wounded but they did not fire. They had been directed not to fire unless absolutely necessary.

Well, this was a case where it was necessary. They were sworn to uphold the law and they permitted a mob to take the prisoner away and hang him.

Colonel Baughman, a soldier, now head of the police, explains there were 1,000 men in the mob and the 30 troopers had only 180 bullets and if each bullet had disabled a mobster there would have been 820 left in the mob. Therefore it would not have been good military tactics. That is military mathematics. But these 30 men were trained and they were against a mob that was not trained and perhaps if the troopers had shown they meant business the mob would have dispersed.

There's a nice question there. The officers are criticized because they did not fire and they would have been severely criticized if they had fired and killed or wounded some of the mobsters. But they had the obvious duty to protect the prisoner, to prevent a murder, for lynching is murder. Besides only a comparative few of the mob entered the jail to get the Negro. Certainly those few could have been stopped.

WILMINGTON, DEL.
JOURNAL
OCT 25 1933

SPIRIT OF THE DELMARVA PRESS

ANOTHER LYNCHING

From the Elkton Whig.

The people of the State of Maryland have added another lynching to their already too long list. With the one on Wednesday night, at Princess Anne, Somerset county, fifteen such crimes and mob violences are marked up against this fair Free State, since 1885.

Again Maryland is disgraced in the eyes of the Nation, for about two years ago a blood thirsty mob pulled the same act. The bungling of the Lee case at Salisbury is a direct cause of the recent hanging. Lee still has his life for a vicious crime and that has been over two years ago. Two wrongs, however, do not make a right one.

While Judge Duer, resident Judge, and State's Attorney Robins are in line for possible criticism for bringing the man back from Baltimore, we feel that they had faith in the people of their county in that they would permit justice to take its course. We do not condone the crime of the colored man, the work of the mob or the lack of vision of the officials, but in the name of High Heaven stop these atrocities.

EUEL LEE CASE TO BLAME

From the Elkton Star.

In the lynching of a Negro at Princess Anne Wednesday night, Maryland once more bows in shame to mob rule. Yet, in view of the fact that the law recognizes an accessory in crime, we wonder if the spark which blazed into flame in the Wednesday night affair could not be traced to the Euel Lee case putrescence, in which justice has been thwarted for two years, and which may well be marked as an accessory to this outburst for revenge not only against the victim of the rope, but against those technicalities that impede justice in her rightful course.

That the Negro was guilty of a revolting crime there can be no question, and as a citizen of the Free State of Maryland, regardless of the hideousness of his crime, he had the right of a fair and impartial trial. The people of the Eastern Shore are not blood thirsty; law and order have been as much a virtue in that section as any other in the United States, but from the fact that the people have been victims of foolish discrepancies by officials and technicalities in the law, there has grown up a feeling of insecurity insofar as justice is concerned and the result follows that mobs move to carry out the end. We add our voice with others in saying if the Euel Lee case had been settled, as justice demanded, the two lynchings on the Eastern Shore would never have happened.

REHOBOTH'S FUTURE

From the Rehoboth Coast News.

As a town Rehoboth has been intensely thinking upon subjects of community improvement. On every hand we hear discussions of a new

school building, mosquito control, improved streets, and the campaign for greater publicity for the resort. Street corner conversation and the talk of the home have been centered upon civic improvement. This is an important phase of our local life and a greater interest should be shown by every individual upon subjects of real community advancement. While we think, however, of the improvement which will add to the beauty of structures and the personal comfort of individuals should we not be thinking upon that all-important subject, Our Youth? We need a center for recreational and social life of the young people of the town. There is altogether too much street congregating and loafing on the part of our young people, and it is time the citizenry of the community are aroused to the point of action on this condition. Social activities are a part of the life of a growing boy or girl, and are normal and natural to such growth, but when restraint is removed and parental regard is placed aside, there is more danger in the social activities of youth than in a ton of dynamite.

Some center of recreation, freed from the idea of material gain, and filled with the personal interest of every man and woman, should become not a dream, not a subject of conversation, but a working reality. This may mean sacrifice upon the part of the adults of the community, but such sacrifice will make possible the assurance of a town which in the tomorrow will be worthwhile.

A monetary investment in this manner, though large in the sense of the initial investment, will become the greatest investment the populace of the community have made in many a day. Let us forego personal pleasure for a while and unite in an effort to make this town a healthier place in which to develop the growing life of youth.

against such atrocities as Wednesday night's.

Ohio of that Bible Belt named by a Baltimore philosopher who pictures the whole midwest as blanketed in medieval darkness has at least developed a citizenry above the brutishness of lynch law. Watching the totals of Eastern Shore lynchings mount, it would seem to us that the missionary field of Maryland's spokesmen for civilization lies right at home.

MERIDEN, CONN.
JOURNAL

OCT 28 1933

Grim Reminders

The dark and horrible depths which human nature can contain never are revealed more frightfully than in stories of lynchings.

The latest—the affair in Maryland, where a mob broke into a jail, dragged out an accused negro, and hanged him—is a case in point.

After the negro had been hanged and the body burned, news dispatches relate, "the rope was cut into small pieces and distributed as souvenirs among members of the mob."

Just what kind of person is it, do you suppose, who would enjoy having a souvenir of that kind?

For a glimpse of human nature at its lowest, that paragraph about the distribution of those bits of rope is about as horrifying as anything the newspapers have printed in a long time.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
RECORD

OCT 30 1933

Princess Anne Is Not America

Editor of The Record:

Sir:—The heinousness of the Princess Anne lynching is a conceded fact, but should not be marveled at if only the perpetrators of this and other lynchings be analyzed for a few generations back.

In the early days of settlement of America the monarchs of Europe emptied their prisons and sent the inmates here to colonize. Floaters, misfits from every walk of life, and adventurers from the entire Western world were added to this group. The congenital tendency of these people was accentuated by the lives they lived in their newly acquired country.

To them, murder, slaughter and destruction were synonymous with success. Within a century and a half, and that is a mere moment in the life of a people, they had annihilated the Indian, extirpated one of the world's most bountiful forests and exterminated the buffalo, to mention only a few of their accomplishments. That their progeny should make a Roman holiday of a lynching is only to be expected.

H. HARRISON.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
MORNING UNION

OCT 26 1933

AMERICAN INCONSISTENCIES

Attitude on German Treatment of Jew and Our Lynchings Cited.

To the Editor of The Union.

Sir: It seems to this humble reader that in the past few years the subtle inconsistencies of the average American mind with regard to the race question, and more specifically in their relation to the problem of the Negro, have undergone a steady but most unbecoming process of "inflation." When the news of Herr Hitler's anti-Semitic atrocities reached our shores, countless alleged adherents to an alleged democracy raised shocked and angry voices upon this sin against God and mankind and demanded that it be stamped out. Immediately funds were forthcoming, massmeetings held and boycotts promoted, serving, in a short time, to alleviate somewhat this situation in Germany, which seemed to so perturb our benevolent American public.

Now, what disturbs this correspondent is, what becomes of this benevolent and righteous ire when such a spectacle as the brutal and barbaric lynching of a Negro, which was enacted recently at Princess Anne, Md., is flaunted before the eyes of a civilized world? We have sufficient time to meddle in German affairs and reprimand the Germans for their maltreatment of minority groups; but when an almost identical situation arises within our own boundaries we sit serenely by and fondly ponder on the doubtful merits of a now meaningless phrase, "government of the people, by the people and for the people." If the Constitution of the United States can command no more respect than that which is evident by the repeated unheeded violations of its clauses, then we would do well to scrap it and all the official bodies whose primary reasons for existence are for its enforcement.

ROLAND M. SAWYER.
Springfield, Oct. 25, 1933.

TRENTON, N. J.
GAZETTE

OCT 27 1933

Mob Murder in Maryland

Maryland has claimed, with considerable justification, a place in the first rank of enlightened States. It has found pride in the status of the State during the colonial period as a refuge for those who suffered persecution because of their religious convictions. Its pretensions toward tolerance and liberalism have been quite pronounced. All of these circumstances serve to make bolder the outline of the recent outrage in Maryland.

This country has witnessed many lynchings, greatly to its disgrace, but seldom have human beings sunk so far toward the depth of depravity as did the mob of hate-crazed farmers who dragged their victim through the streets of the town by a rope attached to his neck at the rear end of an automobile, hanged him and burned his body while men, women and children, packed closely about the fire, looked on.

Primarily, of course, responsibility for this crime rests with those who, laying aside for the occasion all human aspects and assuming a bestial nature, actually committed it. Responsibility does not, however, end there. It must also be assumed by the court and the State's attorney, who recommended the victim's removal from Baltimore, notwithstanding the protests of the head of the Maryland State Police that the change involved danger.

Maryland must make every effort to convict the lynchers and punish them, knowing all the while, however, that nothing she can do will wipe out the disgrace which this mob murder has placed upon the State.

AKRON, O.
BEACON JOURNAL

OCT 20 1933

Rope And Fagot

The barbarians of Maryland's Eastern Shore have taken another negro's life in defiance of so-called authorities and amid scenes of the most revolting brutality. Shocking as was the crime to which black George Armwood allegedly had confessed, its bestiality falls far short of the fiendishness participated in by the thousand white men, women and children who aided in the rope and fagot orgy.

There seems to us to be considerable justice in the indictment of state as well as county authorities by colored organizations of the nation. If Maryland by a process of education cannot lift its Eastern Shore savages to the stature of human beings, it could at least police the creatures with sufficient show of force to insure

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PHILADELPHIA, PA.
INQUIRER

OCT 29 1933

ROOSEVELT IS ASKED TO DENOUNCE LYNCHING

Special to The Inquirer.

CHEYNEY, Pa., Oct. 28.—President Roosevelt and Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, were asked today to speak out against the "national abomination of lynching" in telegrams sent them by the Pennsylvania State Negro Council following a special meeting at Cheyney State Teachers' College here.

About 100 negro leaders joined in denouncing the hanging and burning of George Armwood, a negro, by a frenzied mob in Princess Anne, Md., October 18. The telegrams were signed by Leslie Pinckney Hill, president of the council and president of the Teachers' College.

The message to the President spoke of the "unspeakable Maryland horror" and asked him to "call to account the leaders of this mob and all responsible officers" for their "monstrous defiance of law and shameless assault upon the honor of every American citizen."

"In the name of that national security and unity which you are striving so valiantly to build up, we ask you to give us some strong and unmistakable word against the national abomination of lynching and assurance that you will set in motion some agency whose aim shall be the complete eradication of this crime," Roosevelt was urged.

BARRE, VT.
TIMES

OCT 30 1933

Maryland's Lynch Law.

That lynching in Princess Anne, Md., is particularly shocking because it was perpetrated in a commonwealth generally regarded as enlightened. Had it been staged in some of the states farther south or even farther west, the shock would not have been so great. But that the free state of Maryland, as Governor Ritchie likes to call it, should be the scene of such an atrocity cannot but be disheartening.

It is now up to the governor and the people of Maryland generally to see to it that those responsible are brought to justice. It would be a sad smirching of American civilization if the criminals should be permitted to go unpunished. Fortunately it would appear that Mr. Ritchie is properly roused to the enormity of the offense.

It is not the suffering and fate of the victim which constitute the worst feature of a lynching, though that, to be sure, is deplorable enough. Nor is it the breakdown in the administration of law and order, though that, too, is quite discouraging. The worst feature of a lynching is the brutalizing effect it has upon those who participate, an effect made lasting by the need ever after of self-justification. A community which perpetrates a lynching is in the nature of things brutal to begin with but it is far more brutal afterward.—Worcester Telegram.

N. Y. TIMES

OCT 29 1933

MARYLAND HANGING PUT UP TO RITCHIE

Governor Told It Is Symptom of Disease Requiring Surgical Operation.

EFFECT ON HIS CAREER

Stands to Alienate Large Negro Vote—Effective Legislation May Be Outcome.

By LAWRENCE E. DAVIES.
Editorial Correspondence, THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 25.—When a Negro was lynched nearly two years ago on Maryland's Eastern Shore, part of that stretch of flat farming land lying between Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic, mild protests were heard. The State as a whole, however, seemed eager to forget the incident. It was something that "just happened" and was unlikely to occur again.

But last week George Armwood, another Negro, accused of attacking an aged white woman, was dragged from a jail in that same Eastern Shore section, hauled through the streets and hanged by a mob, which then burned the body. Not only has the second lynching in two years brought a flood of unfavorable outside publicity, but it has produced widespread indignation among residents of Maryland itself.

Considering the fact that the number of lynchings in this country dropped from 175 in 1889 to eight last year, it may be concluded that the South, which has been host to its full share of the hanging parties, has undergone a considerable change of attitude in that period. Events of vastly less importance than a lynching have produced striking political consequences; hence it is not too much to assume, in the opinion of competent Maryland observers, that Armwood's death may bring in its wake a reaction strong enough to have some effect on the Governorship itself.

The next election for Governor is still a year away. No one knows for sure at this time whether Albert C. Ritchie, now in his fourth term, aspires to serve terrapin dinners in the Executive Mansion at Annapolis for another four years. The feeling has been pretty general up to now that a man who rode roughshod over the tradition that a Maryland Governor should serve only one term, and who has been reelected by increasingly large majorities, can have the job as long as he wants it.

It would be folly to assert unequivocally at this time that a lynching could bring about Ritchie's defeat if he chose to seek a fifth term. It is too early to determine in what direction the tide of indignation may swing. But no matter how placid the Eastern Shore may be a week after the hanging, it is true that the Baltimore area especially is keeping the issue alive.

The "letters to the editor" columns of Baltimore newspapers have been overtaxed since the lynching with messages from irate citizens, some assailing Governor Ritchie, others criticizing State police for not firing at the mob which seized Armwood, others blaming officials of Somerset County, others berating the Eastern Shore for bringing disgrace upon the State and still others defending those under attack.

Governor Ritchie has been criticized for permitting Somerset County authorities to remove Armwood to the Princess Anne jail from a cell in Baltimore. He has been criticized further for not sending troops to Princess Anne when it appeared that State police and deputies could not hold the mob in check.

The Governor has replied not only that Armwood was removed from Baltimore without his knowledge, but that he personally was without authority in the matter. A statement from Attorney General William P. Lane Jr. said that Sheriff Luther Daugherty of Somerset County was the only official who had jurisdiction. The Sheriff in turn has said he acted according to instructions from State's Attorney John B. Robins.

Mr. Ritchie in his own defense revealed that Circuit Judge Robert F. Duer of Somerset County, after talking with officials and townspeople at Princess Anne, assured him at 5:30 P. M. on the day of the lynching that Armwood was safe. The lynching took place hardly four hours afterward.

No Faith in Inquiry.

From a political standpoint, the situation is complicated by the fact that while the Eastern Shore as a whole generally is regarded as Democratic, Somerset County is normally Republican. Judge Duer is a Republican. Facts like these would make the knife cut both ways should the Republicans seek to make political capital out of the lynching. On the other hand, Governor Ritchie in the past claimed a big Negro vote. Observers believe his handling of the present situation may have a great influence on that vote at the next election.

The charge has been made that Communists have inspired most of the present criticism. Yet an organization like the Urban League, of which Judge Joseph N. Ulman of the Baltimore Supreme bench is the head, is not regarded as a radical group, and it has informed the Governor through a spokesman that the lynching is "the symptom of a disease that demands immediate surgical treatment."

Some persons feel that the Governor, whose political acumen is of a high order, may come out with some form of an anti-lynch legislation program. That he would carry out demands to remove Judge Duer and other Somerset County officials is regarded as out of the question. And nobody has regarded seriously any suggestion for the Governor's impeachment.

Meanwhile, no one expects anything to come of a coroner's inquest or of a grand jury investigation of the lynching. Witnesses "didn't recognize anybody" in the mob. While more substantial residents of the Eastern Shore have mildly deplored the incident, the undercurrent of feeling, visitors there have related, seems to be represented in some such expression as this: "Suppose it was your mother that Armwood attacked, how would you feel about it?" And another sore spot with some Marylanders has been the long delay in the execution of Euel Lee, a Negro sentenced to hang for a murder committed two years ago.

BUFFALO, N. Y.
COURIER EXPRESS

OCT 26 1933

SHERIFF OF SOMERSET

Sheriff Luther Daugherty of Somerset County, Maryland, seems to be a stranger in his own home town. In the crowd that brushed him aside after breaking down the jail door and then rushed on to seize and carry off George Armwood, Negro, whom they lynched, the sheriff saw not a single familiar face. At any rate, so he testified at the coroner's inquest. And yet Princess Anne, the county seat where the jail is situated, is far from a populous center. Its inhabitants in 1930 numbered 975.

Sheriff Daugherty accounted for his inability to recognize any of the mobbers by testifying that they "were strangers." State's Attorney Robins asked him how many were in the mob. "About 50 or 60," replied the sheriff. "And out of those 50 or 60 you recognized no one?" "That's right," affirmed the sheriff.

It is scarcely likely that the sheriff of Somerset will have his fame perpetuated in song. And yet a place might be provided for him in, say, Let 'Em Eat Cake. Perhaps a place in the same, or a like, hall of fame could be provided for Deputy Sheriff Dryden. The mob made so much noise, it appears, breaking down the jail door with battering rams, that Mr. Dryden retired to a "back room and closed the door."

As this country grows older, ways will be found, of course, to stamp out lynch law. Maryland, one of the original thirteen states, is affording the nation evidence, however, that civilized law enforcement in this country is still some distance off.

N. Y. TIMES

OCT 29 1933

JUDGE DENOUNCES LYNCHING NEGLECT

Scores Maryland Troopers as He Issues 'Shoot to Kill' Order for Negro's Funeral.

STATE BURIES HANGED MAN

Labor Defense Loses Plea for Body—Mob Inquiry Lags on Eastern Shore.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BALTIMORE, Md., Oct. 28.—State police were scored by Judge Eugene O'Dunne today as he issued an injunction forbidding interference with the burial by the State prison warden of Euel Lee, the Negro mur-

dered who was hanged early Friday morning after a two-year legal contest by attorneys of the Communistic International Labor Defense.

The judge, instructing Sheriff Joseph Deegan and his deputies to "shoot to kill" in the event of rioting, said:

"It may be necessary for you not only to serve this restraining order but to see that it is literally respected and obeyed. I know from your past faithful and conscientious performance of the duties of your office that no directions from this court are necessary in the execution of its mandates.

"However, in view of the recent exhibition of the failure of the State constabulary, armed as they were, to understand the object of their creation and the purpose for which they are sent out for the enforcement of law and order against mob violence if interposed, I need hardly remind you of the right of the Sheriff, in case of need, to summon the entire citizenship of the community as the posse comitatus.

Sheriff Deegan served notice of the injunction on Bernard Ades, Labor Defense lawyer, who was seeking possession of the body for burial in New York, and then went with Warden Patrick Brady and a group of deputies to a funeral establishment where Lee's body had been viewed by 6,000 Negroes since the hanging. A guard of Sheriff's deputies and police accompanied the body to the cemetery and tonight State troopers were guarding the grave.

Meanwhile, according to State's Attorney John Robins of Somerset County, the investigation into the recent lynching of a Negro at Princess Anne for attacking an aged white woman may never go to the grand jury unless more evidence is brought out.

"The investigation, so far, has not turned up a bit of evidence which implicates any one in the actual lynching, in the overt act," Mr. Robins said.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN
OCT 28 1933

IN RETROSPECT

Apologists for the mob murder at Princess Anne last week rest their case very largely on the law's delays in the case of the Negro hanged early yesterday morning at the Maryland State Penitentiary. If the courts had not fumbled and procrastinated in the case of Euel Lee, we are asked to believe, the people of the lower Shore would have been willing to let the law take its course in the case of George Armwood.

In view of the fact that a mob gathered at the jail in Snow Hill on the day after Lee was arrested, this apology must be accepted with some reserve. The mobs at Snow Hill and again at Cambridge in October, 1931, were so threatening that it became necessary time after time to remove Euel Lee to Baltimore for safe-keeping. The manifestations of the mob spirit on the lower Shore began long before the law's delays occurred. The fact that the mob spirit reached its gruesome culmination just about the time the courts had finished their tedious work in Lee's case furnishes a pretext for such outbreaks, not a justification.

It was the mob spirit, together with the vacillation of Judges Duer and Bailey, that caused the first delay in the Lee case. The threats of mob violence first at Snow Hill and then at Cambridge, first against Lee himself and then against his attorney, made it impossible in the opinion of the Court of Appeals for Lee to obtain a fair trial anywhere on the Shore. The Circuit Court, Judges Duer and Bailey sitting, temporized with this question, however, and instead of removing the case immediately to a distant jurisdiction, kept it at Cambridge. This laid the foundation for the first appeal to the Court of Appeals, which consumed nearly two and one-half months.

After the Court of Appeals, in a courageous and convincing opinion by Chief Judge Carroll T. Bond, had pointed out the error of this course, the case was transferred to the Circuit Court of Baltimore County, and the prosecution finally began. It moved with great dispatch and Lee was convicted of murder on January 21, 1932, scarcely three weeks after the case reached the docket. There was the usual appeal to the Court of Appeals, which resulted in a reversal and an order for a new trial. The Circuit Court at Towson had excluded Negroes from consideration in selecting the jury by which Lee was tried. This was clearly contrary to the law of the land as expressed in the Federal Constitution and the rulings of the United States Supreme Court, and in reordering a retrial, the Court of Appeals was really laying the foundation for a final verdict which would withstand the scrutiny not only of its own judges but of the judges of the United States Supreme Court, which is the final repository of judicial authority.

The Court of Appeals was doing even more than this. It was laying the foundation in the Euel Lee case for a system of criminal administration in cases involving Negro defendants in which the rights of defendants would be safeguarded adequately in the first instance, and in which delays similar to that which occurred in this proceeding would become less probable. If the mobsters and the apologists for the mobsters who lynched George Armwood were really as interested in criminal administration through the courts as they profess to be, they would know that the Lee case has created precedents which courageous and effective judges and courageous and effective prosecutors may use, if they so desire, to avoid retrials in cases in which Negro defendants are involved.

One may suspect, however, that the members of the mob and their champions are not as interested in prompt and efficacious criminal administration through the courts as they profess to be. If they were, they would no doubt have addressed themselves to a system of judicial reform instead of resorting to a bestial orgy which makes a mockery of the courts.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
RECORD
OCT 29 1933

MARYLAND LYNCHING STIRS RACE PROTEST

Roosevelt and Ritchie Called Upon by Council to Act.

WEST CHESTER, Oct. 28.—The Pennsylvania State Negro Council, in special session today at Cheyney College, sent telegrams to President Roosevelt and Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, protesting the recent lynching in Princess Anne, Md.

George Armwood, 21-year-old Negro accused of attacking a white woman, was lynched 10 days ago. The telegrams were signed by Leslie Pinckney Hill, president of the Council.

The wire to President Roosevelt said:

"The Pennsylvania State Negro Council in special session here today begs, in the name of that national security which you are striving so valiantly to build up, that you give us at this moment some strong and unmistakable word against the national abomination of lynching and the assurance that you will set in motion some agency whose aim shall be the complete eradication of this crime. That unspeakable Maryland horror, which shamed the world, took place just before your appearance in that State for honors well deserved.

"Will you now, in the spirit of that disinterested service which has distinguished your career, call to account the leaders of the mob there and all respohsible officials? You carry in the world today more influence than any other living man. Human society everywhere needs the whole weight of their influence against a monstrous, mounting defiance of law, and a shameless assault upon the honor of every American citizen. We prayerfully and confidentially beseech you to speak at once this needed word."

The wire to Governor Ritchie said:

"Maryland is again the scene of a crime so repugnant to human nature that the Pennsylvania State Negro Council, in special session here today, bows with the shame that covers every American citizen. Qur sympathies go out to you in what we know to be your agony of spirit. Will you do what still remains within your power and privilege?

"We beg of you that you speak now again against this national abomination of lynching and give to American citizens the assurance that you will set in motion every official Maryland agency that may help to save the whole Union from the shame which this Maryland debauch has brought upon it.

"Helpless yourself to correct what has been done, you can still render a high national service by giving now this strong assurance and backing it up by appropriate official action. Our hopes, our prayers and our struggling confidence are with you."

WASHINGTON, D. C.
NEWS
OCT 28 1933

Racial Defenses Do Not Help Us Fight Crime, He Believes

Editor, The News:

THE recent lynching on the Eastern Shore has provoked the usual protests from the press and various organizations. While no excuse is offered for these men who took the law into their own hands, it seems to be in point to remark that little protest has been voiced in the past over the activities of certain groups whose efforts are directed to shielding the criminal thru racial sympathy, irrespective of whether the accused person is guilty or not.

One of the reasons crime is rampant in this country is because of the many delays occasioned by resort to legal technicalities.

No one would have any cause to complain against such organizations as the Society for the Advancement of Colored People, or Bernard Ade's organization, the International Labor Defense, if these groups limited their activities to insuring that accused persons received a fair trial. However, they go far beyond this, and by resorting to every legal technicality, endeavor to prevent the conviction of any accused colored person guilty or innocent.

We will get nowhere in coping with crime; in preventing lynching, or in promoting racial good will, as long as it is attempted to divide people along racial lines in matters of this sort.

D. G. CAMPBELL.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN
OCT 25 1933

Parallel In Probes

On the evening of December 4, 1931, a mob took Matthew Williams, a Negro accused of murdering a white man, from the Peninsula General Hospital and lynched him by hanging on the courthouse green at Salisbury. On March 14 of the following year, after the coroner's jury had neglected to take testimony and submit a report, the Wicomico county grand jury went into session and examined about a hundred witnesses in the effort to determine who was responsible for the lynching. The mob which surrounded Williams had been estimated as including about 2,000 persons, yet apparently none of those who appeared before the grand jury recognized anyone else because no indictments were returned and the case was closed.

Yesterday afternoon in Princess Anne, Somerset county, a coroner's jury began its inquiry into the lynching last Wednesday night of George Armwood, another Negro. Before "an appreciative audience that snickered at times and laughed outright at others," nineteen witnesses were examined, including the Sheriff and several deputy sheriffs of Somerset, and the burden of their harmonious song was "I didn't see anybody I knew."

It looks very much as if events in Somerset county were taking a course almost precisely like that they took in Wicomico two years ago. Nor is there any possibility that they will be otherwise until the reputable and responsible citizens of the community are convinced that lynching is not only a crime but an expensive crime, and that the only way to prevent its recurrence is to punish the guilty persons.

Necrology - 1933

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RACES

At Princess Anne

10-30-33

A stooped and toothless crone of 71 shuffled along a country road near Kingston, Md. one morning last week. Mrs. Mary Denston was on her way to see her daughter. Suddenly, from behind, black hands were laid upon her. Cackling and kicking feebly she was dragged by a young Negro buck to a clump of bushes. There, amid a flurry of leaves dancing rustily in the autumn sunshine, she was raped.

That night near Salisbury a lieutenant of State police arrested George Armwood, a 24-year-old Negro with a good-for-nothing reputation in the neighborhood.

Acme

MR. & MRS. DENSTON

He: "I guess they did a pretty good job."

Vol. 22, no. 18.

He was taken by way of Elkton to Baltimore, where before morning he had put his X to a written confession that he was Mrs. Denston's attack r. Over the protests of the State police, but on the orders of Judge Robert F. Duer and Prosecutor John B. Robins of Somerset County, the accused blackamoor was taken back to the county jail at Princess Anne.

Early that afternoon reports reached Governor Albert Cabell Ritchie at Annapolis that a crowd might be expected to gather at Princess Anne that evening, a crowd of far different temper from the one which gathered on the Eastern Shore three weeks ago to honor the founder of the U. S. Presbyterian Church (TIME, Oct. 16). When he heard the crowd was growing and growing ugly, Governor Ritchie ordered more troopers to the support of the 22 who were already guarding the square-faced little jail. He prepared to call out militia, requested the local American Legion commander to help protect the prisoner. The commander refused.

At dinnertime Judge Duer was suddenly called from table to try to disperse the growing mob. "How about Euel Lee!" the townsmen cried at the judge. Euel Lee, a crazed black, had killed a farmer, his wife and two children two years before in an adjoining county, was not until last week condemned to death. "We ain't gonna have no Euel Lee in Somerset County!"

The sheriff of Princess Anne had left his jail and prisoner in the hands of the troopers during the afternoon, remarking that he would return "in a short time." By the time he got back night had fallen. His jail was besieged. Under the headlights of police cars, the mob was running crazily this way & that through the smoke, kicking tear gas cans out of the way, hurling bricks and stones at the defending troopers. The mob gathered for a charge and 13 troopers went down under the impact, their captain knocked senseless. The mob battered down the first iron door with a beam taken from a lumber yard. Somebody opened a second door from the inside.

Negro Armwood was bleeding from head and chest when he was dragged out of the jail. He was stunned from the fight he had put up in his cell. He made no outcry, even when a young boy leaped on his back and cut off one of his ears. He fell often under foot as the mob dragged him along. He was dead before they strung him up to an oak tree in sight of Judge Duer's house. Some mobsters tried to set fire to what few rags remained on the corpse. There was not enough to burn, so the body was dragged back to the court house, soused with gasoline and lighted. "Here's what we do on the Eastern Shore!" the crowd chanted. Several hours later, troopers put what was left of George Armwood on a truck.

Outraged at the second lynching in two years on Maryland's picturesque but backward Eastern Shore (it was the 21st lynching this year for the nation), Governor Ritchie ordered State detectives to help bring the lynchers to justice. He announced: "The responsibility for Armwood's being at Princess Anne rests squarely on the shoulders of Judge Duer and State's Attorney Robins." Baltimore Socialists thought that the Governor shared the guilt, petitioned his impeachment.

"In this crime of a mob," said the Baltimore *Sun*, "is the lynching of civilization in this State. The law-abiding citizens of Maryland are entitled to demand that the Governor of the State use the power of the State to protect the laws of the State. . . . They will not tolerate dodging of responsibility."

Mrs. Denston's 82-year-old husband, a rickety old man with wens on his face, remarked: "She's all right now, I guess. . . . I guess they did a pretty good job."

Near Philadelphia their son, William Denston, a motorcycle policeman of Lower Merion Township, showed reporters a piece of rope. "Yes," he said, "I was there. I'm satisfied."

Said the sheriff of Somerset County: "Investigation? Oh, yes. Well, boys, I was right in the thick of that affair. I looked right in the faces of some of that mob and I didn't recognize a single soul—not a single soul. I bet they were from down Virginia way."

Roosevelt, Ritchie Get Protest Flood

Daily Worker 10-27-33

NEW YORK.—All day yesterday, the eve of the day set by Governor Ritchie of Maryland for the ghastly legal murder of Euel Lee, framed Negro worker, Negro and white workers and their organizations, and many intellectuals, joined in a flood of protest telegrams to Gov. Ritchie and President Roosevelt in a desperate last-minute effort to save Euel Lee.

Protest telegrams were sent by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, the International Labor Defense and hundreds of organizations in this city. The Daily Worker received word that similar protests were pouring in on Ritchie and Roosevelt from other centers throughout the country. Telegrams were also sent in this city to the Democratic, Republican and Socialist candidates for Mayor, demanding they state their position and join in the protest against the legal lynching of the aged Negro worker.

Robert Minor, Communist candidate for Mayor, sent the following telegram to President Roosevelt:

"On behalf of the Negro and white masses of New York as expressed in many mass meetings, I demand you stop execution of Euel Lee, innocent framed Negro worker, condemned to die in Baltimore Friday, and influence Democratic officials in Maryland to grant him full unconditional pardon. Moves for his legal lynching comparable only to those of Alabama lynchers in Tuscaloosa and Scottsboro and of Hitler regime."

Throughout the day protest mass meetings were held in Harlem, with the workers voting unanimously for vigorous protests against the legal lynching.

HARTFORD, CONN.
COURANT

OCT 20 1933

"My Maryland"

The most recent lynching has occurred at Princess Anne in Maryland, at which place a Negro was killed and his body later burned, the provocation being that he had attacked an elderly white woman. Governor Ritchie had notified the sheriff of the county that he was willing to send a military company to Princess Anne if requested, but the sheriff was confident that he had the situation in hand, inasmuch as twenty-five state policemen had gathered. A little later the sheriff saw signs of trouble, for a mob stormed the jail, battered the doors, took the Negro from a cell, dragged him through the streets until he was dead and then, as a sort of grand finale, burned the body.

Let no one say the Southern chivalry is diminishing. Had it been so the mob would have awaited the action of the courts, which we presume would have hanged the Negro in any event. As it was, the mob demanded action; hence the offender was killed and his body burned. This time not the Carolinas, Georgia or Mississippi, but a commonwealth which has been assumed as being as law-abiding as New England broke restraint and went back to savagery for a night.

Those who made up the mob doubtless are satisfied with their night of revelry and with the thought that they have given the necessary evidence of their chivalry especially as its tenets have been violated by a "nigger." What would have occurred had a white man been the culprit might have been altogether different; the law probably would have been allowed to take its course without having Judge Lynch on the bench. The mob is satisfied, and we surmise that Governor Ritchie is chagrined.

WORCESTER
MASSACHUSETTS

OCT 20 1933

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1933.

Maryland's Lynch Law

That lynching in Princess Anne, Maryland, is particularly shocking because it was perpetrated in a commonwealth generally regarded as enlightened. Had it been staged in some of the states farther South or even farther West, the shock would not have been so great. But that the Free State of Maryland, as Governor Ritchie likes to call it, should be the scene of such an atrocity cannot but be disheartening, though that, to be sure, is deplorable enough. Nor is it the breakdown in the administration of law and order, though that, too, is quite discouraging. The worse feature of a lynching is the brutalizing effect it has upon those who participate, an effect made lasting by the need ever after of self-justification. A community which perpetrates a lynching is in the nature of things brutal to begin with; but it is far more brutal afterward.

It is now up to the governor and the people of Maryland generally to see to it that those responsible are brought to justice. It would be a sad smirching of American civilization, if the criminals should be permitted to go unpunished. Fortunately it would appear that Mr. Ritchie is properly roused to the enormity of the offense.

It is not the suffering and fate of the victim which constitute the worst feature of a lynching,

New York American

OCT 20 1933

Today

Another Lynching.
To Discourage Kidnapers.
Hard to Please All.
Get the Right Labels.

By Arthur Brisbane

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The story of the latest lynching is unpleasant and arouses sympathy, not so much with the victim, dragged through the streets of the town by a rope attached to his neck at the rear end of an automobile, hanged, and his body burned, as with the mob, men, women and children, "packed so closely about the fire that burned the Negro's body that police could not fight their way through."

The victim, it is alleged, had confessed his crime, for which no punishment that human beings might properly inflict could be too great.

The dreadful part of the whole performance is its revelation of human nature, when you "scratch through the surface."

A white boy of eighteen cutting off the Negro's ear while he was still alive and helpless scarcely proves the superiority of the race, and, most amazing, in the South, where respect for women is great, the Associated Press reports: "Under the oak tree, despite the presence of women and children, all the victim's clothes were torn from his body, and he hung there for some minutes nude."

There is consolation in the knowledge that a mob's actions do not accurately represent the character of individuals that make up the mob. Members of a mob are as different from their ordinary selves as dogs hunting in a pack from an individual dog by the fireside. You realize it when you read, also from the Associated Press dispatch: "The mob members seemed crazed, continually leaping on the Negro, even after he fell to the ground and was unable to rise."

The late Professor Shaler of Harvard, in his book, "The Mob," declares that under sufficient provocation even a group of clergymen might be transformed into a lynching mob.

Those that tortured, hanged and burned that Negro are to be considered as a mob only, not as representing any race or section. The world saw such mobs, on a bigger scale, during the World War.

LINCOLN, NEB.
EVE. STATE JOURNAL

OCT 1 9 1933

A MOB IN MARYLAND.

The enlightened state of Maryland has just treated the country to a spectacle which cannot be quickly forgotten—the spectacle of a mob made up of men, women and children taking the life of a Negro without benefit of trial and then fighting over such grewsome souvenirs as bits of the rope by which he was hanged, his clothing and even portions of his anatomy.

The Negro, facing a statutory charge, was taken from the jail and pulled about the town behind an automobile at the end of a rope. The mob stripped him of his clothing and struck him repeatedly. When the scene of the lynching was reached the victim was apparently dead. "One boy, about 18, slashed the Negro's ear almost off with a knife," reads the report. Other mobsters indulged in other horrible exhibitions.

After the hanging the body was cut down and burned. The mob then dispersed.

Governor Ritchie was concerned for the victim's safety from the beginning. The man had been removed to Baltimore for safe keeping. Local authorities assured the governor there was no danger and the prisoner was taken back to Princess Anne. As late as Wednesday afternoon the governor talked to the local judge and state's attorney and was assured that there was no mob menace.

Local police authorities did make an attempt to defend the jail. Tear gas was used and hand-to-hand combat indulged in. The outer door was crushed in but the inner door was opened from the inside, apparently.

The affair is one of the saddest bits of exhibitionism the people of the United States have engaged in for a long time. And there was no excuse. Local authorities brought the prisoner back within reach of the mob in the face of information that a mob was forming.

Governor Ritchie has placed the blame. There is no question concerning his stand in this matter. He will see that punishment is dispensed. The responsibility of public officials toward their prisoners must be impressed upon the minds of all.

BUFFALO, N. Y.
NEWS

OCT 21 1933

Government Called on To Eradicate Lynching

The depression, a grim and ruthless monster, stirred our people and government to their depths. Governmental agencies such as the NRA and similar co-operative endeavors are being received whole-heartedly by both black and white. Racketeering and kidnaping were slowly but surely strangling our citizens. Again our government responded and it is slowly but surely putting an end to this modern land octopus.

The Negro has been the host to lynching parties in this country ever since he was brought here. Within a few miles of the headquarters of those great governmental agencies that are doing such great work—yes, within a few miles of the man sworn to protect us all, our President—a disgraceful tragedy was enacted the other day. A large audience applauded the lynching of a Negro in Princess Anne.

A suffering and justice-denied people pray that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cummings will take cognizance of the fact that lynching is just as dastardly as kidnaping and racketeering and as menacing as the depression. This happening in the backyard of our capital cannot be overlooked by our government.

HAROLD M. TYLER.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y.
EVE. JOURNAL

OCT 21 1933

AN EXHIBITION OF IGNORANCE

As an illustration of vicious, unreasoning and ignorant criticism of government officials, the recent action of the Socialist party of Maryland in charging Governor Ritchie with neglect of duty because he did not prevent the lynching of a Negro, is entitled to favorable mention. The charge is childish. The demand that the governor be impeached is ridiculous. It shows an ignorance of the laws of the state that is a reflection upon the intelligence of the men making the charge.

Governor Ritchie had no more to do with the lynching of that Negro than the man in the moon. Neither for that matter had the judge or the state attorney who are included in the attack upon the governor and who the Socialists say should be prosecuted for manslaughter. The criticism of these officials is based upon the ground that they permitted the removal of the Negro from one jail to another which presumably afforded the lynchers a better opportunity to secure possession of the prisoner. The attorney general of the state says in this connection that neither the governor, the judge, nor the state's attorney had authority to direct the movements of the sheriff who had the custody of this prisoner. When the sheriff came to the jail to get the prisoner he was acting within his rights and none of these officials could do more than advise him. That is the law of the state and the men who made this attack should have known it.

Of course laymen are not supposed to be familiar with the fine points of law, but when laymen assume to criticize the acts of high government officials, it is their duty to learn the law before formulating their criticism. It appears the Socialist party has not done so in this instance and it therefore appears in the role of a common scold without the slightest justification to sustain it.

There are honest differences of opinion as to the wisdom of public policies and the law of the land permits the greatest latitude in the public discussion of these differences. There can be no criticism of the Socialist party or any other party which differs with the administration on these questions, but when the critics go outside the acts of the administration and attempt to place upon it the responsibility for the actions of a mob, it is going to extremes that are not justified. The Socialist party in this instance has made a pitiably reprehensible exhibition of itself.

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

OCT 21 1933

THE LATEST LYNCHING.

Manhattan: The people of Princess Anne, Md., can't laugh at the savages any more. In their recent lynching they did everything except eat the man—and I suppose that just didn't occur to them. Instead of sending ships to Cuba, why don't we send soldiers to a few hot spots in the South to teach some Southerners what peace, justice and fair play mean?

GUILLERMO TOMAS.

Death to the Lynchers!

LAST night, an innocent Negro worker, Euel Lee, aged 60, was strangled to death by the official government machinery of the State of Maryland.

It was the International Labor Defense that snatched him from immediate execution two years ago. It was the I. L. D. that stubbornly fought the case through the highest courts of the State and then through the Supreme Court of the United States.

Yesterday it was Governor Ritchie, backed up by his friend Roosevelt, who, with the cold, murderous cynism of a veteran lyncher, gave the final death verdict in words that will be forever etched in the acid of class hatred on the hearts of every worker, Negro and white, in this country.

He doomed the Negro worker, Euel Lee to die, with these words:

> **"There has been too much delay in this Euel Lee case. Even if the Circuit Court is wrong, I will not interfere."**

So it was as an impatient lyncher, eager for the blood of the innocent Negro worker, that Gov. Ritchie sent Lee to his doom. His innocence no more concerned the Governor than it concerns any typical lynch mob.

• • • •

NOW Ritchie has been confronted by the Daily Worker with the names and addresses of the leading state officials who led the lynch mob that tortured, hanged, and burned George Armwood a few days ago.

Ritchie, who, in the execution of Lee, revealed the lynch lust that runs in his Southern bourbon veins, is now the judge of his fellow lynchers who roasted George Armwood to death!

Ritchie cannot hide the hideous fact that the official machinery of the United States government is part and parcel of the whole lynch system. He is now confronted with the names of his official fellow lynchers.

And he does nothing! He has not lifted one finger to remove his State Attorney, who promised the lynchers that they would have their victim!

Ritchie has murdered Lee. Now he sits in judgment on his fellow lynchers! A lyncher judging lynchers!

The mass fury of the Negro and white masses, the hatred and anger of every decent, human, person in the country, must rise immediately to confront the lynch Governor Ritchie with the cry that must not cease for one moment—THE DEATH SENTENCE FOR THE LYNCHERS!

The names of the lynchers are known. The Daily ...ker has named them! Governor Ritchie must be ...d to arrest them at once! His hand must be forced by a torrent of protests and telegrams! ACT NOW! Death to the lynchers!

Lynchings-1933
Discussions

White Press, Northern.

3990

WILMINGTON, DEL.
NEWS
OCT 21 1933

NEGRO CITIZENS PROTEST LYNCHING IN MARYLAND

The Negro citizens of Wilmington met in large numbers at the St. Daniel A. M. E. Zion Church, 235 Delamore Place, last night, to protest against the recent lynching of George Armwood, at Princess Anne, Md.

A resolution petitioning President Roosevelt to urge the enactment of a Federal anti-lynching law in his next message to Congress was adopted and will be sent to Washington by the West Side Colored Democratic Club.

The resolution was presented by the pastor of the church, the Rev. J. T. Daniels, who related his experiences as pastor in Salisbury during the lynching two years ago. Mr. Daniels also commended City Council for its resolution condemning the lynching.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN
OCT 19 1933

Number Two

In December, 1931, a Negro was lynched by a mob in the lower Eastern Shore of Maryland. Though thousands witnessed the outbreak, no one was ever charged with complicity. No one was even arrested. There was a perfunctory investigation by a Grand Jury, but the jury found no one to indict. A peculiarly revolting crime was allowed to go completely unpunished.

As was to have been expected, the mob spirit found in this attitude a justification for its excesses. Yesterday, in due course, another mob formed and another Negro was lynched. And the same story of official indifference, to use the mildest possible word, runs through the whole affair. When he was first apprehended the man was brought to Baltimore for safe-keeping. But the judge, Robert F. Duer—who is soon to be a candidate for reëlection—and the State's Attorney, John B. Robins, permitted him to be brought back. Indeed, they ordered him brought back. Governor Ritchie, a little too anxious, perhaps, to exculpate himself, lays the whole blame upon these two officials.

If the officials of the State behave this time as they did before, each using his energies to concoct alibis for himself rather than to apprehend and bring to justice the leaders of the mob, then we may expect lynching No. 3 will soon follow No. 2.

BOSTON, MASS.
HERALD
OCT 20 1933

THE MARYLAND LYNCHING

The lynching at Princess Anne, Md., Wednesday night was so typical of such outbursts of mob passion that one can almost describe the episode from memory. An elderly white woman living about ten miles from the town reported Monday morning that she had been attacked by a Negro. Immediately a posse was organized to find her assailant. George Armwood, a Negro, was eventually arrested and taken to a Baltimore jail for safe-keeping, by state police. There, it was said, he confessed to the crime. Wednesday the Negro was returned to the Somerset county courthouse and arrangements were initiated to give him an early trial. But that evening a crowd which had been gathering all day broke into the courthouse, seized the man, hanged him, stripped and then burned his body. To Maryland's credit, Judge Robert F. Duer vainly tried to pacify the mob, and the state police stoutly defended their prisoner until force of numbers overcame them.

The Maryland lynching is especially disturbing, both because it is embarrassingly near Mason and Dixon's line, and because the depression has so far been remarkably free of outbursts of racial antagonism. Severe competition for jobs usually excites latent jealousies and hatreds, and men who would ordinarily mingle peacably become brutes when some incident inflames their passions. The South suffered a bad epidemic of racial disorders in the years immediately after the war, when the returning soldiers frequently found Negroes occupying their old jobs. The number of lynchings in the United States rose from thirty-six in 1917 to seventy-six in 1919, and then slowly declined to sixteen in 1924. In 1930, they numbered twenty-one, but in 1931 there were only sixteen.

This good record is largely due to co-operative efforts on the part of leading whites and Negroes in the South to educate their people to the perils and futility of mob law. We have no doubt that citizens of Maryland will be the loudest in their denunciations of the Princess Anne outrage.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
MORNING PUBLIC LEDGER
OCT 20 1933

"MOB LYNCHES NEGRO"

MARYLANDERS and friends of Maryland everywhere will be saddened by the stain that has been put upon the good name of the State. A Negro was lynched in Princess Anne, Somerset County, on Wednesday night. To the atrocious crime committed by this Negro has been added an atrocious crime committed by the Somerset mob. The simple and disgraceful facts follow the all-too-familiar pattern.

But this case presents some peculiar aspects. The [illegible] after his arrest, had been taken to Baltimore for safe-keeping. He was returned on Tuesday to the Princess Anne jail. In spite of the fear of mob action, he was held there on Wednesday. The Baltimore *Sun* on this point asks some pertinent questions:

> Why was the Negro taken from Baltimore at this time? * * * The Grand Jury was not to meet earlier than Monday. The trial was not to be had earlier than next Thursday. Why did the State's Attorney of Somerset County and the Circuit Judge of Somerset County recommend the holding of the Negro in the country jail in the interval when the danger of mob violence was evident?

These are questions which the authorities of county and State—not excluding Governor Ritchie himself—are called upon to answer. But for all Americans this mob crime brings home a broader and more profound issue. As the *Sun* clearly asserts:

> In this crime is more than the lynching of a Negro criminal. In this crime is the lynching of law in Somerset County and in the State of Maryland. In this crime is the lynching of civilization in this State.

No State and no community in this country can afford to assume a holier-than-thou attitude. But the lesson that lies in the "lynching of civilization" is plain. It is a disgrace which all right-thinking Americans deplore and which they must lend their best efforts to wipe out.

THIS CLIPPING FROM THE
BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN
OCT 19 1933

Editorial

Again a mob has been per nitted to disgrace the Easter Shore and the State of Mary and. A Negro attacked an aged white woman. That atrocious crime by an individual is followed by an atrocious crime by many individuals. The Negro is taken from the hands of officers of the law by the lowest elements of Somerset county and is lynched. He is lynched in the most bestial manner and his body is burned. In this crime is more than the lynching of a Negro criminal. In this crime is the lynching of law in Somerset county and in the State of Maryland. In this crime of a mob is the lynching of civilization in this State.

Public officials of Somerse county and of the State o Maryland are under the neces sity of demonstrating that they are not to blame for the success of this crime of mob law. Why did State's Attorney Robins and Judge Duer take chances, when the whole of the Eastern Shore was reeking with reports of mob violence? Why was the Negro taken from Baltimore at this time? Why was he kept in Princess Anne yesterday afternoon upon their recommendation?

The grand jury was not to meet earlier than Monday. The trial was not to be had earlier than next Thursday. Why did the State's Attorney of Somerset county or the judiciary of Somerset county recommended the holding of the Negro in the county jail in the interval when the danger of mob violence was evident?

Baltimore Md. Oct. 19, 1933

Nor is it clear at this time that Governor Ritchie was as vigilant as the facts before him warranted. Captain Johnson, of the State police, informed the Governor in the afternoon that the situation was threatening and recommended that the Negro be moved to Baltimore. At 3 o'clock, on the basis of information furnished by the Governor, *The Sun* sent a reporter from Baltimore to Princess Anne and he got there before the lynching. But Governor Ritchie took the assurances of Judge Duer and Robins, the State's Attorney, and provided no further protection when, had he acted immediately, there was still time to remove the Negro to safety or else order in troops to protect the dignity and honor of the laws of Maryland. Precious time was wasted, or at least not utilized.

The law-abiding and honorable citizens of this State must face the ugly truth that there is abroad on the Eastern Shore a mob spirit which insists upon the vengeance of the jungle. The law-abiding and honorable citizens of Maryland are entitled to demand that the local authorities on the Eastern Shore stand up to this mob spirit and suppress it. If the local authorities are too confused in their perceptions of duty, or if they are too feeble in resolution, then the law-abiding and honorable citizens of Maryland are entitled to demand that the Governor of the State use the power of the State to protect the laws of the State. And this time they will not tolerate dodging of responsibility.

N. Y. TIMES

OCT 21 1933

THE MARYLAND LYNCHING.

A Negro who had attacked a woman of 71 was taken out of the Princess Anne jail, whose doors had been beaten in by a mob said to have been composed of "the lowest elements in Somerset County." He was dragged for a mile. One of his ears was almost cut off. He was hanged a block away from the house of the judge who had pleaded in vain with the crowd an hour before. His body was burned. The small squad of State police on duty at the jail did its best. Many of them were injured. Governor RITCHIE has ordered an investigation.

Governor RITCHIE holds the judge and the State's Attorney of Somerset County accountable. Relying on their advice, he did not order the prisoner removed to Baltimore for safety. The Baltimore Sun says that the public officials of Somerset County and the State "are under the necessity of demonstrating that they are not to blame for the success of this crime of mob 'law,'" and is uncertain if the Governor was as circumspect as the facts required. But whether the authorities were vigilant enough or used good judgment is a side question. The instant question is the detection, arrest, indictment and punishment of the lynchers. The State Police got the names of seven or eight of them. These are being watched. The arrests of these and others are promised.

The last lynching in the lamentably backward southern region of the Eastern Shore of Maryland occurred last December. The manifestations of the mob spirit are strictly local. In other parts of the State they stir shame and anger. "In this crime of a mob," says The Sun, "is the lynching of civilization in this State." If the local authorities misapprehend their duty or are weak-kneed, "then the law-abiding and honorable citizens of Maryland are entitled to demand that the Governor of the State use the power of the State to protect the laws of the State. And this time they will not tolerate dodging of responsibility."

N. Y. HERALD

OCT 20 1933

Disgrace to Maryland

About two years ago there was an outburst of the lynching spirit on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Two attempted lynchings at Snow Hill in October and November, 1931, were followed by a completed lynching at Salisbury in December, while there was another attempted lynching at Elkton in January. In three out of these four cases the mob, fortunately, was frustrated; but now at Princess Anne, though the police appear to have made a determined fight for their prisoner, the mob was not quelled, and Maryland has another disgrace to her name. The Negro victim who was murdered in this instance was accused, it seems, of having "grabbed" an elderly white woman.

Snow Hill, Salisbury and Princess Anne are the county seats of the three poor and sparsely populated counties grouped at the extreme southern end of Maryland's Eastern Shore. It is not always in such areas that lynchings occur, but lynchings are always, wherever they occur, a sign of backwardness, and it would seem that the Maryland authorities realized from their record that these counties were backward. The prisoner, at any rate, was originally taken to Baltimore for safety, and the state police protested when he was sent back on the assurance of the local judge and state's attorney that there would be no violence. Governor Ritchie is right in holding those two officials responsible for what happened and for the arrest of the ringleaders. Maryland is too enlightened a state to permit this sort of thing to fester within her borders, and the only way to combat it is to establish the fact at once and for good that lynching is a crime and that lynchers will be arrested, tried and punished on their conviction.

WILMINGTON, DEL.
NEWS

OCT 20 1933

WRONG SORT OF JUSTICE

EVEN though the horrible demonstration of mob "justice" in Princess Anne was intended as a rebuke of the "law's delay" it is clear that the commission of a crime by a thousand or more men is to be deplored as much as was the miserable crime committed by a Negro of the lowest order. One crime never justifies the commission of another. Although it is sought to place the responsibility for the lynching upon the confessed error of judgment upon the part of the law's representatives, there was an error upon the part of those who set the law at defiance.

There is no difficulty in understanding the temper of a community that is faced with a most deplorable outrage by an individual. But it is hard to understand why, in what is known as an intelligent community, passion takes the place of reason—and reason is the basis of all good government—and that men should gather and demonstrate that they have the fury of unbridled animals.

It is not easy to understand why, through the technicalities of the law, a brutal Negro—who had killed four persons two years ago—has never been punished as the law contemplates.

There is a responsibility to be considered in the future that will prevent an unwarranted delay in punishing to the full extent one who is guilty of a hideous crime against society. Lynchings always serve to reflect upon the intelligence of any community, even though they be the acts of a small minority of the residents.

It will follow that the "better element" of the Maryland town that has witnessed a scene that rivaled any of the olden stories of Indian atrocities, will regret and deprecate the stain that has been put upon them. As viewed from the outside, it will be a stigma upon the town, the county and the State. Other communities have been shocked in the same way, even Wilmington. While the law's delay is a reflection upon those who have been selected to administer the law for the good of all it is imperative that captious delays in imposing punishment where guilt is established, should be made impossible. No real good is accomplished through such scenes as the one in Princess Anne.

Oh! the pity of it.

BALTIMORE, MD.
POST

OCT 19 1933

LEADERS DECRY SHORE LYNCHING

Goldsborough, Cole and Others Call It Shameful; Put Blame on State

Horror and indignation were expressed today by leading citizens concerning the Princess Anne lynching, some blaming the state administration as well as Somerset County authorities for permitting mob violence and for allowing the mob's victim to remain within easy reach.

Senator Phillips Lee Goldsborough deplored the occurrence, but placed the blame on no one.

"It is a most awful and deplorable thing," he said. "Coming as it does after the Salisbury affair, it adds disgrace to the communities involved."

Dr. J. Harry Schad, manager of the Young Republican League of Maryland, puts the blame for the lynching upon the state administration.

"Such an occurrence is an outrage and a stain on the honor of the state," Dr. Schad said. "The blame lies with the state administration, which permitted the man to be taken back to the place where the mob could best work its vengence on its victim. The administration knew there was danger of mob violence, in spite of assurances from Somerset County, and could have prevented it."

Representative William P. Cole Jr. stated that the lynching is most unfortunate for Maryland, that it could have been prevented by state authorities, and that he doubted whether a federal anti-lynch law could have prevented the mob action.

"The man was safe in Baltimore and should have been kept safe in Baltimore," Mr. Cole said. "The state has ample laws and ample authority to prevent such things and should prevent them.

"We have talked about a federal anti-lynch law in Congress, and none of us is in favor of lynching. But there is still a doubt in the minds of many about the wisdom of making a federal law to prevent crimes which the states have both the power and authority to prevent."

Lynchings - 1933
Discussions

White Press, Northern.

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Brooklyn, N. Y. Eagle

OCT 20 1933

A Barbarous Lynching in Maryland.

For the particularly barbarous lynching at Princess Anne, Maryland, the Governor of the State, Albert C. Ritchie, can be charged with no indifference or negligence. He had been warned and had acted. A score of State troopers were on the spot with tear bombs. The Governor had also asked the American Legion post to co-operate in preventing mob murder. His request had been coldly rejected. Apparently some 2,000 men and boys participated in the crime, and resistance by the troopers was impossible. Yet the advance assumption that twenty men would be sufficient was in no way unreasonable.

A white woman, 82 years old, had been waylaid, attacked and robbed. No motive save robbery was conceivable. How much the woman was hurt does not appear. A particular Negro, George Armwood, aged 24, was accused. He had not even been indicted. The mob battered down the county jail doors, dragged its victim out, hanged him to a neighboring tree. Before this a youth of 18 had playfully slashed off one of the Negro's ears. Armwood's body was dragged by the rope that had ended his life half a mile through the dirt and was then burned to ashes. Innocent in the eye of the law, quite possibly innocent in fact, this man was killed deliberately. The offense is murder in the first degree. But there is no way on earth of arresting, trying, convicting and hanging 2,000 persons who were participants. Maryland has had fifteen lynchings in fifty years. The Eastern Shore slaying of Matthew Williams in 1931 at Salisbury, a man gravely wounded in a suicide attempt, who was dragged out of his hospital bed and hanged, is still fresh in Maryland memories.

This incident followed a controversy over threats of lynching a Northern lawyer retained to defend Williams on the accusation of shooting his employer and the alleged failure of Governor Ritchie to guarantee the lawyer's safety. In a letter to The Eagle, printed in these columns Dec. 16, 1931, Governor Ritchie explained that he had not ignored the plea of the lawyer, but had at once communicated with the judge, the prosecuting attorney and the local police, and had been assured that there was no danger of violence. The lawyer never came back. The lynching of the Negro made a return unnecessary.

Three Negroes have been lynched within the past two weeks, one in South Carolina, one in Louisiana, and this one in Maryland. In no case was the traditional "unprintable crime" charged. The South Carolina victim had merely quarrelled with some young white men. The Louisiana victim was not technically accused of anything, merely "held for questioning." Maryland is in bad company. Her honor demands at least substantial punishment for the ring leaders at Princess Anne. We hope and believe that Governor Ritchie, who has the respect of Americans generally all through the United States, will do his duty in the premises.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.
REPUBLICAN

OCT 20 1933

The Maryland Lynching

The circumstances of the fiendish lynching of a Negro suspect at Princess Anne, Md., Wednesday night make it one of the most atrocious instances of mob violence in the whole sinister history of this deep-rooted disgrace of American democracy. Its details need not be rehearsed here. The mob of "more than 1000 men, women and children" indulged itself in a wild orgy of blood lust for the mere gratification of its depraved passions. No other explanation seems possible. The prisoner had been promptly arrested after the alleged crime of which he was accused, and there was not the slightest reason for suspicion that, if guilty, he would not be found so and punished as the law provides—if, indeed, he were not convicted even though innocent.

Gov Ritchie blames the local judge and prosecuting attorney for the prisoner's removal to Princess Anne after he had been safely lodged in a Baltimore jail, 100 miles to the north. Whoever was directly responsible for the removal, it was, as the event proved, a fatal blunder, if not worse. The temper of the people, their feverish eagerness for their great debauch, was clearly apparent. The official recognition of the fact was manifest by the prompt precautions taken in guarding the jail with reinforcements of armed men. There was also recent history to serve as a warning of what in all human probability was sure to happen. It was not quite two years ago—on December 4, 1931—at Salisbury, 12 miles north of Princess Anne, in the southeastern corner of the state—that the Negro, Matthew Williams, who had shot his white employer and attempted suicide, was dragged from a hospital cot by a mob of 2000 people and hanged in the courthouse yard. The bodies of both victims were publicly burned after the hanging.

The murder of Williams in 1931 was the first lynching in Maryland in 20 years. It disclosed a people not differing essentially from those of certain remote regions of the far South, though having the advantage of greater security so far as the organized machinery of government can provide it. They were without the excuse of a pioneer frontier settlement for taking the law into their own hands. Apparently the state police performed theier duties faithfully on Wednesday; their wounds are eloquent testimony that they gave way to the mob only when overpowered by sheer weight. The deep significance of the affair challenges serious thought. One must believe, unless civilization is to be despaired of, that this exhibition of savagery has been due to social failure, for which the intelligent people of Maryland are primarily responsible.

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.
TELEGRAM

OCT 21 1933

Maryland's Lynching

Maryland's good name has been spattered with mud. The "free state," proud of its long record in upholding the principles of liberty, tolerance and law, has been the scene of a lynching accompanied by unusual brutality. The good citizens of Maryland are stunned; something that "just couldn't happen in Maryland" has taken place.

To make matters worse there is a good deal of the appearance of carelessness on the part of the state's officials. The lynching took place in the little town of Princess Anne, far down on the Eastern Shore, almost at the borderline of Virginia. A Negro youth had been arrested for an attack upon an aged white woman. For safe keeping he was locked up in the jail at Baltimore, many miles away.

The judge and district attorney asked that he be sent down to Princess Anne for trial. That the state authorities were not at all easy in their minds is shown by the fact that Governor Ritchie asked specifically if the local authorities were able to protect the accused man in case of an attempted lynching. They said that they were. The defendant—or perhaps we should say victim—was then transported down to the little jail at Princess Anne. Fifteen policemen were assigned to guard the jail. A mob of 1,500 overpowered them, took the prisoner and killed him with barbarous cruelty, while thousands looked on, laughing and applauding the sickening spectacle.

It will be long before Maryland lives down this disgrace. And the worst of it is the fact that the lynching would never have taken place, had any real effort been made to guard the prisoner.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
INQUIRER

OCT 21 1933

PASTOR GOADS RITCHIE

Urgent request that he seek with "undiminished persistence" the Princess Anne lynchers was made to Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, yesterday in a letter from the Rev. Edward H. Brewster, director of religious education for the Philadelphia Annual Methodist Episcopal Conference, and for the Delaware conference of the same denomination. The latter conference is one of negro churches.

The lynching, Mr. Brewster wrote, makes multitudes of "colored people probably feel that they are living without protection of the law in Maryland." He called it a "grave blunder" of officials to permit the prisoner "to be taken from Baltimore to a part of the State where race hatred has been shown on previous occasions and lynchings have occurred."

PAWTUCKET, R. I.
TIMES

OCT 21 1933

A MARYLAND LYNCHING.

Intelligent campaigning against lynching--and this campaign has been carried on in the South as well as in the North—has in the past 25 years or more produced a positive effect. The lynching bees of the period immediately following the Civil war have fallen into disrepute. People in the South have gone far toward correcting the condition that was a blot on their civilization, and for this they have received ample credit from former critics in the North.

It is discouraging, therefore, to read of a lynching in Maryland, the state on which the national capital city borders, just below the Mason and Dixon line. The case has all the familiar characteristics—a woman attacked, a Negro arrested and taken away from the police by a mob, then hanged. Years ago this kind of a story was common enough, and the South rose up and demanded that the thing stop. It is to the credit of those communities most closely affected that they have stopped the practise or greatly reduced the number of such offenses.

In the Maryland instance the police did their utmost to prevent the lynching. The legal authorities had made plans for an early trial, and the culprit would have been before the court probably within 24 hours. But unfortunately the mob spirit prevailed, and although the police put up a vigorous fight to retain custody of the prisoner they were outnumbered and defeated in their purpose.

Governor Ritchie, one of the ablest chief executives in the country, has demanded a full investigation. The ringleaders of the mob will be arrested and it is imperative that they shall receive adequate punishment. Maryland is too enlightened a state to permit these practises. Its reputation is at stake in this matter, and the reputation of Governor Ritchie is such that he can be depended on to see the affair through to a finish. Any other attitude on his part would cause profound disappointment among his many admirers throughout the country.

TIMES
Ellicott City Md

OCT 19 1933

The Princess Anne Lynching

(An Editorial)

Condemnation of the mob spirit will never check the inclination to "string up" a Negro whose guilt of an atrocious crime is unquestioned. The Baltimore Sun points out that there were probably five thousand men, women and children present at the lynching of George Armwood, at Princess Anne on Wednesday night of this week. The Sun dubs this "mob" as being made up of "the lowest elements of Somerset County." Is it possible to get that many people together in a small community without having in the group some of the better citizens? We doubt it. Then why not look to the cause of the lynching and let this, together with a similar incident at Salisbury less than two years ago, serve as a background for a complete, comprehensive and exhaustive study of our administration of justice. Is there a fair-minded man or woman in Maryland who, deep down in their hearts, truly condemn the lynching of this Negro when they have the Euel Lee case still hanging fire? We make no pretense at fixing guilt for delay in meting out punishment to Euel Lee but it is apparent that something can and should be done toward re-vamping our court system so that a man can be given a speedy and, at the same time, a fair trial. Would not speedy justice be the greatest deterrent of mob law?

TIMES
GENEVA, N. Y.

OCT 19 1933

A LYNCHING DISGRACE

It is hard to believe that a lynching such as that reported from Maryland yesterday could occur in this supposedly enlightened United States. It had been thought that the lynching evil was gradually being overcome in this country. Perhaps it is; it is to be hoped so at any rate, and also hoped that yesterday's atrocious crime of this kind is but a sporadic one. However, the whole country must hang its head in disgrace with the state of Maryland over what is reported to have occurred there.

A negro accused of attacking an aged white woman was duly arrested and put in jail for the crime. But an infuriated mob, of more than 1,000, consisting of "men, women and children," according to the dispatches, broke into the jail overpowering a detail of 25 state police, took the prisoner out, stripped him of his clothing, struck and kicked him, tied him by the neck behind an automobile and dragged him through the streets until dead. Then they hung his body from the limb of a tree and burned it. The rope was cut into small pieces and distributed to the crowd as souvenirs.

And this in America! The unfortunate negro was of course guilty of an intolerable crime, but the crowd which took the law into its own hands and acted in the inhumane way in which it did committed a far greater crime not only against a helpless negro but against the state and nation. People stand aghast that such brutality could occur in this country. We pride ourselves on our civilization and point with scorn to atrocities committed in Russia, Germany, China and elsewhere. We better humble ourselves, talk less about others, correct our own evils before we criticize, and wipe out such disgraces if we want to maintain our self respect and hold our heads up among the nations of the world.

White Press, Northern.

Lynchings-1933 & Discussions.

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BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN
OCT 20 1933

THE LYNCHING

The collapse of law on the lower Eastern Shore must be laid primarily at the door of the weak courts with which that circuit is afflicted. The Euel Lee case would have been disposed of in weeks instead of years had Judges Bailey and Duer acted courageously; and prompt disposal of that case might well have averted the lynching of the Negro Williams in Salisbury two years ago.

Judges Bailey and Duer refused to remove the Lee case from their circuit. They attempted to satisfy the defendant's right of change of venue by transferring the trial from Worcester county to nearby Dorchester. In this course, they were warmly applauded by local sentiment. But the Court of Appeals said, in effect, that a defendant's right to trial in a fair and unprejudiced atmosphere could not be satisfied by mere technical transfer and in accordance with that decision the Lee case was sent ultimately to Baltimore county. It was the weakness of Judges Bailey and Duer in trifling with Lee's right to transfer that opened the long litigation in that case. And it was this litigation which further inflamed the hoodlum and sadistic elements and, tragically enough, transferred the support of many decent people on the Shore from the law to the mob.

In the lynching of the Negro Armwood at Princess Anne on Wednesday night, the original and controlling error among many errors was Judge Duer's decision, apparently arrived at in conjunction with State's Attorney Robins, to take the Negro back to Princess Anne and to keep him there. There was no need to take Armwood back to Princess Anne. He was in safe custody in Baltimore. There was no need to keep him in Princess Anne, once he was there. Judge Duer and State's Attorney Robins took a chance in the first instance which was not called for. They took a chance in the second instance which was not called for. Why did they take these chances? Does anyone doubt that it was popular in Somerset county to bring back the Negro Armwood? Does anyone doubt that it was popular to keep him there, instead of returning him to the Baltimore jail?

Unfortunately, the weakness of the court on the lower Shore, and the consequent collapse of law in major crimes by Negroes, cannot be a matter of indifference to the rest of the State. The condition not only affects the pride and the honor of the State; it also affects very vitally the social and political concepts of the State and its public standards. You cannot have a rotting process in part of the body without injury to the whole of the body. And this means that the State administration must be prepared to maintain law on the lower Shore in instances in which Negroes are charged with such outrageous types of crime. It means that the State administration must be prepared to send police or troops, or both, to prevent violence. It is not solely a matter of protecting a criminal; it is, above all, a matter of protecting the laws of Maryland.

This, as all sensible people know, does not avoid the penalties that the law calls for in these atrocious crimes. Nobody wants to avoid the penalties. Everybody wants the penalties to be swift and sure—as swift and sure in the counties as they are today in Baltimore city. But the penalties for crimes can be enforced under the laws and they must be enforced under the laws. Mobs cannot be permitted to rule, and whatever force is required to suppress them must be exerted without hesitation and without delay.

—o—

And here, it seems to *The Sun*, Governor Ritchie would do well to examine his relation to Wednesday's tragedy. He will find several lessons. In the first place, he took chances that he should not have taken, and which he now deeply regrets. He relied on Judge Duer and State's Attorney Robins to a greater extent than he, a practical man, well acquainted with men and conditions on the lower Shore should have done. At the first sign or report of trouble, he should have acted to get Armwood out of Princess Anne; or, if that were not permitted by Judge Duer and State's Attorney Robins, to get adequate forces into Princess Anne. The hours in which the Governor was telephoning back and forth to Judge Duer and State's Attorney Robins were the hours in which the situation could have been made secure against any kind of a mischance—due, for example, to Judge Duer's excessively amiable opinion of all his neighbors.

In the second place, Governor Ritchie should realize the significance of the fact that his State police were assigned to protect Armwood and that they failed to do so. Therein is a circumstance which makes this Princess Anne lynching far graver in its import and consequences than that at Salisbury two years ago. In the Salisbury affair there was doubt whether local officers and a few nearby State policemen did all in their power. In this Princess Anne case a considerable body of officers of the State, who were on notice of the nature of their duty and had been deliberately assigned to a specific service, failed to prevent a mob taking their man out of their hands and hanging and burning him. That is a collapse of organized and prepared public authority and is a special and additional disgrace to the State of Maryland.

Not a shot was fired by these armed officers of the State of Maryland against a mob that not only had surrendered to blood lust, but was trampling public authority in the most flagrant manner conceivable. For what purpose did Captain Johnson and his officers suppose they had been given arms? Merely to shoot at the tires of some speeding motorist? Experience has shown very clearly in numerous instances that if a bare handful of officers know their duty and are prepared to do it, mobs can be quelled. There is no lack of instances in which a single determined man, wearing a Sheriff's badge, has defeated a mob by the simple act of appearing with a shotgun and announcing that, while the mob might get him if it rushed him, he would get the first shot and would kill the first man who crossed a given line. The Governor knows there was no such spirit at Princess Anne.

Finally, Governor Ritchie must open his mind to the necessity of enacting a State anti-lynching law. In this instance, he has called upon the Somerset authorities to proceed, and has offered his aid. That is exactly what he did in the Salisbury case, and the lynchers are scot-free. Has the Governor any reason to suppose that the Somerset authorities will be more sincere or successful; or that his own aid—which rested feebly upon fragile legal foundations in the Salisbury case—will be more effectual in Princess Anne? What is needed is State authority and State power to go after lynchers. Such authority and power have been established in other States. *The Sun* urged in the last session of the Legislature that they be established here. The Governor did nothing. He will have another chance in the special session. He must not leave a zero record the second time.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN
OCT 21 1933

Maryland's Shame As Seen From Afar

"Disgrace To Maryland"

From the New York Herald Tribune

About two years ago there was an outburst of the lynching spirit on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Two attempted lynchings at Snow Hill in October and November, 1931, were followed by a completed lynching at Salisbury in December, while there was another attempted lynching at Elkton in January. In three out of these four cases the mob, fortunately, was frustrated; but now at Princess Anne, though the police appear to have made a determined fight for their prisoner, the mob was not quelled, and Maryland has another disgrace to her name.

Snow Hill, Salisbury and Princess Anne are the county seats of the three poor and sparsely populated counties grouped at the extreme southern end of Maryland's Eastern Shore. It is not always in such areas that lynchings occur, but lynchings are always, wherever they occur, a sign of backwardness, and it would seem that the Maryland authorities realized from their record that these counties were backward. The prisoner, at any rate, was originally taken to Baltimore for safety, and the State police protested when he was sent back on the assurance of the local judge and State's Attorney that there would be no violence. Governor Ritchie is right in holding those two officials responsible for what happened and for the arrest of the ringleaders.

Maryland is too enlightened a State to permit this sort of thing to fester within her borders, and the only way to combat it is to establish the fact at once and for good that lynching is a crime and that lynchers will be arrested, tried and punished on their conviction.

"Unless . . ."

From the Philadelphia Record

The brutal lynching of Matthew Williams was condoned. In defense of it, race hatred was preached up and down the Eastern Shore.

In rationalizing and explaining the lynching of Williams, the apologists for the Shore sowed the seeds of violence which resulted in the lynching of Armwood.

And when the mob gathered around the Princess Anne Jail Tuesday night this tolerant attitude toward lynching must have been present in the minds of those whose duty it was to defend the prisoner.

The troopers knew they were dealing with men bent on murder. Yet they fired not a single shot into the mob.

And on the morning after the orgy of brutality we find State's Attorney Robins asserting that he doesn't "see how anybody can be indicted for this." . . .

Apparently the Somerset county authorities intend to take the same line as was taken at Salisbury. Unless Governor Ritchie makes amends for his mistake by instituting a most determined effort to convict the lynchers, the rule of the mob will continue to stalk triumphant over the Eastern Shore.

"Some Peculiar Aspects"

From the Philadelphia Ledger

Marylanders and friends of Maryland everywhere will be saddened by the stain that has been put upon the good name of the State. A Negro was lynched in Princess Anne, Somerset county, on Wednesday night. To the atrocious crime committed by this Negro has been added an atrocious crime committed by the Somerset mob. The simple and disgraceful facts follow the all-too-familiar pattern.

But this case presents some peculiar aspects. The Negro, after his arrest, had been taken to Baltimore for safe-keeping. He was returned on Tuesday to the Princess Anne Jail. In spite of the fear of mob action, he was held there on Wednesday.

NEW YORK MIRROR

OCT 20 1933

NOW AND THEN

By Emile Gauvreau.

A Maryland Lynching—

While we are ~~horrified~~ about Hitler's persecution of the Jews let us contemplate what goes on in Maryland. A young Negro, held for trial in prison, on the charge of attacking an aged woman, suddenly is dragged from prison by an enraged mob. Even Governor Ritchie decides nothing can be done to save the Negro. The prisoner is hanged to a tree in front of the judge's house.

BALTIMORE, MD.
EVENING SUN

OCT 19 1933

Wherein Lynchings On The Eastern Shore ~~Are Defended~~ And We Are Sarcastically Castigated For Condemning Mob Murder Written Before The Latest Example Of Savagery

To THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN—*Sir:*

I read in your issue of the 16th inst.: "Posses Scour Woods For Negro Attacker." And from the number of Somerset countians "reported" in the item as being on the trail supposed that he would be caught and dealt with in a most summary manner.

Had the "countians" succeeded in catching up with their quarry another black mark would have been chargeable by the Sunpapers to the "lawlessness" and "mob spirit" of Eastern Shoremen.

It appears, however, the mob was foiled in its evil purpose, and because I am not a taxpayer of Somerset I am glad that this was so.

Now it is, too, that such an ardent exponent of "John Smith" as is *The Evening Sun* will not have to desert him or his interests through its execration of the mob. The *Tribune* will not feel called upon to send its special representative from the saintly city of Chicago and Mr. H. L. Mencken will not feel the occasion to use the vitriol of his pen. No scathing denunciation of Eastern Shoremen, no investigation committee, no examination and nothing to recommend!

We may reasonably suppose the offender will eventually receive his just deserts. This last the majesty of recognized authority assures; although there is some room for contention in that a culprit has a chance of peaceful departure without violence to the upper portion of his vertebra should he not live too long. (See Euel Lee.)

Then, again, as to this latest happening on the Shore, and, as was to be expected, there appears today an editorial entitled "Worth While," which shows you know as much about Eastern Shoremen as I do about Einstein's theory of relativity.

Your unveiled innuendo in its second paragraph perhaps may bring to you inward gratification, but after a second reading of it in cold type you may find the sting it should contain for Eastern Shoremen generally is not to be entirely extracted by any artful means of editorial dentistry employed in its concluding paragraph.

Your "every community has potential mobs," but "not every community has lynchings," will get you the "raspberry" first because Eastern Shoremen know they are not different from those people who dwell in other sections of Maryland except in that they have a loftier conception of womanhood than is generally entertained elsewhere.

They have a high regard for law and order, but a higher one for womanhood, and this is, if I mistake not, the answer to their explosive nature when their principles are violated.

Eastern Shoremen have contributed their share of brains and character to good government, and, I dare say, every Eastern Shoreman regrets exceedingly the occasion when fiendishness seemed to demand a summary justice. Such a case is to an Eastern Shoreman no cause for exultation through punishment, but rather a cause for sorrow that so drastic a remedy is needed as a deterring influence to a repetition of offense against the law of organized society.

C. W. MARSH.

BALTIMORE, MD.
MORNING SUN

OCT 22 1933

As Our Lynch Law Looks To Editors

Maryland's "Instant Question"

From the New York Times

A Negro who had attacked a woman of 71 was taken out of the Princess Anne jail whose doors had been beaten in by a mob said to have been composed of "the lowest elements in Somerset County." He was dragged for a mile. One of his ears was almost cut off. He was hanged a block away from the house of the judge who had pleaded in vain with the crowd an hour before. His body was burned. The small squad of State police on duty at the jail did its best. Many of them were injured. Governor Ritchie has ordered an investigation.

Governor Ritchie holds the judge and the State's Attorney of Somerset county accountable. Relying on their advice, he did not order the prisoner removed to Baltimore for safety. The Baltimore *Sun* says that the public officials of Somerset county and the State "are under the necessity of demonstrating that they are not to blame for the success of this crime of mob law," and is uncertain if the Governor was as circumspect as the facts required. But whether the authorities were vigilant enough or used good judgment is a side question. The instant question is the detection, arrest, indictment and punishment of the lynchers.

"Throw-Back To Barbarity"

From the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot

What Maryland has to deal with is not the criminality of a handful of men whose fury was aroused by a terrible act, but a sullen and on occasion a seething spirit of revolt against the very conception of the State and its legal processes. The lawlessness of a small group could at least be understood and, given the right sort of determination, could be got at and stamped out. But the lawlessness of whole sections of the population is another matter. The Princess Anne lynching is more than an individual crime. It is more than a mob crime. It is a community crime in which the passions of women and children as well as men united in a throw-back to barbarity that would put naked savages to shame.

One has only to read the facts to understand that. The assault on the jail was so fierce that more than a score of policemen were thrust aside, beaten into insensibility and helplessness. The stripping of the Negro prisoner; the dragging of him, a rope around his neck, through the streets of the town; the attack of the sans-culottes who beat him, knocked him unconscious, cut off his ear; the hanging of the nude body to a tree adjacent to the yard of a judge who sought to restrain the mob; the burning of the dead body in the town square; the presence of women and of youngsters in their teens, and the scramble for sections of the rope as souvenirs—all these build up a story that can only be explained on the basis of the community's going mad.

"Stop These Atrocities"

From the Elkton Cecil Whig

The people of the State of Maryland have added another lynching to their already too long list. With the one on Wednesday night, at Princess Anne, Somerset county, fifteen such crimes and mob violences are marked up against this fair Free State since 1885.

Again Maryland is disgraced in the eyes of the nation, for about two years ago a blood-thirsty mob pulled the same act. The bungling of the Lee case at Salisbury is a direct cause of the recent hanging. Lee still has his life for a vicious crime and that has been over two years ago. Two wrongs, however, do not make a right one.

While Judge Duer, resident judge, and State's Attorney Robins are in line for possible criticism for bringing the man back from Baltimore, we feel that they had faith in the people of their county in that they would permit justice to take its course. We do not condone the crime of the colored man, the work of the mob or the lack of vision of the officials, but in the name of High Heaven stop these atrocities.

Lynchings - 1933 I
Discussions.

White Press, Northern.

3949

OPPRESSION OF NEGROES IS BACK GROUND OF LYNCH FURY ON EASTERN SHORE

Daily Worker 11-17-33

Fine Estates of Capitalists Contrast With the Workers' Shacks, Terrible Misery at Scene of Lynch Orgies

In preparation for the Baltimore Anti-Lynch Conference, Sunday, and the Commission of Inquiry, which holds its public hearing Saturday, also in Baltimore, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the Daily Worker have collected a large amount of evidence in the lynching of George Armwood on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and on the social and economic background of the lynch frenzy whipped up by the white ruling class, especially in that section.

Witnesses will be brought to testify before the Commission of Inquiry on these conditions of the Eastern Shore, as well as on the actual lynching of Armwood. Where it is impossible for witnesses to appear, affidavits and statements of investigators will be presented.

Today the Daily Worker, continuing its series of exposures of the lynch-preparations of the white ruling class, and the social and economic conditions on which these are built, publishes a graphic report made by the investigators sent to the Eastern Shore by this paper and the L. S. N. R. The evidence supporting this report will be presented to the Commission of Inquiry.

ANNAPOLIS, Md., Nov. 16.—Approaching the tip of the Eastern Shore along the single, perfect cement highway, on which wealthy whites drive swiftly past in motor cars, and Negroes and poor whites trudge ragged and afoot, an occasional pillared gateway points the way to landscaped estates secluded from the traffic of the countryside. Desirable waterfront properties, where some of the "historic old mansions" stand, have been bought up, landscaped and elegantly reconstructed by men like Walter Chrysler, Coleman Dupont and John Raskob, of Tammany fame.

A nephew of J. P. Morgan recently purchased three farms in the region, turning out the tenant farmers who have worked the land for many years. With their little capital eaten up by debts, it is impossible for them to find other farms to settle on.

A certain Lockhardt has recently made himself an estate of 2,000 acres, throwing a very considerable number of tenant farmers out of doors and bringing in deer and a buffalo or two to add color to the place. In beautiful landscaped gardens that were formerly someone's corn or strawberry fields, he has had thirty or forty thousand tulip bulbs set out. Finance capital shows its face on the Eastern Shore only in parasitic pleasure places.

The machinery of local domination is in the hands of local capitalists, the men who own the small canneries and the packing houses. They lend out seed and contract for crops, besides owning large farms and oyster fleets which they rent out on the share basis. They control transportation of crops, are directors of the local banks and leading citizens of their communities, so that nothing is said about the low wages and wretched living conditions of their day-laborers and dependent farmers. Even the independent farmer, who has received his seed from a canning company, has to take what the company gives him.

One farmer who owns fifty acres of land and works it all by himself, so that he has no labor costs, figured up that last year he made exactly 18 cents a crate on strawberries. This year, on his pea crop, he found that he was 13 cents in debt to the cannery. "There's no money in anything now," he said.

Skin Tomatoes at 6 Cents a Pail

Wives of share-croppers and tenant farmers skin tomatoes at 6 cents a pail—last year the rate was 4 cents. Loaders and firemen in the packing houses get 22½ cents an hour this year, under the N. R. A. Repair men and carpenters, excluded from the "benefits" of N.R.A. in the canneries, are wondering whether it will help them to send their pay checks to Washington. Last week they found that they had been paid at the rate of 12½ cents an hour.

Import Negroes and Polish Workers

The Phillips Packing Co. at Cambridge, which advertises as the largest tomato canners in the world, employs 500 people the year around and 2,000 to 3,000 in the tomato season. In order to avoid competition for local labor at the height of the farming season, which would drive the canning-house wages up, Phillips imports truckloads of Negroes from South Carolina and Virginia. Other canneries in the tomato season bring whole families of Polish people from Baltimore and even from New Jersey, paying them rates at least a cent lower than in the cities. They are housed in pine barracks, very much like cattle sheds, with sloping tin roofs and walls of raw, warped boards. The stoves are outside under a lean-to, one stove to every three rooms.

A man who has charge of bringing the workers in told us: "We get just as many as we can into one room. We look for large families, so that we can work them all, and allow a room to a family."

Left With Just a Few Potatoes

This year the tropical storm of Aug. 23, which largely destroyed the crop, and in some plants washed away the machinery, cut the tomato canning season short. One Negro woman, the wife of a share-cropper, told us that she had worked less than a week in the cannery this year. The cash money, which she had counted on to buy a supply or lard and flour for the winter, amounted to nothing at all, and besides that her own crop and fruit trees were spoiled, like many others, by the storm. After giving the landlord his share, there were only a few potatoes left to carry the family through the winter. Now, with debts piled up, the family is forced to leave this farm go to a similar unstocked farm, where landlords' terms are harder. All that they have to take with them is a horse and a bag of potatoes; that is what is happening widely to Negroes all over the Eastern Shore.

Negroes Denied Any Relief

"What will you eat this winter?" we asked the woman.

"We don't know," she answered. "We haven't got no meat. There's just two skins out there that won't fatten up before spring. Somehow the pigs didn't grow. We poor folks just have to scheme along. All we can do is hope. . . ." The Eastern Shore does not believe in giving relief to Negroes.

New York, Nov.

Hoover Backs Criticism Of Lynchings and Rolph

By The Associated Press.

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 29.—Former President Hoover was among those who signed a statement issued here today deploring the San José lynching of Thomas H. Thurmond and John M. Holmes and "the laudation of the deed" by Governor Rolph.

The statement, issued through the office of J. W. Mailliard Jr., president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, who was among the signers, said:

"The very spirit of government has been violated and the State has been disgraced in the eyes of the world by a brutal outburst of primitive lust for vengeance. A horrible crime had been committed which deeply moved every citizen, but lynching is unjustifiable and subversive of all government. It was mob violence, marked by the most degrading brutality.

"The mob could have been restrained if assistance had been given to the local officers."

11-30-33 New York

MOB LAW OVERRULED.

In October a Maryland Negro, accused of assault on an aged woman, was dragged out of jail by a mob and hanged. The county authorities, reflecting the diseased temperament of their public, took no great pains to bring any participants in the murder to justice. They contented themselves with perfunctory investigation, soon dropped and without result. Governor RITCHIE, who had been blamed, perhaps unreasonably, for having permitted, upon request of the local authorities in the angry county, the removal from Baltimore of the man subsequently executed by a high-spirited public, thereafter tried by all means in his power to bring at least some of the criminals into court. The State's attorney for the county refused to order the arrest of nine supposed lynchers identified by State policemen.

The State Attorney General and the Governor had repeatedly asked that these arrests be made. The authority of the State was defied. Somerset County was a sort of independent enclave dedicated to disorder and riot. Availing himself of his constitutional power to enforce the laws, Governor RITCHIE sent a battalion of the National Guard to the support of the State police. Four men were seized. A violent mob gathered around the armory into which they had been taken. Tear gas had to be used. Finally the prisoners were put on trucks and headed for Baltimore and rushed through a crowd liberal with clubs and bricks and stones. The Attorney General and a Brigadier General in charge of the militia were stoned. The prisoners are safe in jail. The State of Maryland has maintained law in spite of a herd of screeching savages in a lawless county.

Governor RITCHIE has done this without resorting to martial law. He has done it at a time when his proceeding is all the more grateful and shining for its contrast with the laches of the Governor of California. Governor RITCHIE makes every effort to bring lynchers to justice. Governor ROLPH not only applauds but abets them and issues virtually a blank pardon in advance to all of "the people" who may choose to recreate themselves with lynching bees during the rest of his administration.

11-30-33

LYNCHERS IMBUED BY CARNIVAL SPIRIT

Women With Babies Cheered as San Jose Mob Dragged Out Thurmond, Holmes.

LATTER FOUGHT LIKE MAD

But He Was Stripped and Jerked 15 Feet in Air—Both in Terror at Raid on Jail.

SAN JOSE, Cal., Nov. 27 (AP)—Not unlike a carnival crowd was the throng of several thousand persons who jammed St. James Park here last night to witness the lynching of Thomas H. Thurmond and John M. Holmes, confessed kidnapper-slayers of Brooke L. Hart.

Men, women and children of all ages and babes in arms were there.

Over the statue erected to William McKinley, who visited San Jose in 1900, they swarmed for points of vantage until it was a black mass of humanity. It was only a few yards from this statue that Holmes, fighting to the last, was pulled to an overhanging tree limb.

The finding of the body of young Hart in mud flats of San Francisco Bay by duck hunters yesterday was the spark that touched off the indignation that had been smoldering since Holmes and Thurmond were captured Nov. 16. Word spread through the country like a Western brush fire and a crowd soon gathered at the court house and jail.

Crowd Grows Ugly.

Extra guards were placed on duty. The temper of the crowd grew uglier as the day wore on. A truck had been parked across the alley leading to the jail, and against the barricade the increasing crowd pressed harder and harder.

At dusk missiles were hurled at the structure. About 9:30 o'clock Sheriff William J. Emig loosed a barrage of tear gas and asked for reinforcements.

The front ranks of the crowd, resenting the gas, soon surged forward again, wrecking the barricading truck and demanding the prisoners while showering the jail with bricks and stones.

Then a battering-ram, a section of six-inch steel pipe, in the hands of about twenty determined men, was brought up. Others sprayed the men on the battering-ram with water to offset the effects of the tear gas.

Another group brought another battering-ram into action. Twice the tear gas forced the attackers back, but they made a mighty thrust that caved in the door. A second door yielded more easily and the lynchers, taking the cell keys from a deputy, soon had their victims before the crowd.

Both were beaten as they were taken along. Thurmond apparently had fainted. He was strung up to a tree limb without difficulty amid cheers.

Holmes Stripped of Clothes.

Bleeding, battered and naked, Holmes was lifted to the shoulders of some of his executioners and invited to look at the dangling body of Thurmond before being hanged.

Twice Holmes saved himself by grasping the rope over his head when he was pulled upward. As he was let down he was beaten from all sides. A powerful man, the muscles of his body stood out like knots of iron as he fought desperately. The third time the rope was given a terrific jerk and his body shot fifteen feet upward to end his struggles. There was a great cheer.

Some one applied the torch to the clothing still covering the upper half of Thurmond's body, but the blaze died out.

Girls in their 'teens and old woman, college youths and wiser heads joined in the deafening bursts of cheers.

Officers said the rope with which Holmes was hanged had been expertly tied with a hangman's knot. As the body was lowered, both men and women stepped forward and kicked it. The crowd jeered as an ambulance bore the bodies away.

Until daylight groups of curious gathered beneath the hanging trees, which had been almost stripped of their branches by souvenir hunters.

Deputy Describes Seizure.

Deputy Sheriff John Moore described the seizure of the men after the lynchers had entered the jail, saying:

"Holmes came out crying, 'I'm not Holmes, I'm not Holmes,' but one of the lynchers rushed up and grabbed him by the neck and told him to shut up. Another fellow cracked him in the jaw.

"Holmes went down and when he got to his feet another man hit him, and another, until he lay sprawled at their feet, unconscious.

"They pulled him to his feet and stood him against the wall, still unconscious, while others kept hitting him in the face with their fists. They finally put a rope around his neck and dragged him head first down the steps.

"Then they went up on the third floor and found Thurmond hanging by his hands to the iron grating of a high window inside the lavatory, where he thought they wouldn't see him.

"He didn't try to deny his identity, but he came out sniveling and his face was very white. I have never seen human beings look so terrifned as Holmes and Thurmond.

"Thurmond kept repeating, 'Don't string me up; for God's sake don't string me up.' And they hit him

as they did Holmes and dragged him down the steps with a rope around his neck.

"I heard a number of women laugh, even after it was all over, and say it had been a good thing.

"That mob seemed to be insane. The tear gas never fazed them."

GOV. ROLPH CONDEMNS HIMSELF.

In a statement issued on Wednesday Governor ROLPH said:

> Lynchings are not pleasant, and as a matter of policy I do not either personally or officially condone them.

On Monday he said that he had promised at Los Angeles not to send troops to San José.

> If the people have confidence that the troops will not be called out to mow them down when they seek to protect themselves against kidnappers [i. e., to lynch kidnappers], there is liable to be a swifter justice and fewer kidnappings.

No "mowing down" would have been necessary. An adequate military force and an adequate supply of tear gas would soon have driven off the mob. Even if the mob had conquered, the Governor would at least have shown his will to enforce the law. Instead, he deliberately abetted the breaking of it, encouraged the mob to do its worst, promised immunity to any persons who should be convicted for their share in the "protection" demonstration, defended and still defends the mob and its work. This is natural. He is trying to defend his singular official conduct—or misconduct.

But his intellectuals are curiously tangled up. On Monday he praised the Sheriff and other officers of San José, who

> did all they could to preserve and uphold due respect for the law. They did their duty so far as it was possible.

They did their duty. Why did he shamefully refuse to do his? They supported the law. He spat upon it. His talk about "the might of the people," which made the resistance of the local officers powerless, is mere rhetoric. He could have made the might of the law stronger than the will of the mob. Instead, he guaranteed the mob success. Wednesday he emitted this aphorism: "If there are no more occasions for lynching, there will be no "lynchings." As "the people" are free to make occasions, the Rolphian doctrine may be as dangerous as it is false.

Whatever occasions, pretexts or excuses are made for lynching, there can be no justification for it in an American State. The law, not the criminal, is the real victim of this turbulent ketchcraft. Of Governor ROLPH'S eulogy of the San José savagery certain citizens of California, including Archbishop HANNA and Mr. HOOVER, have given a sober, in our opinion a just, judgment:

> Such laudation, particularly when coming from the Chief Executive of the State, undermines the very foundations upon which the State and all civilized society is built, respect and reverence in the minds of the citizenry for law, order and justice.

GOV. ROLPH BACKS SAN JOSE LYNCHING AS KIDNAP WARNING

He Will Pardon Any Arrested—Favors Turning Over to Mob Convicted Abductors.

NOW CHECKING PRISONS

Town Cools Off After Hanging of Thurmond and Holmes for the Hart Murder.

By The Associated Press.

SAN JOSE, Calif., Nov. 27.—Frank approval from Governor Rolph and other State officials for giving "a fine lesson to the whole nation," eased the taut nerves of this normally peaceful town today, scene of the lynching last night of John M. Holmes and Thomas H. Thurmond, confessed kidnapper-slayers of Brooke Hart.

"They'll learn they can't kidnap in this State," declared the Governor from Sacramento. "If any one is arrested for the good job I'll pardon them all."

Such was the assurance from the State's Chief Executive as the town came to a realization of the seriousness of the punishment dealt out in pioneer fashion by the mob which stormed the ancient jail and seized Holmes and Thurmond.

The Governor's attitude brought a flood of messages to his office, some praising and some condemning him.

He went beyond giving his approval by saying he would like to release all San Quentin and Folsom penitentiary inmates who are serving sentences for kidnapping into the custody of "those fine, patriotic San Jose citizens who know how to handle such a situation."

He even had both prisons checked to determine how many inmates were serving sentences for kidnapping.

No Pardons for Kidnappers.

"No kidnapper will ever be turned loose or pardoned while I am Governor," was another statement by the Governor, who added that "kidnappers will learn they're not safe even in our penitentiaries."

The Executive's attitude was disclosed before the two men were lynched, when he said he would not send National Guard troops "to protect those two guys."

He had postponed his trip to Boise, Idaho, to attend a Governors' conference to prevent such a call.

"If I had gone away some one would have called out the troops on me," the Governor said, "and I promised in Los Angeles I would not do that. Why should I call out troops to protect those two fellows?

"The people make the laws, don't they? Well, if the people have confidence that troops will not be called out to mow them down when they seek to protect themselves against kidnappers there is liable to be swifter justice and fewer kidnappings.

"They made a good job of it and I hope this lesson will serve in every State of the Union.

"I don't think they will arrest any one for the lynchings.

"With all the sorrows we have had why should we add the sorrows of kidnapping? It is about time the people should have comfort in their homes. This kidnapping business has become so bad that mothers and fathers are afraid to let their children out of their homes.

"Look at the Lindbergh case. Kidnappers have taken little children, killed them and then jockied for huge sums of money. Now they have taken to kidnapping men and women for the purpose of extracting money from distracted relatives."

Lynchings-1933

White Press, Southern

3895

Discussions.

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
August 15, 1933

"Makers of Martyrs

An article by Elmer Davis in the August issue of Harper's Magazine treats with such stout common sense the various celebrated cases which have distressed the liberals of the United States that it should be read and hearkened unto by each and every protester. "Makers of Martyrs," is the term that Mr. Davis, perhaps unkindly but certainly truthfully applies to them, and the gentlemen who insist on telegraphing somebody, in order that justice may be done, should learn from him the lesson that silence is the best policy.—Not that Mr. Davis is hard-hearted, at least he says he is not. In fact, his heart bleeds at the thought of injustice. But the point is that outside interference does harm so frequently to the very person it is meant to aid.

First on the list, naturally, come the protests against the near-execution of two dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church some ten years ago who were accused of espionage by the Soviets. Everybody protested, Poland, Great Britain, Italy, Checho-slovakia, mass-meetings of Christians the world over. And what happened? Mr. Davis will tell us what happened. The archvicar of Leningrad was shot, if anything because of the protests, which the Soviets termed "capitalistic interference." After the excitement had died down, the other official was turned loose, a fate that othewise would have come to the archvicar. In the Dreyfus case, the most notorious of them all, it was certainly protests within France, not anything liberals outside may have to say, which brought him back from Devil's Island.

Similarly, there can be no question but that the remarks that have been made in newspapers and at meetings about the way the Hitler government has been treating the Jews in Germany have hurt their cause. Especially have the threats of boycott against all German products intensified the resentment in Germany against Jews. And leading Jews in this country for that reason have been very mild in their statements, leaving others to declare a holy war.

Mr. Davis finds a similar state of affairs when he turns to examples of injustice within the United States. Liberals, and especially Communists, have been railing about the unfair treatment that Sacco and Vanzetti got in Massachusetts all these years. Although Mr. Davis does not bother to say so, there were demonstrations in foreign countries against Massachusetts, in connection with these two men, similar to those held since against Germany. Our legations in both Europe and South America were picketed, there were threats of death coming to the trial judge and the governor of Massachusetts all the time. There can be little doubt but that these protests made the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti inevitable. And the interets shown in them by people like Miss Edna St. Vincent Millay, who carried a banner in a parade proclaiming, "Hail Sacco and Vanzetti. The elite of the world greet you as heroes," as Mr. Davis points out, did not dispose people opposed to he said Sacco and Vanzetti, and thinking themselves the elite, to give the accused a more sympathetic hearing.

Tom Mooney, to be sure, owes his life to protests. Convicted of carrying out the Preparedness Day bombing in San Francisco in 1916, his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment at the special request of President Wilson. But the radical groups which have interested themselves in his case have certainly been partly responsible for his staying in jail when hardly anybody now believes him guilty. And in the Scottsboro cases, the International Labor Defense has done as much to keep the cases from being quietly nol prossed as all the much talked about Alabama bigotry. Judge A. Lawrence Lowell, of Boston, by refusing to allow a negro to be extradited to Virginia on a murder charge because he was sure that negroes would not be allowed to serve on the jury, may have saved unnecessary trouble to the courts—"nobody would get any profit but the lawyers"—but he certainly made it more difficult for Southerners who through the years have labored to abolish lynchings and convince the people that the law should be allowed to take its course.

There are, naturally, two kinds of protesters, those genuinely anxious to prevent injustice, and those who use such flagrant cases as excuses to overturn a whole system of society. The Communists naturally are bent on little difference to them But to those of us like Mr. Davis, interest is recommended.

This, of course, does not mean that one may comfort himself with such reflections as an excuse for doing nothing when a flagrant injustice is done. No good citizen can stand by calmly when negroes are being condemned to death on the unsupported testimony of a woman hobo, herself of blemished character. There is no doubt that Sacco and Vanzetti had unfair trials, whether or not they pulled the holdup-murder for which they were executed; there is no doubt that Tom Mooney rather undesirable character that he is, is innocent of the bombing, at least. The thing that must be decided is what is the best way to help these people. And the best way, certainly, is not have a lawyer to muddy the waters. Samuel Leibowitz in the first re-trial of one of the Scottsboro negroes chose elected to challenge the whole racial structure of the south. He was tainted with the Communist brush, whatever his own beliefs. As Mr Davis says, any first-rate Southern lawyer would have aided his client far more than all the first-rate lawyers north of the Mason and Dixon line.

There is a technique to be followed in these matters, and woe to the friends of the oppressed, especially woe to the oppressed themselves, when it is disregarded. It is true that protests are of value in preventing the injustice from being done in obscurity. But after that it is far better to leave the local citizens, of whom, always, there will be a sufficient liberal-minded number, to carry out the actual redress. This is a fact that the International Labor Defense and Judge Lowell fail to realize, but it is a fact of the first importance, which is no doubt responsible for Mooney still being in jail, for the second conviction of Heywood Patterson.

Brewton, Ala., Standard
August 17, 1933

Negroes' Blood On I. L. D.

The enviable record among Southern states which Alabama maintained for so long has been broken. Over a number of consecutive years there were no lynchings in this state, in spite of the fact that certain groups of Northern agitators have attempted to make it appear that all over the South negroes are taken out and shot every morning as a pastime.

Goaded into a frenzy and carried beyond the bounds of reason by the continued interference of the International Labor Defense with the administration of criminal justice in this state, a dozen or so men of Tuscaloosa county have lynched two of the negroes charged with the murder of a white woman and wounded the third. Theirs was the act of a small group of citizens but the entire state will suffer the effects. There was probably great rejoicing among the ranks of the I. L. D. when news of the lynching reached New York. The organization has never cared anything about the lives of those it has pretended to defend, and their deaths merely give them something else with which to play on the prejudice of those who may listen to them. And no good can come to the state from such advertising.

There can be no excuse or justification for the Tuscaloosa affair. No matter how heinous the crime of the negroes might have been, and regardless of the obnoxious activities of the I. L. D. in their behalf, they should not have been made to suffer at the hands of a mob for the sins of those over whom they had no control and whose aid they did not solicit or accept. They were ignorant of the I. L. D. and how its presence in Alabama has been objected to, and probably went to their death thinking that they were being lynched for the crime of which they were accused rather than because the citizenship of the county had become inflamed at the meddling of outside agitators.

If the mob which ran the I. L. D. lawyers out of Tuscaloosa county a week before for their attempt to inject themselves into the trial of the cases had consummated its evident purpose, the act would have been much more nearly justified than that which brought about the death of the negroes. While the blood of the victims of the lynching is on the hands of those who took them from the officers and riddled their bodies with bullets, it is more indelibly stamped on the three lawyers who came in and prevented the accused from being tried in an orderly manner.

There were plenty of opportunities, no doubt, for the negroes to have been lynched before their cases were set for trial. If the citizens of Tuscaloosa county had not desired that the law take its course, there would have been no necessity for their waiting until after the trial had been postponed to organize their mob. So there can be but one conclusion: The responsibility for the lynching is directly and unquestionably on the northern agitators, and we fear that this is but the beginning unless they learn from the recent affair that their meddling is not to be tolerated in this state.

CHRONICLE
Clarksville Tenn
AUG 16 1933

Alabama's Lynching

The lynching of two negroes in Alabama and attempted lynching of a third by a mob of twelve men wearing masks is deeply deplored It is no credit to the state of Alabama and the good people of that commonwealth as well as its sister states in the South. The courts should be commended for the determined manner in which they have gone about to do justice. A grand jury, protected by national guardsmen and meeting in the courthouse surrounded by barbed wire fences, is conducting a probe which may result in the apprehension of the men. If they are arrested, they will be punished.

The International Labor Defense should take this lynching to heart That body is indirectly responsible for the deaths of the two negroes The fact that counsel for this organization had taken too active a part in another trial in which negroes were accused of assaulting white women provoked thoughtless and lawless Alabamians to commit the crime. Here in the South we do not need counsel from such organizations interfering with justice and imposing themselves in our courts.

Intelligent Negroes do not want these men to defend them. They can do their race no good. Conditions here in the South are peculiar to what they are in other sections and the fact that they are misunderstood by other sections has not aided the negro.

The white man and the black man here in the South move in different circles and different spheres. The white man wants the black man to have justice and he recognizes and appreciates that he has a place in the South. The black man respects the white man and does not expect nor want to move in his circles. Each race understands the other and neither needs outside advice.

When a white man's daughter is attacked by a black man's son, the Anglo-Saxon blood of the former demands that justice be done and is willing to await justice in the courts. But he wants justice. Outside meddling, sharp lawyers who are learned in the law, who have no sympathy, understanding nor comprehension of the problems of the two races, do not help the situation. But for outside meddling the stigma of lynching in the South would continue to disappear. Justice and fair sense cry out against these brutal crimes, but horrible as they are, they stand as warnings to let the white and black people of the South work out their own problems without interference from outside organizations.

DEMOCRAT

Oneonta, Ala.

AUG 17 1933

Another Lynching in Alabama

Another lynching has occurred in Alabama.

It was late Saturdy night or early Sunday morning that three negroes were taken from the officers near the Jefferson-Tuscaloosa line and two of them lynched by a mob. The other one may have been lynched too, but his body has not been found.

The negroes had been indicted in Tuscaloosa county recently for the murder of a young white girl some months ago. They had employed John W. McQueen, until recently President of the State Bar Association, and other eminent lawyers to defend them.

When the case of one of these negroes was called for trial recently two lawyers from New York and one from Birmingham appeared on the scene to represent the defendant. The defendant and his parents declared that they had not asked these attorneys to appear in the case to represent them. The judge ruled these attorneys out of the case and they left Tuscaloosa under protection of the National Guard. The case was continued.

The case of another one of the negroes was set for next week. Information reached Tuscaloosa that these New York lawyers would again attempt to force themselves into the case. Rumors that a mob might attempt to interfere caused the Judge to order the prisoners removed to Birmingham. When this was attempted the negroes were taken from the officers and two of them shot to death.

This trouble was all caused by outside attorneys interfering with the lawful procedure of our State Courts. It is generally admitted that the defendants would have been given a fair and impartial trial if the New York lawyers had kept out of the case.

There had been no threats of mob law. The defendants had been arrested and placed in jail. They had been indicted by a Grand Jury. They had employed the best council to be had in that section. Everything was going along orderly until these Yankee lawyers appeared, and to them may properly be charged the cause for this unlawful lynching.

It is to be deplored that another lynching has taken place on Alabama soil. Men sometimes "lose their heads" when our courts are being interfered with in the protection of Southern women.

For the sake of the negro as well as the white citizens of this State it is hoped that these race agitators will stay out of Alabama in the future.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph

Aug. 15, 1933

Build Them a Monument

Shamblin is a good name for the deputy sheriff of Tuscaloosa, Ala., who headed two cars of sheriff's deputies on Sunday night, all armed to the teeth, to guarantee safe escort to three Negro boys entrusted to their care, to be placed in the Birmingham jail. The Negroes were handcuffed, presumably, and may have been chained to the automobile in which they were riding with the deputies.

The presence of the deputies and their weapons undoubtedly was to keep the three Negroes from jumping out of the car and running away. If they did jump out, the deputies were there to shoot, and to shoot to kill.

But the shambling sheriff lost his prisoners. They didn't jump out of the cars, but according to the shambling sheriff his two cars left Tuscaloosa loaded with the prisoners and armed officers. After a certain distance one of the cars turned back, and let the other one proceed. The reason for removal of the Negroes from Tuscaloosa was that there had been increasing talk there all day of mob violence, and it was feared the Negroes were not safe in the Tuscaloosa jail. So two automobile loads of trained, armed and trusted officers of the law were selected to give these legal prisoners safe escort to another jail.

When the shambling sheriff was accosted by two cars of lynchers, he and his assistant officers meekly gave up their prisoners, and later a search was made for them and two of the Negroes were found riddled with bullets. The third prisoner has not been located.

Sheriff Shamblin reported that the trouble possibly was due to the fact that the lawyers employed by the Northern International Labor Defense had stirred up public resentment and caused this violence.

Sheriff Shamblin is mistaken. The fact that the mob knew the kind of resistance it would meet with; the fact that the mob knew the guns in the hands of the deputies were to be trained only on the prisoners; and that these would be surrendered without a protest, and some such explanation given by the sheriff, incited the mob to the violence it committed.

It is quite true the I. L. D. lawyers cause more trouble than they settle. But that's no excuse for officers meekly lying down in the face of a mob's demands and acknowledging incompetency, cowardice. It is a safe statement that not one prisoner in 10,000 is taken from officers unless the officers are willing to it.

It is not material that these prisoners were Negroes. That is entirely beside the case. The fact that they were prisoners is the point. They might just as well have been white people. And with such deputies, if the mob had demanded, they would have been surrendered.

Sheriff Shamblin and his deputies ought to have a monument for neglect of duty.

Spartanburg, S. C., Herald

August 20, 1933

Clinton Case Recalled

The attorney general of Alabama is determined to discover the murderers who shot to death two negro prisoners while they were being transferred from the jail at Tuscaloosa to that at Birmingham for safe keeping. The men were in the hands of several deputies and their dead bodies were found riddled with bullets.

The Birmingham News approves of the action of the attorney general. It says: "The matter should be pursued relentlessly, even though the fruits of the search may be slow to reveal themselves. The lynchers who have so brutally affronted the honor and civilization of Alabama should be found out at any and every cost. They should, thereupon, be made to feel the full wrath of an outraged people. Any other outcome would be regrettable, and any lack of diligence in attaining it would be indefensible."

Some weeks ago a negro prisoner was taken from the jail of a South Carolina city and killed. No effort was made to prevent the crime. In Tuscaloosa a grand jury was called to make a special investigation. The murder there was no more dastardly than that in South Carolina. What has been done and is being done to run down the murderers in the Clinton case?

Moultrie, Ga., Observer

August 11, 1933

Slapped In the Face

Men may hold their temper when struck on the chin with a closed fist. They may strike back. But if they are wise they will not let their own anger lick them.

But it is hard for men to control anger when slapped in the face. A slap does not injure, it stings; it stings the pride more than it gives physical pain.

Now the International Labor Defense League has long since quit striking Alabama with its closed fist.

The gifted gentlemen sent to Alabama to taunt prejudice and indignation have slapped Alabama in the face. They have stuck pins in the temper of the people here.

And why? Because they believed that if they taunted long enough, if they slapped our cheeks enough times, if they continued to stick pins in our side that eventually we would lose our heads and strike back.

That is just what the ILD agitators want.

Nothing pleases them more than to point to mob disorder—or even public resentment that they may be able to construe as mob disorder.

For every mistreated ILD slanderer in Alabama there are hundreds of additional ILD friends flocking into the temples of ignorance.

Open resentment of the ILD insult-spewer in Alabama means the addition of hundreds of names to the International Defense League membership in the East.

Should bodily harm come to one of these scavengers by enraged Alabama hot heads, it is to be expected that the International Labor Defense sympathizers should gain by the thousands.

Alabamians must hold their temper.

But again to the honest liberals of the East we beg: Please keep these belled buzzards out of Alabama!—Montgomery Advertiser.

Birmingham, Ala., News

August 23, 1933

LYNCHING IN ALABAMA

To the Editor The News:

In the eyes of organized society the crime perpetrated against the Tuscaloosa Negroes is worse than the crime of which they were accused. No man can say that the Negroes were guilty of anything, for they had had no trial, and the court is our accepted medium for determining the guilt or innocence of a defendant.

But all the world knows that the mob which lynched these Negroes is guilty collectively and individually of a heinous crime. Therefore, no stone should be left unturned in bringing the guilty persons to the bar of justice. Many eyes are focused on the workings of Alabama's legal system and this case offers a chance for partial repudiation of our growing reputation as a barbarous state.

Is justice dead in Alabama?

Birmingham. ROBERT SIMS.

Lynchings - 1933

Discussions

White Press, Southern

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Bristol, Va., Herald-Courier
August 15, 1933

The I. L. D. And The Mob.

An Alabama mob defied constituted authority and desecrated the Sabbath day by taking three young Negroes from the hands of officers of the law and shooting them to death. The victims were Dan Pippen, Elmore Clark and A. T. Warren, who had been indicted on the charge of killing Miss Vaudine Cox, whose battered body was found in a ravine near her home in rural Tuscaloosa County some weeks ago.

Pippen was arraigned at Tuscaloosa recently, and when the case was called to trial two alien lawyers appeared for the defense. They were Irving Schwab and Allan Taub of New York, who had been employed by the International Labor Defense, a radical organization of that city. The presence of these lawyers was resented in Tuscaloosa, especially since the defendant and his parents testified that their services were not desired, and there was so much feeling that Judge Henry L. Foster continued the trial after instructing National Guardsmen to give the interloping attorneys safe escort out of the city.

Rumors circulated Sunday that the jail in which the Negroes were confined would be attacked led officers to start for Birmingham with them as a precautionary measure. The party was halted near the Jefferson County line by two automobile loads of armed men and the prisoners were taken from the deputies and lynched. Here is another of those outrages that have brought so much criticism upon the South, and it is to be earnestly hoped that the Grand Jury investigation which Judge Foster, acting on instructions from Governor B. M. Miller, has ordered made immediately will have results.

Meanwhile, Sheriff R. L. Shamblin probably is not far wrong when he expresses the belief that feeling aroused by "the interference of the International Labor Defense lawyers in the case is directly responsible for this violence." Had not the trial of Pippen been continued because of that interference, which aroused public indignation in the community, there might have been no lynching. In the face of protests against its meddlesomeness, the International Labor Defense declared its intention to continue in the case. But the case is ended so far as the three Negroes are concerned.

This is an instance in which it seems to be clearly indicated that interference of the International Labor Defense in cases of Negroes accused of crime in the South not only did not promote the ends of justice but provoked lawlessness. There is about as little defense of this practice of that organization as there is of the action of the Alabama mob.

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
August 23, 1933

A Northern View of Alabama

The following editorial from The New York Evening Post, on the lynching of two negroes accused of slaying a white woman, reinforces a view which we have consistently held on the state of affairs in Alabama. This is not, of course, to condone lynchings. But it is sure that the interference of the International Labor Defense had much to do with aggravating the tension. The editorial from The Evening Post follows:

"The people of the South are letting themselves be used by the radicals of the North. They fell into the trap set for them at Scottsboro. They resented outside interference so much that they twice tried to railroad the young Negroes to the gallows and were stopped only by judges who stood firm upon American law and justice. And yesterday, near Birmingham, they lynched with rifles two young colored men whose defense had been attempted by New York lawyers, sent in by the International Labor Defense Committee. The Negroes were charged with the murder of a twenty-one-year-old white girl. After the mother of one of the defendants had denied that she had retained the New Yorkers, they were barred from the case and escorted to the State border by militia. Feeling ran high. The bitterness of Scottsboro was repeated. So Alabamans, like little children whose feelings are hurt, turned deliberately to doing something that they knew they shouldn't do. Just because the Northerners came down to 'insult' their system of justice with demands for fair play, they 'insulted' it themselves. Instead of giving the Negroes a fair trial, they shot them to death. Can't they see that this is just what our Communists want? They don't want justice. They don't want to save Negroes' lives. They want victims of lynch law. They want martyrs. They want 'cases' to agitate. We wish the South could see this. We wish the South could see that the only way to lick and disappoint the agitators from the North is to give the same majestic and exact justice that the judge at Scottsboro did. Lynching but serves the purpose of Communism. And is, simultaneously, a disgrace to the civilization of the United States."

Columbus, Ga. Ledger
August 24, 1933

Result of Outside Interference

All clear-minded men will regret and deeply deplore the lynching of three Negroes early Sunday just west of Birmingham, and nobody is more regretful than the good citizens of Alabama.

In a state which boasts one of the most excellent educational institutions in the nation for the colored race—Tuskegee—such untoward occurrences are especially out of place.

During the last decade, the South, including Alabama, has been getting away from mob violence. More and more have all the people realized that the machinery of the law was the best to handle the bad cases of offense and been willing to trust these delicate and serious matters to the courts.

But just as we are establishing ourselves in such a procedure, along come organizations from another section of the country, including the Communists, and begin to interfere with these already highly difficult affairs. They invade Alabama, poking into the courts and then trying the cases in the columns of the Eastern newspapers. And now comes the natural, inevitable though terrible result—three men forced from the hands of the law and done to death by private parties.

The Negroes of the South are sadly finding out the truth of the old philosophy that "a man can generally take care of himself from his enemies, but God sabe him from his friends"—meaning his so-called "friends."

These outside organizations who pretend to be friendly to the colored people of Alabama are either the direst hypocrites or the dumbest fools that ever drew breath. When it comes to "helping" people, they are both shallow-minded and thick-headed, and we hope they will never take a fancy to us and set out to do us a "good turn." They have no understanding of our people, and will attempt none. They are the sort that go about striking matches in a gas-filled mine. They have half-read the false analyses by penny-a-line yellow journalists of other sections in regard to Southern people and have taken the caustic carpings literally.

For instance, a New York newspaper column writer the other day wrote, as a space-filler, that the wiry farmers of Georgia were gyping the Federal Land bank by borrowing from it much more money than their pine barrens were worth and then letting the government take the land. That was a vicious libel on Georgia farmers, and a villainous, crack-brained untruth touching upon a serious and pathetic condition of matters. Southern farmers borrowed from the Land banks when the prices of their farm poducts were high, and they estimated repayment in terms of those prices. When these fell far down the scale, until it required three or more times as much farm produce as before to meet the payments, there was nothing to do in many cases but to let land, home and all go, and thousands of men who were past middle age and not in much position to make a new start in life were deprived of their established means of livelihood.

We hope we are not in for another era of outside interference. When the Chicago Tribune was converted in large to the truth about the Southern people, we thought the battle for justice had been about won

It is hoped the colored people of the South will organize a protest against outsiders coming into the section meddling in Southern courts and making it harder for our people to deal with delicate problems that are gradually and surely being solved to the satisfaction of both races.

Columbus, Ga. Enquirer-Sun
August 16, 1933

TUSCALOOSA OUTRAGE

Alabama received a black mark when an armed band of men killed two negroes and wounded another after they had been seized while being spirited from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham because of threatened mob violence in the former city.

The blacks were charged with slaying a white girl for which crime they were being held. Officers escorting the negroes were overpowered and the prisoners taken from them.

Lynching of prisoners, black or white, has become so abhorrent to the vast majority of citizens that there can be no excuse strong enough to warrant the lawlessness.

For several years Alabama has kept her record quite clear of this deplorable crime and it is a pity the perpetrators of the latest disgrace could not have had sufficient faith in their courts to trust them with punishing the guilty.

The people of Alabama have been annoyed by the self-injection of the International Labor Defense into cases in the state. Alabama courts are fully capable of rendering justice in all cases coming before them without the self-advertising tactics, and self-imposed meddling of outside organizations. The I. L. D. had thrust its questionable services into the Tuscaloosa case by taking up the defense of one of the negroes. The bitterness engendered by the same course in the Scottsboro case, apparently had its effect on the minds of the band of lynchers.

The mis-named International Labor Defense could find plenty of the kind of meddling it seeks if it would look around its doorstep in the north but it appears to be able to get more free advertising by its muscle in on Southern cases.

However, this is no valid reason why the Alabama lynchers should have shown such disrespect for their own courts. It is to be hoped the guilty parties can be apprehended and punished for their inexcusable crime.

The day of tolerating lynching is past and the sooner men who are inclined to take the law into their hands understand this the better it will be for all concerned.

Scottsboro, Ala., Sentinel
August 24, 1933

Decatur Negro Escapes Two Mobs At Huntsville Jail

(Huntsville Times)

After making two unsuccessful attempts to seize Thomas Brown, alias Thomas Jackson, 23 year old negro charged with attacking a white woman at Decatur, at the Madison county jail here yesterday, Decatur mobs today apparently had given up all hope of reaching their objective.

Threats of violence and of returning here last night with 1,000 men made by the mobs that visited the jail yesterday, failed to materialize and an uneventful night was spent by 10 deputies of Sheriff Ben F. Giles who remained on guard at the jail all of last night.

A member of the second mob which was composed of approximately 30 men, and which visited the jail and demanded entrance at 1:30 o'clock yesterday afternoon, that they might see some prisoners, was reported by Herman Church, day jailer, yesterday as saying they would return last night a thousand strong, because they were refused admittance.

A third mob, however, failed to appear, and the comparatively few curiosity-seekers, who either walked or drove by the jail in automobiles were disappointed to find the jail nearly dark and wrapped in a tomb like stillness, instead of an angry mob of several hundred swearing men milling about.

Despite the innocent aspect of the jail, the ten deputies on the inside were on the alert and were well armed with tear gas shells and bombs pistols and shot guns, and could have killed a large number of members of a mob before they could have attempted to do anything, and without placing themselves in any danger.

With the failure of the mob to appear last night, Sheriff Giles said he felt today that no further visits would be made to the jail by a mob.

He said, however, that he was still prepared to face any emergency, that his deputies were well armed and had his instructions to keep a look-out for anything that would attract suspicion.

He also said that the negro was still in jail and that he intended to keep him there to give the law a chance to take its course.

Neither of the two mobs that have visited the jail has resorted to violence, according to officers, and has not been composed of any local citizens. They went no further than to make threats.

Members of the first mob, which visited the jail early yesterday morning, according to Mr. Church, threatened to shoot him if he didn't open the gate and let them in. These appeared at the jail, however, before he had had the chance to notify the sheriff, and before other deputies arrived at the scene, to quickly disburse the 40 men and escort them out of the city.

Four pistols that were taken from members of the mob have been sent to Decatur by local oficers, it was said last night.

RICHMOND, VA.
TIMES DISPATCH
AUG 16 1933

A Northern Reaction

ALABAMA, with her double lynching this week, has let herself in for another blast from Northern editorial writers.

The New York *Evening Post*, under the heading "Alabama Goes Wrong Again," takes this unique angle:

The people of the South are letting themselves be used by the radicals of the North. They fell into the trap set for them at Scottsboro. They resented outside interference so much that they twice tried to railroad the young Negroes to the gallows and were stopped only by judges who stood firm upon American law and justice. And yesterday, near Birmingham, they lynched with rifles two young colored men whose defense had been attempted by New York lawyers, sent in by the International Labor Defense Committee. The Negroes were charged with the murder of a 21-year-old white girl. After the mother of one of the defendants had denied that she had retained the New Yorkers, they were barred from the case and escorted to the State border by militia. Feeling ran high. The bitterness of Scottsboro was repeated. So Alabamans, like little children whose feelings are hurt, turned deliberately to doing something that they knew they shouldn't do. Just because the Northerners came down to "insult" their system of justice with demands for fair play, they "insulted" it themselves. Instead of giving the Negroes a fair trial, they shot them to death. Can't they see that this is jsut what our Communists want? They don't want justice. They don't want to save Negroes' lives. They want victims of lynch law. They want martyrs. They want "cases" to agitate. We wish the South could see this. We wish the South could see that the only way to lick and disappoint the agitators from the North is to give the same majestic and exact justice that the judge at Scottsboro did. Lynching but serves the purpose of Communism. And is, simultaneously, a disgrace to the civilization of the United States.

One wonders, however, whether the Negroes were shot merely to pique the Northerners. That sounds rather thin. Lynching went on in Alabama long before radicals became prominent. One suspects the Negroes would have been lynched just as quickly if the New York lawyers had remained at home.

Whatever the motive, the incident was a disgrace, not only to Alabama, but the whole South.

Montgomery, Ala. Journal
August 21, 1933

Let Liberals Howl

(Headland Wiregrass Farmer)

The Tuscaloosa lynching has gone far toward breaking up an understanding between northern and southern liberals. This column has known all along how to win a Pulitzer prize, if it had the force and the enterprise to do it. Thing to do was to "cuss out" some characteristically southern habit, good or bad. Ply up the negro and perchance the Jew and berate the southern white. The latest instance of this sort of writing is "The Store," a novel portraying life at "Flunts," Alabama, during the Cleveland administration, in which a colored boy is the hero, unless that part goes to the republican postmaster, and a colored woman the heroine.

In order to maintain that standing with the New York and Baltimore liberals (Boston hasn't yet conceded that there is such a thing in the south as an intelligent white man), the southern writers have had to subscribe to some, if not all, of the preachments of northern liberalism. The Scottsboro cases brought about a regretted breach in the ranks of these liberals, north and south, and the Tuscaloosa affair has widened sharply that breach.

It has been a game of follow the leader with the leadership in New York and Baltimore, the point in the game being to see who could best betray decent southern white people. There have been, and still are, southern writers who haven't cared a dumn for the plaudits of the northern liberals, but up until the advent of the Scottsboro and Tuscaloosa cases a good many of our pen-pushers had conned their pages with a hopeful eye on northern recognition. There have been instances, of course, in which southern editorialists have berated their subscribers with just cause.

One wonders to what extent the Birmingham influence, which comes nearest to New York and Chicago in hatred of the masses of southern white people, with its truly startling ignorance and egotism can further assist in igniting the perilous flames of interracial strife.

GREENSBORO, N. C.
NEWS
AUG 15 1933

DROWNED OUT.

Alabama defenders of the faith will have an exceedingly difficult time fixing responsibility for the dual—perhaps triple—lynching near Tuscaloosa upon the International Labor Defense and other radical agencies which they have blamed for the series of judicial miscarriages and acts of violence in the wake of the celebrated Scottsboro case.

That efforts are to be made to shift blame to these agencies, however, is shown in the initial statement of Sheriff R. L. Shamblin from whose deputies the negroes principals in a previously attempted trial when troops were called out avowedly to protect I. L. D. lawyers who had interested themselves in the defendants' behalf, were seized by "armed men in two cars"—obviously no large army—while the trio were being removed to what officials considered a point of safety Said the sheriff: "We took many precautions to prevent anything of this nature. I believe the interference of International Labor Defense lawyers in the case is directly responsible for this violence. Injection of the I. L. D. in the Pippen trial and subsequent declaration of intention to continue in the case had aroused public feeling to an intense pitch."

To an outsider, the official's excuse, far from absolving him and his deputies of responsibility, may be used with telling effect in their indictment. He knew of the intense feeling against the negroes, as evidenced by the necessity for troops when their trial was attempted, subsequent outbreaks against I. L. D. lawyers who were escorted from Tuscaloosa, and a report, which is credited with having led to the trio's removal, of which, however, the court under whose protection they rested knew nothing, that an attempt to storm the jail in which they were held was to be made Saturday night. Yet, they were intrusted to a handful of deputies who yielded them, without any resistance so far as dispatches relate, to two automobile-loads of armed men, presumably not over 10 or 12 at the most. Feeling aroused by the I. L. D. was well known to authorities and made them all the more responsible for safety of the prisoners in their custody.

Alabama citizenry may argue until they are blue in the face about the inviolability of their state and its courts, the needlessness and obnoxiousness of outside interference in the administration of justice; but the effectiveness of their protestations, if any, is lost amidst the shouts and the pistol shots of frenzied mobsters.

Miami, Fla. Herald
August 15, 1933

INVITATION TO MOBS

LYNCHING of three negroes accused of killing a white girl in Alabama will feed the fires of social prejudice by exciting professional uplift societies in New York, but those professional meddlers never seem to learn to keep their shyster lawyers out of the South.

Like the lynching of Leo Frank, the Alabama negroes were taken from police officers and disposed of after international labor defense lawyers had begun meddling in the case. There are some crimes where speedy justice must be had and if it appears that justice is being impeded by technicalities and trickery, there is a tendency of men to take its administration from inept courts.

The rule of the mob is never right but it cannot be effectively answered except by greater force, or by removal of the thing that incited its lust. To men of the South, the interference of oily lawyers from New York in assault and murder cases involving negroes appears like a direct insult The South knows how to take care of its negroes, much better than the North does. If the South were permitted to handle such cases unhampered, there would be fewer lynchings and expressions of mob rule. Until professional meddlers seeking notoriety can be kept from making capital of defending negroes for crimes of passion and violence, there will be that wholly unnecessary invitation to mob rule.

Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

White Press, (Southern)

3993

Lynchings and Prohibition

By W. A. COVINGTON

On yesterday the papers throughout the country carried the announcement that there has been a falling-off in the number of lynchings in the United States, in the present year. We have had 11, whereas there were 14 in 1931. This is, I think, the low-water mark, reached first in 1930. It seems appropriate to look into the causes of the gradual and steady decrease in this typically American outdoor sport, since 1890.

Macon Ga. 1-6-33

Some 35 or 40 years ago, I read an editorial in one of the leading dailies of Georgia, saying that it was claimed that 95 per cent of the Negro rapists in this country who were lynched claimed under the knife and the torch that they were drunk when their crimes were committed. Now every Southern man knows a Negro well enough to know this is the truth, and knew it when this editorial was written. So, if this is the truth, one would naturally look for a reduction of the number of lynchings as the legal restrictions have been applied to the sale in the open of intoxicants to Negroes. Now let's see if this reduction has been coincident and proportional to the policy of prohibition. In round numbers there were 100 lynchings per year, at the beginning of the local option movements among the counties of the South. The records kept by Tuskegee institute are not available to me, as I write; but the reduction kept pace, with the increase of dry territory, until the ratification of the Eighteenth amendment, when the number was between 50 and 60. Since that time this reduction has continued steadily, until the present number 11 was reached in 1930. It was 14, last year, and is again 13 this year.

The Atlanta Riots

Here is the reason for the fact that the prohibition movement originated in the South, and moved northward. Here is the reason it was possible to push through the legislature of 1907 our State Prohibition law. It was the first session of a legislature, after the Atlanta riots. It was in November, 1906 that a lot of hoodlums tore loose on the streets of that city, and proceeded to kill Negroes, without regard to age or sex. There was never any suggestion that any of the dead had ever violated any law. And it has never been known how many were killed. Here is one thing that was definitely known: the killers swarmed out from the saloons of Atlanta—to the disgrace of a great community.

I am not saying that every mob is drunk; but I am saying that the accessibility of intoxicants in liberal quantities feeds the mob spirit; and is so much recognized as true, that public selling places of intoxicants are always instantly closed when any kind of lawlessness is in the air. The saloons were shut and so kept for several days, after the breaking out of the Atlanta riots.

Revolutions and Distress

Another thing. We have recently been in the midst of the most cruel financial distress that this country has ever passed through. And one of the remarkable things about it all has been the patience and patriotism of the millions of hungry and cold unemployed, in the great cities of this land. Revolution has nowhere lifted its head. Communistic propaganda has made no progress. The criminal rich have not been disturbed in the possession of their ill-gotten gains. If anyone wants to know why, I rise to remark that it is the absence of big supplies of intoxicants. There has not been enough liquor in any city to fire up a mob of 100,000 or even of 10,000. It can't be had from the man in the alley with a tin cup, or the bell-hops in the hotels. The "big rich", who now purpose to shift their income taxes onto the tender shoulders of the children of the poor had better think long and deeply about all this.

But I have drifted away from the problem peculiar to us in the south. I can never forget a thing that happened, in 1907, when the prohibition bill was being attacked by some of the ablest lawyers in Georgia, at a meeting of the Temperance committees. There were not many doctors of divinity there, but there was one I am not to forget—Dr. W. N. Ainsworth, who came up from Savannah, militantly. At the end of his speech, he pulled something out of his pocket, and said:

"I hold in my hand a pint flask. On the back of it is pasted the picture of a perfectly naked white woman. It was taken off the person of a drunken Negro. It is half-full of a mixture of vile spirits and tincture of cantharides. It is the advertisement of a saloon licensed by our state." At this awful statement, I was sitting so I could see in profile the faces of two of the most prominent members of the Georgia bar. I am not to forget their looks, so long as memory shall endure.

I shall be much surprised if the politicians who talk of party regularity at this time, and announce their purpose to assist a lot of politicians up north to tear down the first line of defense which has been erected around the white womanhood of Georgia, shall find, when they come up for re-election that they have miscalculated as to which is the big side in Georgia.

Fitzgerald, Ga., Leader-Enterprise
Thursday, January 12, 1933

LYNCHINGS AND PROHIBITION

By W. A. COVINGTON,
In Macon Telegraph.

On yesterday the papers throughout the country carried the announcement that there has been a falling-off in the number of lynchings in the United States, in the present year. We have had 11, whereas there were 14 in 1931. This is, I think, the low-water mark reached first in 1930. It seems appropriate to look into the causes of the gradual and steady decrease in this typically American outdoor sport since 1890.

Some 35 or 40 years ago I read an editorial in one of the leading dailies of Georgia saying that it was claimed that 95 per cent of the negro rapists in this country who were lynched claimed under the knife and the torch that they were drunk when their crimes were committed. Now every southern man knows a negro well enough to know this is the truth, and knew it when this editorial was written. So, if this is the truth, one would naturally look for a reduction of the number of lynchings as the legal restrictions have been applied to the sale in the open of intoxicants to negroes. Now let's see if this reduction has been coincident and proportional to the policy of prohibition. In round numbers there were 100 lynchings per year, at the beginning of the local option movements among the counties of the South. The records kept by Tuskegee institute are not available to me, as I write; but the reduction kept pace, with the increase of dry territory, until the ratification of the Eighteenth amendment, when the number was between 50 and 60. Since that time this reduction has continued steadily, until the present number 11 was reached in 1930. It was 14, last year, and is again 11 this year.

The Atlanta Riots

Here is the reason for the fact that the prohibition movement originated in the South, and moved northward. Here is the reason it was possible to push through the legislature of 1907 our State Prohibition law. It was the first session of a legislature, after the Atlanta riots. It was in November, 1906, that a lot of hoodlums tore loose on the streets of that city, and proceeded to kill negroes, without regard to age or sex. There was never any suggestion that any of the dead had ever violated any law. And it has never been known how many were killed. Here is one thing that was definitely known: the killers swarmed out from the saloons of Atlanta—to the disgrace of a great community.

I am not saying that every mob is drunk; but I am saying that the accessibility of intoxicants in liberal quantities feeds the mob spirit; and is so much recognized as true, that public selling places of intoxicants are always instantly closed when any kind of lawlessness is in the air. The saloons were shut and so kept for several days, after the breaking out of the Atlanta riots.

Revolutions and Distress

Another thing. We have recently been in the midst of the most cruel financial distress that this country has ever passed through. And one of the remarkable things about it all has been the patience and patriotism of the millions of hungry and cold unemployed, in the great cities of this land. Revolution has nowhere lifted its head. Communistic propaganda has made no progress. The criminal rich have not been disturbed in the possession of their ill-gotten gains. If anyone wants to know why, I rise to remark that it is the absence of big supplies of intoxicants. There has not been enough liquor in any city to fire up a mob of 100,000 or even of 10,000. It can't be had from the man in the alley with a tin cup, or the bell-hops in the hotels. The "big rich," who now purpose to shift their income taxes onto the tender shoulders of the children of the poor had better think long and deeply about all this.

But I have drifted away from the problems peculiar to us in the South. I can never forget a thing that happened in 1907, when the prohibition bill was being attacked by some of the ablest lawyers in Georgia, at a meeting of the Temperance committees. There was not many doctors of divinity there, but there was one I am not to forget—Dr. W. N. Ainsworth, who came up from Savannah, militantly. At the end of his speech, he pulled something out of his pocket, and said:

"I hold in my hand a pint flask. On the back of it is pasted the picture of a perfectly naked white woman. It was taken off the person of a drunken negro. It is half-full of a mixture of vile spirits and tincture of cantharides. It is the advertisement of a saloon licensed by our state." At this awful statement, I was sitting so I could see in profile the faces of two of the most prominent members of the Georgia bar. I am not to forget their looks, so long as memory shall endure.

I shall be much surprised if the politicians who talk of party regularity at this time, and announce their purpose to assist a lot of politicians up North to tear down the first line of defense which has been erected around the white womanhood of Georgia, shall find, when they come up for re-election, that they have miscalculated as to which is the big side in Georgia.

Blackstone, Va., Courier
Friday, January 20, 1932

Fewer Lynchings

The number of lynchings during 1932 were less than those in recent years. The figures of the Tuskegee Institute are eight and those of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are seven, the discrepancy being explained because of different definitions used by the two organizations in defining what a lynching is. Figures for previous years running back from 1932 are 13, 21, 10, 11, and 16 in 1927.

Southern sentiment has mobilized against lawless killings, although it is only fair to bear in mind that the South is not the only region where groups take the law in their own hands. Southern women, in particular, have publicly expressed condemnation of lynchings, and their leadership causes the Boston Globe to say that "these women deserve the hearty support of enlightened public opinion everywhere. They are doing for the honor of their States a work which will one day be recognized as heroic." There is also a growing determination upon the part of officers of the law to protect their prisoners in their custody.

Daytona Beach, Fla. News
Friday, January 27, 1933

THE FIGHT AGAINST LYNCHING

It is not very nice to be reminded that in the past 10 years there have been 38 persons lynched in Florida, one-sixth of the total number of lynchings during the period in the entire United States!

Only last year, at Hamilton, Fla., occurred one of the eight lynchings which took place in this country during 1932.

A tremendous reaction against lynching is taking place in the south, where the practice has been most prevalent. In Texas more than 2,000 women have joined the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. In Georgia, about 1,500 have joined, and almost as many in Mississippi. Florida has one of the lowest memberships, less than 200, although the Florida Conference of Woman's Missionary Societies (M. E. C. S.) has endorsed the movement, and such prominent Florida women as Mrs. Ruth Atkinson and Mrs. Edna Giles Fuller are members of the central council.

The association declares lynching an indefensible crime, destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved. Its efforts have helped to make 1932 the year of the lowest number of lynchings in southern states for the past ten years or more. Local women's organizations seeking good causes to tie to should investigate the work of this association.

Red Springs, N. C. Citizen
Thursday, January 19, 1933

FEWER LYNCHINGS.

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Bamberg, S. C., Herald
Thursday, January 26, 1933

CLEAN LYNCHING SLATE.

South Carolina has had a clean slate in the matter of lynchings for the past two years, which is something the people of the state may point to with pride. No state which has a lynching-minded population can hope to make any very great progress.

But have the courts made the same progress? Law enforcement and anti-lynching sentiment go hand in hand.

Dalton, Ga., N. Ga. Citizen
Thursday, January 26, 1933

No Lynchings in Georgia in 1932

According to the records compiled in the Department of Records and Research of the Tuskegee Institute, that there were 8 persons lynched in 1932. This is 5 less than the number 13 for 1931; 13 less than the number 21 for 1930; 2 less than the number 10 for 1929; 3 less than the number 11 for 1928 and 8 less than the number 16 for 1927. 7 of the persons lynched were in the hands of the law; 4 were taken from jails and 3 from officers of the law outside of jails; the bodies of 2 of the victims were burned.

There were 31 instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings. 4 of these were in northern and western states and 27 in southern states. In 24 of the instances the prisoners were removed or the guards augmented or other precautions taken. In the 7 other instances, armed force was used to repel the would be lynchers. A total of 42 persons, 7 white men and 35 negroes, 33 men and 2 women, were thus saved from death at the hands of mobs.

Of the 8 persons lynched, 2 were white and 6 were negro. The offenses charged were: Murder, 1; attempted murder, 1; rape, 1; attempted rape, 1; wounding officer of the law, 1; dynamiting store, 1; insulting women, 1; threatening men with a knife, 1.

The states in which lynchings occurred and the number in each state are as follows: Arkansas, 1; Florida, 1; Kansas, 1; Kentucky, 1; Louisiana, 1; Ohio, 1; Texas, 1; and Virginia, 1.

Kinston, N. C., Free Press
Thursday, January 26, 1933

INSTITUTE REPORTS 8 LYNCHINGS IN 1932

Tuskegee, Ala., Jan. 26.—(U.P.)—Eight lynchings, the fewest in five years, occurred in the United States during 1032, according to a report released here recently by Tuskegee Institute.

They took place in the following states: Arkansas, one; Florida, one; Kansas, one; Kentucky, one; Louisiana, one; Ohio, one; Texas, one, and Virginia, one.

In 31 instances, law enforcement officers prevented lynchings, thus saving the lives of seven white men and 31 negroes.

Tallapoosa, Ga., Journal
Thursday, January 26, 1933

Fewer Lynchings

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Southern sentiment has mobilized against lawless killings, although it is only fair to bear in mind that the South is not the only region where groups take the law in their own hands. Southern women, in particular, have publicly expressed condemnation of lynchings, and their leadership causes the Boston Globe to say that "these women deserve the hearty support of enlightened public opinion everywhere. They are doing for the honor of their States a work which will one day be recognized as heroic." There is also a growing determination upon the part of officers of the law to protect their prisoners in their custody.

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Carrollton, Ala., Herald
August 17, 1933

AN UNFORTUNATE AFFAIR.

The lynching of the three negroes charged with killing young Miss Maddox in Tuscaloosa, is indeed most unfortunate. It is unfortunate for Alabama and the entire South, and happening in the city where the greatest institution of learning in the South, is located, makes it doubly unfortunate. But the same probably would have happened in any other state under the same circumstances.

Had it not been for the action of the I. L. D. and other communistic organizations in trying to take over the defense of the case without authority, this thing would never have happened. The negroes were assured a fair trial, and with the best attorneys that could be found in Alabama to defend them. Sentiment grew much stronger against these attorneys and the organization they represent than was ever held against the negroes. They were indeed fortunate to be able to get away with whole hides when the cases were continued several weeks ago.

The feeling seemed to have died down, and nothing was being said or done till these communists demanded the right to defend in the second hearing set for hearing, August 22. It was reported that the I. L. D. representatives notified that they would be there a thousand strong to defend the negroes against mobs, and to represent them in the courts whether employed or not. The fat was in the fire, feeling ran high. It was found that the names of many signers to petition asking these attorneys not to enter the case, had contributed to a fund to employ them. With these facts facing them, and remembering the Scottsboro cases, those who took the law into their own hands evidently thought that the lynching of three guilty negroes would be better than the slaughter of a hundred innocent men in case the outside forces sought to take charge of the trial of the cases as had been threatened. When representatives of clans and organizations unfriendly to good government and state rights attempt to dictate to courts or society of the South they may expect to meet such opposition and force as it will take to prevent it, no matter how strong. The Southern people are just not built that way.

Greeneville, Tenn. Democrat-Sun
August 19, 1933

THE ALABAMA LYNCHINGS

(Chattanooga Times

Three negroes were wrested from officers in Alabama last Sunday while being taken from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham for safekeeping, and the bullet-riddled bodies of two of them were later found, while the third was subsequently found wounded. The three were awaiting trial on charges of murdering a white girl.

Officers allege that the forcible taking of the negroes was due to activities of attorneys for the International Labor Defense in their behalf. This may or may not be true, but certain it is that attorneys for the organization have been conducting themselves in Alabama in a manner calculated to offend certain elements of the white population of the State and to provoke to violence some of those in the communities most concerned.

The activieis of these attorneys have been unnecessarily provocative. They have given abundant evidence that they are much less interested in serving the ends of justice under the law than in fomenting race trouble. It would have been infinitely better for the Negroes, as well as the whites, of Alabama if they had remained out of the State and permitted the law to take its course under the watchful eyes of Alabama white and Negro leaders who are working toward a solution of the race problem in the State.

But that they failed to do so does not justify those white citizens of the State who committed a crime against constituted authority and against humanity by wresting the three alleged Negro killers from the hands of officers of the law and by summarily executing two of the prisoners. Their conduct adds still another blot to the spotted record of Alabama with reference to lynching, and the authorities concerned will fail miserably in their duty if they do not exhaust every possible resource to bring the lynchers to the bar of justice and mete out to them punishment in keeping with their barbarous crime.

Eufaula, Ala. Tribune
August 17, 1933

THAT TUSCALOOSA MOB

In a vigorous editorial, The Montgomery Advertiser says:

It is not enough that Alabamians should point to the blood on the beaks of the belled buzzards of the International Labor Defense League in trying to place the blame for the murder of the two Tuscaloosa negroes.

It is not enough for Alabamians to shout "shame" and mutter of "outside interference," "blood thirsty agitators."

It is not enough for Alabamians to cry: "This never would have happened if the I. L. D. had not tried to besmirch our people and our courts with its unwanted interference and its lies."

It is not enough for Alabamians to point across the state line to the the cause of the murders.

It is true that the blood of the murdered boys does stain the beaks of the I. L. D. scanvengers.

It is true that outside interference of conscienceless agitators was responsible for the lynchings.

It is true that the two murdered negroes would be alive today if the I. L.L D. had not tried to interfere in the case—even against the will of their victims.

It is true that the cause of the deaths lies across the state line.

But this cannot wash the blood from the hands of Alabamians.

This does not exonerate the state in the eyes of the world and in the eyes of its own people.

We cannot escape our own shame by pointing an accusing finger at our partners-in-crime.

It matters not that the hot heads who seized the three negroes and killed them were goaded by slaps in the face by self-appointed martyr makers.

Decent Alabamians, though their breasts may scorch with indignation at brutal crimes, cannot and will not condone lynchings.

Alabamians resented the interference of outside agencies in its courts because they wished to exercise the right to try and punish criminals as the people of this state believe they should be tried and punished—and that is the foundation of justice in these United States. Every state reserves the right to conduct its own courts. Why should Alabama be made a trampling ground for those who wish to foment hate or fight against capital punishment?

But resentment cannot burn so deeply into the consciences of Alabamians as does shame, not the shame of persons or organizations outside the state—but shame which only Alabamians can suffer.

The third negro taken from the officers in their flight to Birmingham has been found—alive.

The state of Alabama, the sheriff of Tuscaloosa county and the people of Tuscaloosa are responsible for the life of this man.

Because this negro escaped from a mob which riddled the bodies of his fellow prisoners with bullets every care should be exercised in safeguarding his life. No ordinary precautions should be taken to protect the negro. For if harm should come to him af-

ter the lynching last week the explanation that ordinary precautions were taken merely would indict those responsible for the prisoner's life in the eyes of the world.

He should be under guard every second. He should be guarded by conscientious, courageous men every second.

Governor Miller has taken more than ordinary precautions. He has placed the prisoner under the care of national guardsmen.

The state, for justice, for decency, for its own good name, must investigate thoroughly the lynching of th two negroes and bring to justice th mobsmen who brought the sham which all Alabamians must share.

Greensboro, N. C., Record

July 17, 1933

It Was Murder!

A negro, held on a charge of striking a white man and resisting arrest, was yanked out of jail at Clinton, S. C., the other day, hustled out of town and beaten, choked and shot to death. Four men, it is reported had a hand in this dastardly crime.

"It was murder," says Governor Blackwood, of South Carolina. Murder is right! And the governor might well have added that from evidence thus far divulged it was murder without mitigating circumstances.

The negro was the prisoner of the state of South Carolina. The state saw to it that he could not escape. But, unfortunately, the state was remiss in that it did not protect the prisoner who was within its custody. The state detained him—yes, but only, it seems, that he might be tortured and slain by murderers who made a mockery of a sovereign state's power and duty, and in so doing spat in the face of justice!

What South Carolina can or will do to avenge this insult, this high crime against society, and to bring the guilty before the bar of justice remains to be seen.

Columbia, S. C., State

July 18, 1933

BISHOP TRANSFERS NEGRO CONFERENCE

Methodists Go to Greenwood Because of "Lynching" Recently at Clinton.

The State has leave from the writer to publish the following letter.

To the Presiding Elder of the Piedmont Annual Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Brethren:

This comes to inform you that because of the horrible lynching of Norris Bendy, as published by the daily papers of July 5, after he had been taken from the jail in Clinton, S. C. by four men. I am decided not to hold the session of the Piedmont Annual conference in the city of Clinton, November 29.

Even though lynchings have occurred in many, many other cities, I feel that in this way our church should express its deep disgust a a situation like this, where the officers of the law either too weak o too much in sympathy with the mob spirit to prevent four men from taking a prisoner from them and lynching him.

The action of his honor, Governor Ibra C. Blackwood, in ordering an investigation into this horrible affair is very encouraging and commendable.

And, too, you will find the very best white people in South Carolina frowning on such a vicious spirit.

The Piedmont conference is hereby moved from Clinton to the city of Greenwood, to be entertained by the Rev. M. G. Williams and his faithful members, November 29.

Yours in brotherly love,
NOAH W. WILLIAMS,
Bishop of the A. M. E. Church,
South Carolina District.
4457 Enright Avenue. St. Louis, Mo.

Letters To The Editor

Please be brief. We reserve the right to cut letters more than 300 words long.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR MOB LAW?

Editor The Advertiser:

I have just been reading your editorial, "Mob Spirit in Alabama" in which you acknowledge that there is a cause for the mob spirit but do not state what that cause is. If you will read the history of this country you will find that when the courts continue to fail to do their duty the people will rise up in their wrath and do what the courts have failed to do. The courts have so utterly failed in this and other states that the late Chief Justice Taft said that our administration of the criminal law was a disgrace to any civilized nation.

We have several cases similar to the Tuscaloosa and Madison County case which have been hanging before the courts for years yet the criminals have never been punished. You quote from The Birmingham Age-Herald yet the murder of those helpless girls in Birmingham two years ago is still before the Supreme Court and will probably go higher and this same paper had in an editorial this statement a couple of years ago. "We have from 15 to 17 homicides in Birmingham monthly yet no murderer from Birmingham has been executed since 1912."

The fact is that the people have lost all respect for the law as it is enforced.

I was just reading a case now before a California court where a man was accused of murdering his wife. A number of women were called on the jury who said they would convict on circumstantial evidence if it was strong enough and all were rejected although there was no other evidence and the law permits it. The only object of these lawyers was evidently to draw a jury of morons or one they could control as is usually the case. In our lower courts as well as in the supreme courts we allow appeals on technicalities which have nothing whatever to do with the guilt or innocence of the accused but are very useful to our lawyers in enabling them in turning loose the criminals to prey once more upon the people.

During the Graves administration the people appealed to the Legislature for reforms in our criminal law so that we could get more prompt and sure law enforcement, yet nearly every lawyer and judge in the State was opposed to it and nothing was done.

It is estimated by insurance companies that crime costs the people of the United States en billions of dollars a year. There are 12,000 murders and only 125 legal executions. Hundreds of kidnapings of men, women and children, bank robberies, outrages on women and children and yet our lawyers will not permit reforms but continue the law enforcement and court procedure with bad additions which were discarded by England a hundred years ago.

Our courts and our lawyers are responsible for mob law and not the friends or relatives of the negro victims in Tuscaloosa County. Give us English or Canadian justice and law enforcement and there will be no mob law but if not you can expect the people to execute that justice which the courts have failed to do.

L. G. PATTERSON.

Perdido Beach, Ala.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
RECORD
AUG 25 1933

Setting a Precedent.

Not all victims of lynchings in the South are negroes, but it is indisputable that the negro is the chief sufferer of the tendency of citizens here than there to take the law into their own hands by violating it.

The negro should be expected to shy away from any suggestion of lynching. Curious, therefore, is an incident of Tuesday night in Baltimore.

About midnight a group of negroes walked into a restaurant and asked the price of a watermelon. The restaurant owner said he would sell one for 30 cents.

"How much for half a melon?" one asked.

"Twenty-five cents," was the reply, and the argument began, the negro customer claiming that it was unfair to charge more for half a melon than for a whole one. A crowd gathered and soon there were several hundred negroes in and about the restaurant. Somebody—unidentified—struck somebody else—also unidentified. The restaurant proprietor's wife began to scream.

"Lynch him," the negroes yelled. "Hang him up." Things began to look nasty. The lynching talk spread.

But the Baltimore police, answering the neighborhood patrolman's riot call, intervened.

There was no lynching. That a mob of negroes suggested it is—well, interesting.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
RECORD
AUG 18 1933

HOW FAR FEDERAL POLICING

"If the states turn over the business of controlling kidnaping and arresting kidnapers to the federal government, what argument will they have against turning over to the federal government control in the investigation of lynchers and the punishment of lynchers?" The pertinent inquiry is made by The Columbia Record. How far shall the federal government take over the policing of the forty-eight states? We have now a federal liquor police and a narcotic police. These are not all.

The federal government's office is to police the shore lines and the borders of the republic and to protect the several states in the exercise of their rights, the execution of their laws.

If we have a federal police for kidnaping, the policing of elections is a short step. One reads and hears that no one cares about state rights, that the people look to the central government in Washington for everything, that state lines have lost their meaning. In these sayings is much truth. Little resentment is expressed in South Carolina against aggression by federal authority.

Why should a people indifferent to state rights object to federal control of elections?

In South Carolina remains a "race question." Curiously, while there is less conflict there is also less sympathy between the races in the South than were forty years ago.

At no time since 1865 was South Carolina further from concession of political privileges to the negroes than it is now.

At no time since 1865 were the white South Carolinians so reckless in surrender of the rights reserved to the states under the federal constitution.

How ignorant are our people? How shallow are they in their thinking?

Do they conceive of a government centralized at Washington and with millions of officers controlling and regulating industry that will forever discriminate between the races in industry?

South Carolina is full of prohibitionists, uplifters and economic recoverers who think and say that any man who mentions "state rights," is an old fossil and an old fool. It may be so, but one thing is so:

If we shan't have state rights in South Carolina we shall have (the day is not so distant) negro "rights" in politics and industry. Eventually, separation of the races in industry will be more difficult than their separation in politics.—Charleston News and Courier.

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DOTHAN, ALA.
EAGLE

AUG 15 1933

VICTORY FOR THE I. L. D.

Vultures hovering over a ravine attracted relatives to the body of Miss Vaudine Maddox two days after she had been outraged and murdered.

Vultures in human form, bearing the brand of I. L. D., today are responsible for the finding of the bullet-riddled bodies of two Negroes accused of the crime against the white girl.

Every intelligent Alabamian deplores the lynching, but they fully realize that the stinking odor created by the meddling I. L. D. is directly to blame.

It began with the Scottsboro case.

It became intensified with the Reeltown riots.

It climaxed Saturday night in Tuscaloosa.

During the last 10 years Alabama's lynch record has been steadily improving. We went several years without a lynching. Incessant appeals from leaders and newspapers that the law be permitted to take its course were having their effect.

Then Scottsboro and the poisonous I. L. D.

Just as a winged buzzard, soaring overhead, frequently will vomit upon those underneath, so have the two-legged buzzards of the I. L. D. vomited abuse upon the people of Alabama for the past year.

The people became nauseated. The nausea finally resulted in a dozen or so irresponsible persons taking the law into their own hands.

Judges, lawyers and newspapers of this State repeatedly have warned the I. L. D. that its efforts in this State were undesired and could accomplish no good. The I. L. D. not only gave no heed—it sought to intensify strife and prejudice, even projecting itself into the Tuscaloosa trial against the specific wishes of the defendants themselves. That was because the I. L. D. was interested only in publicity.

Well, they have their publicity, and the Negroes merely have bodies riddled with bullets.

Does the I. L. D. care about the fate of the two accused?

Certainly not.

It is easy to imagine, in fact, that the ignoble organization is secretly elated, for it now has something to vomit over for many months.

Whereupon we make this prediction: As long as the I. L. D. continues its present tactics, irresponsible Alabamians will continue to lynch Negroes accused of rape.

This is not a pleasant thing to say in print, but it is the private belief of the great majority of Alabamians. And it may as well be admitted.

It is a tragedy that all has been written and said by leading Alabamians during the last 10 years in regards to mob violence has been destroyed in a few short months by half-breed scavengers interested only in the exploitation of themselves.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
NEWS

AUG 15 1933

Fools Make Tragedy

The lynching of the negroes near Tuscaloosa, in Alabama, was a disgraceful, a sad, affair.

There would be lynchings in Canada if societies in the United States busied themselves to defend persons charged with infamous crimes in Canada.

The lynching in Alabama is deplorable. It is inexcusable. There should be no mob law in Alabama, no matter how great the provocation offered the ignorant, the unthinking, the prejudiced, the maddened.

There should be no "maddened" in Alabama.

One has never heard of a society of Alabamians hiring lawyers of Alabama to go to New York for the defence of New York's oppressed racketeers.

The Alabamians are content to allow the Chicagoans to defend their gangsters and gunmen. For all one knows the gangsters and gunmen are hardly used—how can one in Alabama be a better judge of criminal cases in Chicago than the Chicagoans are?

Is it the part of the South Carolinians to civilize the Philadelphians?

The lynching near Tuscaloosa was a sad, a shameful affair. It was not a surprise to The News and Courier.

The "International Labor Defense" in New York demands of the governor of Alabama that he arrest the judge and the sheriff.

Why do they not demand that the governor send himself to jail?

It will be discreet, for the present, for the International Labor Defense to remain strictly international but it would better exclude Alabama as a nation. If it should neglect to boycott Alabama, that is, stay out of it, it might need the assistance of a league of nations.

The members of the Internaional Labor Defense may be good, but it is certain that they have no sense.

MONTGOMERY, ALA.
ADVERTISER

AUG 22 1933

IT IS NOT A SHOW

News comes from Tuscaloosa that Judge Henry B. Foster has cut short the recess of the special Grand Jury called to investigate the lynchings of A. T. Harden and Dan Pippen to "prevent the appearance of putting this whole thing to sleep."

It is well that Judge Foster and other Tuscaloosa authorities realize that Tuscaloosa is in the eyes of the world and that even "appearances" msut not be allowed to cause misinterpretation of what is happening there.

And the only way to assure the outside world that Alabama courts are attempting to bring the murderers of the two Negroes to justice is to conduct an investigation so relentless, so thorough, that disinterested observers cannot doubt even the appearance of the investigation.

Yet Alabamians do not want to conduct their courts as mere shows for the benefit of those persons ever ready to find fault. They do not want to conduct their courts just to satisfy outside critics.

They want to conduct their courts in a manner in which justice may be properly dealt for the protection of organized society and all of the people living in this State.

Criticism from the outside should not be ignored. It is not. Sometimes it is repudiated. Sometimes adverse criticism is without foundation. But Alabamians are sensitive to criticism from worthy sources, whether from within or without.

It is an unhappy thought in the minds of a few Alabamians though, that our courts primarily should be so operated as to "satisfy" outside observers.

Our courts should be above suspicion.

The only way to operate them so that they will be above suspicion in the minds of honest, conscientious outside observers who have no axes to grind is to operate them to the satisfaction of conscientious Alabamians who love justice.

The grand jurors called to investigate the lynchings have the power to satisfy the c[illegible] of Alabamians

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
NEWS

AUG 14 1933

Alabama Is Disgraced By A Heinous Crime

Alabama stands disgraced in the eyes of th civilized world today. Shame of the blackest dy has been brought on this state by the lynching of two Negroes who were charged with killing young white woman.

Most Alabamians feel this shame deeply. Al enlightened, law-abiding citizens of this state ar as outraged over this horrible affair as anyon could be. Indeed, such Alamamians, and tha means by far the great majority, of course, ar more outraged than any others could possibly be for it is their state whose name has been blackened, and they will not be spared from the reproach of the rest of the world.

It will be unjust for those who deplore thi outrage more deeply than any outsiders could t be held up to scorn because they are citizens o the state where this crime was committed. Bu that is an inevitable consequence of a lynching People elsewhere will not understand that thi atrocity was the act merely of a few hotheads, small band of barbarians. Others will not understand that the vast body of this state's citizens not only do not condone this piece of savagery but that they are profoundly shocked and grieved

at this act of violence.

But that is the penalty that the many must pay for the lawlessness of a few.

What a pity it is that Alabama's honor should thus be blemished! What a tragedy that two men, facing trial for the crime with which they were charged, in the hands of the law, should be taken from officers by a mob and put to death.

There is never any excuse for a lynching. This lynching was particularly reprehensible, in view of many circumstances. That is to say that recently law and order in Alabama has been on trial in the eyes of the rest of the country—whether justly or not, justice in Alabama has been on trial—and at this time of all times every Alabamian should have been temperate and restrained in feeling.

It was, as Gov. Miller has declared, a heinous crime. The indignation which Gov. Miller feels, which Judge Henry B. Foster expresses, which is felt by the best citizens of Tuscaloosa, whom Judge Foster describes as "outraged and distressed" by it, will be shared by every Alabamian who has a proper regard for law and order.

The crime cannot be undone. But every effort should be made to apprehend the guilty ones and bring them to justice. To this end Gov. Miller and Judge Foster have moved promptly to order an investigation of the outrage by a special session of the grand jury. "We will leave no stone unturned to make the investigation thorough and complete," declares Judge Foster.

Let it be said that most Alabamians doubt that this crime would have taken place had it not been for the unwarranted interference in the case on the part of the International Labor Defense. To say that is not to condone it in the least. On the contrary, the crime deserves to be condemned only more strongly on that account. But the I. L. D. did enrage a few hotheads to the point of violence. To that extent, the blood of the victims be on the hands of the I. L. D.

Oklahoma City, Okla.
NEWS

AUG 18 1933

Another Name for Murder

FOR the lynching of two Negroes in Alabama and the serious wounding of a third, the officials seem to have been partly responsible. According to the reports, the sheriff was moving the prisoners from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham without the knowledge of the judge. A lonely road was chosen by the sheriff, and after proceeding a few miles one car with deputies turned back, leaving only the sheriff and two deputies to protect the three prisoners. When two cars carrying lynchers appeared and demanded the prisoners, the sheriff gave them up.

In the old days this was a common occurence. Fortunately it is not so frequent now. More and more officers of the law are acting on their oath to protect prisoners. This accounts in large part for the decline in lynching. In 1931 the figure fell to 14, and ~~last year~~ to 10.

A mob is made up of cowards. Not many mobs will go through with a lynching without the active or tacit cooperation of the law officers who are paid to combat mobs.

It would be unfair to blame Alabama for these new crimes. Public opinion in the state is against lynching. Responsible groups of citizens are trying to stamp out this barbarism. They are supported by many judges and law officers. Last year there were no lynchings in Alabama.

But, of course, the test here is whether the state of Alabama catches and convicts the lynchers and punishes the sheriff and his deputies for failure to defend the prisoners.

By punishing the guilty, Alabama can help in the solution of this nation-wide problem. Despite misinformation on the subject, lynching is not limited to the south, or to Negroes, or to alleged sex crimes. Last year two of the 10 lynchings were in the northern states of Kansas and Ohio, and two of the victims were white men. Of the alleged offenses—not proved but merely alleged offenses—of the mob victims, only one of the 10 was for attempted attack on a white woman.

The least offense is sufficient excuse for lynchers or officers who put themselves above the law. On Sunday morning the lynchers killed two Negro prisoners, and that same afternoon near Tuscaloosa officers shot to death another Negro for alleged resistance of arrest on a charge of stealing chickens.

And on the same day that these three American citizens were murdered in Alabama without protection of law, the president of the United States ordered warships to Cuba to protect American lives if necessary.

RALEIGH, N. C.
NEWS OBSERVER

AUG 15 1933

THE IMPOTENCE OF ALABAMA

As the sun rose on Sunday morning in Alabama it fell brightly upon the riddled bodies of two dead Negroes, but the light that came with the morning sun disclosed not so much black carrion as the utter impotence of Alabama as a civilized State able to give justice to its citizens.

Men had said before that there was no justice in Alabama. Northern attorneys, who made the fight for the Negroes in the famous Scottsboro cases, said so in terms more violent than wise. Alabama denied the charge with passion and there was the example of an Alabama jurist who set the Scottsboro verdict aside, as based upon unworthy and insufficient evidence, to show that there are men in the State who love and honor justice.

Alabama said that Northern attorneys were not necessary in Alabama to secure justice for the least of its citizens. An Alabama mob stained that first promise by terrorizing attorneys who had come South to defend the Negroes who were lynched on Sunday morning there.

Alabama was going to provide justice in an Alabama court with only Alabama attorneys on either side of the bar. The State itself made the Maddox case a demonstration of its ability to provide absolute justice to Negro defendants. Yet in this very case a mob composed of only two autoes of Alabama lynchers took the Negroes from deputies who were transferring them to another jail and lynched them.

So far as the reports go, the deputies fired not a shot at the white mob which took the Negroes from them. There is not the least evidence that their resistance was worthy of any men defending the dignity or the justice of a State. The deputies let the mob take the prisoners of the State of Alabama and the sheriff, perhaps in an attempt to justify the compliance or cowardice of himself and his officers, lays the blame upon the Northern attorneys who undertook the defense of the Negroes in the courthouse.

Alabama shouted its anger at the attacks upon its courts. It announced with the fury of an injured pride that Alabama could give justice to its own. Alabama was a proud State, a just State. It needed no aliens to help secure justice. Alabama would uphold Alabama justice.

And so when the sun came up in Alabama on Sunday morning Alabama was not only shamed by a lynching as other Southern States have been shamed, it was uncovered in its impotence, the empty loud impotence of a State which could clamor its justice but not defend it.

MERIDIAN, MISS.
STAR

AUG 16 1933

"ALABAMA'S SHAME"

Law abiding, upright citizens of Alabama hung their heads in shame Tuesday.

The lynching of two negroes, charged with killing a young white woman, was the signal for widespread criticism, all of it deploring the heinous crime that helped no one and at the same time caused the finger of scorn to be pointed at Mississippi's neighbor state.

Press comment was unanimous in branding the double lynching as "Alabama's Shame," and all enlightened citizens called for a thorough investigation and prosecution of those wh dared take the law into their wn hands and meet out summary punishment to two humans who had neither counsel, judge, jury nor fair trial.

The Birmingham News stated:

> "Most Alabamans feel this shame deeply. All enlightened law-abiding citizens of this state are as outraged over this horrible affair as anyone could be. Indeed, such Alabamians, and that means by far the great majority, of course, are more outraged than any others could possibly be, for it is their state whose name has been blackened, and they will not be spared from the reproach of the rest of the world."

Mob rule is never justified. It is diametrically opposed to all that our forefathers who builded this great country deemed necessary, fair and just.

Mob rule is unfair, cruel—and as often as not—punishes innocent men, or women.

The lynching of these two negres in no way helps the young woman who was murdered. The lynching in no way assuages the grief and desolation of her loved ones.

And, make no mistake about it, radicals who seized upon the Scottsboro case as a choice tid-bit to throw up to the rest of the world as a sample of "southern cruelty" will again point to Alabama with ridicule and fanatical criticism.

Mississippi is not without a blot upon her escutcheon.

This state, too, has seen lynchings.

But no matter where, no matter when and no matter why—

The result has helped no one

White Press, Southern

Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

3996

Jasper, Ala., Eagle
August 23, 1933

I. L. D. MEDDLING DANGEROUS

The sooner that the International Labor Defense learns that its meddling with the administration of justice in Alabama reacts against those whom the organization seeks to "protect," the better off both the I. L. D. and the negro race in this state will be.

The recent Tuscaloosa incident, where three I. L. D. lawyers attempted to inject themselves into that case of three negroes charged with murder, is another case where they have "gummed up" the courts to the extent that, regardless of the fairness of the trial which the negroes will utimately receive, it will be almost impossible to overcome the prejudice which the occurrence will generate.

Strangely enough, the lawyers who presented themselves as attorneys for the negroes at Tuscaloosa were disclaimed by the defendants. The leading negroes of the city insisted that they stay away and leave the disposition of the case in the hands of local attorneys. It was simply a case of the three lawyers trying to "break into" a case where they were not wanted and had not been invited or employed.

We have been watching the administration of justice in the courts of Alabama for a great many years and we have yet to learn of an instance where a negro has been "railroaded" to conviction. While we do not have statistics before us, it is our impression that fewer negroes have been sentenced to death in the state than have white persons, when the proportionate number of each tried for capital offenses is considered. Judges are always extremely careful to see that they are given fair trials, and it has been our observation that out of an abundance of precaution the judges, if erring at all, err against the state and in favor of the defendant.

But such a condition will not maintain long if the I. L. D. continues to send down New York lawyers to butt in every time a negro is charged with a serious offense in this state. The people are not going to stand for such meddling. A few days ago a mob attempted to take a negro from a train north of Montgomery and it was only through the quick thinking of an official of the county that a lynching was averted. The mob was crying, incidentally, "We don't like the Scottsboro and Tuscaloosa kind of justice." That was but one instance of the feeling that is bound to be generated if I. L. D. interfering continues

While no law-abiding citizen will openly approve such a practice, unless comething is done to stop the I. L. D. meddling with the courts of Alabama, the League lawyers will have fewer opportunities to attend trials of negroes in court rooms but more to take part in less ceremonious proceedings out of the edge of town with their client at the end of a grass rope—The Brewton Standard.

ROCKY MOUNT, N. C.
TELEGRAM
AUG 14 1933

Violence Stains Alabama

Another chapter of discredit has been written in the history of relations existing between white people and Negroes in Alabama. In this instance armed mobs took three Negroes from officers. Bodies of two of them, riddled with bullets, were found later. The third man has not been found, but it is safe to say that the treatment he received at the hands of the group was not one whit less brutal.

The men were accused of killing a young white woman, a vicious, brutal crime. And they were lynched after officers had made an attempt to remove them from a jail in Tuscaloosa to Birmingham for safe keeping. It was stated that rumors were current that an attack would be made on the jail in Alabama. Why officers allowed news of the fact that the Negroes were being moved to be spread is not explained. The car bearing the trio was driven into the midst of armed men and the Negroes forcibly taken.

After wide publicity given the Scottsboro case, one that will be regretted for a generation, another humiliating chapter of blood and violence is indelibly written. It is sickening. We are forced to realize that actually there is no assurance that the processes of the courts in Alabama will not be checked by mob violence. These men were accused of a brutal crime. Their conviction would have sent them to death in an Alabama prison. But they couldn't be tried.

We can have no patience with violence of this nature any more than we can have with murder. In no sense of the word can there be the slightest justification for mob brutality. If we were to admit that the three men stood guilty as charged—and we have no right to do that—the mob that killed them placed itself on precisely the same plane with the Negro murderers. And with such an example on the part of supposedly responsible citizens, it is not unreasonable that the Negro becomes implicated in violence and crime. And so long as mob rule stalks at liberty, we shall be forced to experience the fruits of the harvest. Furthermore, we have no illusions about what the law will do in Alabama, in spite of the solemn pronouncements that immediate investigations have been launched. When we speak of gang murders and crime and violence in larger cities in a critical tone, we are reminded that violence and murder rides at large on the highways of the South.

Roanoke, Ala., Leader
August 23, 1933

Beware Of Wolves That Come In Sheep's Clothing

In this space last week appeared an editorial, warning our people against listening to and following after alien leaders who come into our state to build up racial and class prejudices, which can result in evil and only evil. Specific reference was made to the cases of several young Negroes being held for trial on alleged heinous offenses, into which radical Northerners, not of our sort, had injected themselves. It was pointed out that such unwarranted and unwanted interference was the occasion of friction which might result in serious trouble.

Since that article was written and put in type but before the paper was printed just such trouble as was anticipated has occurred. It was in connection with the trial of three young Negroes in Tuscaloosa charged with a double capital offense. Two firebrands attempted to butt in as lawyers when even the men to be tried resented such interference. These unwelcome visitors were hustled out of town under police escort. Their coming necessitated the calling out of the state militia and the postponing of the trial, at much expense to the public.

The specific trouble ensuing was the killing by a mob of two of the Negroes and the serious wounding of another. While this outbreak of lawlessness on the part of masked men is not to be condoned, yet it is a practical certainty that it would not have occurred had it not been for the butting in of the representatives of the so-called International Labor Defense League. An effort is being made to apprehend the men guilty of this assault against the laws of the state and they may yet be brought to justice. But in the meantime another lynching has sullied the record of Alabama and a new wave of prejudice started in this direction by those who are not friends of our people but are their enemies.

In the editorial of last week above referred to, reference was also made to the sowing of communistic seed in the minds of some of the illiterate people of this state, particularly colored citizens. The Leader cannot warn its readers too strongly against this danger. Red is written all over its face. And those who become the dupes of these self-seeking propagandists are themselves the greatest sufferers.

In this connection warning also should be given our people, one and all, to be very shy of professional organizers who are said to be coming South to organize labor unions. The Leader does not question the rights of laboring people to organize for their protection and advancement. While this is true, it is also true that in sections where the various trades have been heavily organized, as in the North, there has been serious trouble at various times and places. Organized labor has achieved some good ends. It has likewise been the vehicle of much distress and suffering and bloodshed in which the

innocent have been the greatest sufferers.

It is not the purpose of this discussion to make an argument against organized labor unions. We are not necessarily and unconditionally opposed to them. We are strongly convinced, however, that, whatever may be said in favor of this movement under some circumstances, now is a very inopportune time for any such innovation to be attempted, especially where so much peace and good feeling prevail as at present in this section of our country. In cases where capital is as considerate of labor and as generous towards employes as is so often found to be the case in the South, it is questionable whether it is wise to agitate a change of system at any time, especially now when the government's regulations seek to accomplish for labor the benefits desired.

Certainly everyone must see that in a critical time like this, when the federal government is making such heroic efforts to free us from threatened economic disaster, it would be dangerous and foolish in the extreme for our people to listen to leaders they do not know and who cannot have the same interest in their welfare as the ones with whom they are acquainted and with whom laboring people must work out their financial salvation if it can be done at all.

Even the most uninformed must realize that it would not be difficult for any number of employers, large manufacturers and small business concerns, to be forced out of business by any added handicaps being imposed upon them at this time. And when any business suspends somebody suffers. We need to create and maintain jobs; not to abolish them.

All sensible people, of whatever class or calling, should realize that our interests are one, and that making the best of the present situation will lead to more prosperous conditions in the future.

This is no time to rock the boat. This is no time to make radical departures from paths with which we are familiar. Old friends usually are found to be the best.

Clarksville, Tenn., Chronicle
August 16, 1933

Alabama's Lynching

The lynching of two negroes in Alabama and attempted lynching of a third by a mob of twelve men wearing masks is deeply deplored. It is no credit to the state of Alabama and the good people of that commonwealth as well as its sister states in the South. The courts should be commended for the determined manner in which they have gone about to do justice. A grand jury, protected by national guardsmen and meeting in the courthouse surrounded by barbed wire fences, is conducting a probe which may result in the apprehension of the men. If they are arrested, they will be punished.

The International Labor Defense should take this lynching to heart. That body is indirectly responsible for the deaths of the two negroes. The fact that counsel for this organization had taken too active a part in another trial in which negroes were accused of assaulting white women provoked thoughtless and lawless Alabamians to commit the crime. Here in the South we do not need counsel from such organizations interfering with justice and imposing themselves in our courts.

Intelligent Negroes do not want these men to defend them. They can do their race no good. Conditions here in the South are peculiar to what they are in other sections and the fact that they are misunderstood by other sections has not aided the negro.

The white man and the black man here in the South move in different circles and different spheres. The white man wants the black man to have justice and he recognizes and appreciates that he has a place in the South. The black man respects the white man and does not expect nor want to move in his circles. Each race understands the other and neither needs outside advice.

When a white man's daughter is attacked by a black man's son, the Anglo-Saxon blood of the former demands that justice be done and is willing to await justice in the courts. But he wants justice. Outside meddling, sharp lawyers who are learned in the law, who have no sympathy, understanding nor comprehension of the problems of the two races, do not help the situation. But for outside meddling the stigma of lynching in the South would continue to disappear. Justice and fair sense cry out against these brutal crimes, but horrible as they are, they stand as warnings to let the white and black people of the South work out their own problems without interference from outside organizations.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
August 14, 1933

BLOOD ON THE GREAT SEAL OF ALABAMA

Two of the three young Negroes charged with the raping and murder of a Tuscaloosa white girl are dead.

They were lynched.

They were killed by a group of armed zealots who had become impatient with slow justice. Their bodies were riddled with bullets by Alabama hot heads who took the law into their own hands for fear that outside interference would block the course of justice.

And because this group, inflamed with hatred and fear—hatred of influences which invited hate, fear that the machinery of justice was to be clogged by sinister efforts—seized the three prisoners and shot two of them to death, Alabama must suffer shamefully in the eyes of the world.

The people of Alabama must suffer shame they do not deserve. The people of Tuscaloosa, the home of the State University, the cultural center of Alabama, must suffer shame they do not deserve. All because a handful of passion-stirred Alabama white men endowed themselves with the rights of court and hangman to put to death three men who deserved the protection of the State, the people and the courts of Alabama.

Lies have been spread abroad about the people of Alabama and their courts gross lies of injustice, conviction of the innocent, legal murder by the courts.

But the lynching of the three Tuscaloosa Negroes is not a lie.

The two bullet-riddled bodies and the absence of the missing third negro are evidence of mob law which none can dispute and for which none can apologize.

Alabamians have more reason to deplore the lynching of these Negroes than any outside critic.

The people of Tuscaloosa have more reason to condemn the conduct of the hot-headed vigilantes than have others.

Only a few Alabamians are responsible for the blood stains on the map of the State—stains that cannot be washed away so easily as the greasy black mud thrown by the zealots from afar who are known to be malicious fomenters of hate.

But all Alabamians must suffer the storms of protest which are certain to come. All Alabamians must suffer for the conduct of those few who took the law into their own hands.

But the maggoty beaks of the belled buzzards of the International Labor Defense League are stained with the blood of the three Negro boys whose torn bodies this morning lie in newly-turned graves!

The International Labor Defense League at last has accomplished what it has long sought.

It has made martyrs of three Alabama defendants in a criminal case—dead martyr to a mock Cause.

The ILD has tried for more than two years to disgrace Alabama in the eyes of the world. It has tried to foment class and racial strife. It has tried to make ignorant men sacrifice themselves in the name of martyrdom.

Dan Pippen, one of the Negro boys whose bodies now lie in graves, was 18. He did not want the International Labor Defense League to "defend" him. He did not want to be a martyr. And he and his family knew that the ILD was more interested in the making of martyrs than in the freeing of Alabama prisoners.

The Negroes knew that the ILD would only use his case to foment hatred.

Dan Pippen, whether he was innocent of the crime or guilty, wanted to save his own life. That was what he wanted, freedom, escape from the electric chair at Kilby Prison.

But the boy's plea failed to stop the belled buzzards. They continued to circle over Alabama and Tuscaloosa.

And this morning Dan Pippen is a martyr—dead.

All the blame cannot be placed on the outside organizations which have tried to blacken the State.

The actual lynchers were Alabamians. And that fact we cannot escape.

But if the ill-odored scavengers had not entered Alabama those prisoners would have been alive today—perhaps awaiting death sentences or life imprisonment, but alive nevertheless.

The belled buzzards, leaving vermin in their paths across the State, have scored their first great victory.

They have left blood on the Great Seal of Alabama.

But their maggoty beaks are stained with the life blood of Dan Pippen, Elmore Clark and A. T. Harden.

The State of Alabama can and must investigate the deaths.

Justice must be dealt the men who took the law into their own hands.

Alabama cannot deal through the courts with the sinister interests which share the guilt.

But Alabama once more can plead with the decent liberals who have interested themselves in justice to keep the belled buzzards out of Alabama.

Lynchings — 1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

3997

Columbia, Tenn. Democrat
December 28, 1933

LYNCHING

William C. Rivers, of New York, native of Giles county, Major General U. S. A. (retired) has supplied The Maury Democrat with a communication which appeared over his name in the New York Herald Tribune of December 19th, entitled "Measures To Prevent Lynching."

Gen. Rivers went from Giles county to West Point in 1893 and served in the uniform until the age for retirement of 64, having been in the service 47 years. His military experiences carried him to three continents. He and Mrs. Rivers are now making their home in New York.

Extracts from his article on the editorial page of the New York newspaper are as follows:

"I have read with interest the recent powerful editorials in the Herald Tribune and in many papers about lynching. Most of them were clear and logical, but I fear they will not have great effect. This is because the editorials I have seen are largely negative, denunciatory and condemnatory, and fail to suggest any positive measures for minimizing and eliminating the evil—except that here and there a Federal anti-lynch law was recommended. That would be, I am convinced, a fatal mistake. My feeling is that the individuals in my county did not enjoy lynching as a spectacle and did not desire lynching, although no court proceedings followed the affairs.

"Some fundamental and positive measures should be carried out to provide an alternative for mob frenzy and—this is important—to convince the country people that there are effective ways of quick legal action. In this time of great united undertakings, aided by large sums of money subscribed by the people or allotted by great foundations or by groups of noble men and women, would it be impracticable to carry out a clearly thought out campaign to modify state criminal laws for the trial of persons accused of the principal crimes for which people are now so frequently executed without hearing or trial?

"Difficult, of course, and it doubtless would involve changing the constitutions of states and of the United States. But would it be as difficult and as costly, for example, as the campaign for prohibition or the campaign against prohibition? Of course, the direct appeals—through school books, Sunday schools, churches, the bar and the press—should be written and carried out, as a rule, by men and women of the states where lynchings are most frequent. There is no doubt that there are such men and women willing to undertake the task.

"WILLIAM C. RIVERS,
Major General, U. S. A. (retired)
"New York, Dec. 16, 1933."

Gallatin, Tenn., News
December 28, 1933

American Bar Association Stand Against Crime

The American Bar Association is undertaking a comprehensive survey of the problems of law enforcement, presumedly incited to action by the lynchings and other lawlessnesses that have occurred in several states recently.

It is a subject of unhappy comment that the votaries of our legal system wait for lawless mobs to shock their sensibilities into action. But "'twere ever thus." It appears to be the way of progress that we lock the stable door after the horse has been stolen.

Lawlessness has been rampant in the large metropolitan centers for several years. Gangsters, racketeers, kidnappers, and murderers have terrorized these communities. The local legal machinery has proved impotent to bring them to justice. Many local law-enforcement agents have become so inert, feeble and callous to crime in their midst that a movement is growing in favor of invoking federal proceedings.

Some go so far as to declare that the states should be deprived of the police power by constitutional amendment. Others believe that lynchers can be brought to justice when the state enforcement breaks down. They cite the Congressional Act of 1870, which makes it a misdemeanor for an officer of the law in any state to permit a citizen to be deprived of the right to person or property.

The American Bar Association is directing its movement not only against lynching and other lawlessness, but is attacking abuses in the administration of the law. After completing its survey the Association will set forth clearly a program whereby desired changes may be effected.

Such questions as the following will be studied: the relation between politics and crime; activities of lawyers who are employed by the underworld; racketeers and their extortions from business concerns; court methods in disposing of criminal cases; zeal and efficiency of prosecuting officers; crime in relation to its detection and prevention by police officers, etc.

This movement deserves the cooperation of every lawyer in the country in arriving at the facts. There is plenty of opportunity for public spirited citizens to play their part, not only in developing a workable program, but in executing it after it is set up. Our juries can be greatly strengthened if intelligent, high standing citizens will evince a greater interest in serving on them.

In England lynching is scarcely known. There it is not necessary to deter the acts of the criminal by fear of mob violence. The criminal minded in England fear the quick trial and summary punishment in the courts under a criminal code that protects the people in their homes and daily walks of life. If our states could evolve a criminal procedure quite as efficient, then there will be no excuse for the people to resort to a violation of the law in order to punish wrongdoers.

NASHVILLE, TENN.
EVE. TENNESSEAN
DEC 30 1933

Communications

LYNCHING ACTION URGED

The following letter to Judge John R. Aust, chairman of the Central Law Enforcement Committee, has been submitted to The Evening Tennessean by its author, Dr. Albert Barnett of Scarritt College:

Dec. 29, 1933.

My Dear Judge Aust: Ten years ago, during the first year of my residence in Nashville, a 'teen age negro boy, fatally wounded and chained to a hospital bed, was taken from the hospital by a gang of men and murdered. There were mass meetings to condemn the deed, eloquent resolutions passed, vigorous editorials in the local papers, rewards offered for the apprehension of the guilty—then a sudden cessation of such activities and never an effective move to really bring these criminals to the bar of justice. The futility of that procedure served only to increase popular contempt for law, and the lynching of Cordie Cheek, another 'teen age negro boy, is the logical sequel.

In this latter case we have had the usual mass meetings, resolutions, editorials, offer of rewards et cetera. But thus far nothing sufficiently definite has been done to strike terror into the hearts of the murderers of Cordie Cheek. One grand jury has already adjourned in Davidson County without any indictments. I attended the meeting at the First Presbyterian Church on the 27th, and while thoroughly approving what was done there, nevertheless was convinced that until we get beyond the "resolutions stage" nothing really effective can be accomplished. Talking with a prominent citizen afterwards who did not attend this meeting, I was made to feel the insufficiency of what had been done when he said, "Resolutions are as far as they will go. We will have a repetition of the fiasco of 1924. They know who the guilty are in this case as they probably did in that former case, but they do not seriously intend to bring them to justice." I am personally more optimistic than my acquaintance, but I am exceedingly anxious to see concrete steps formulated and taken for actually doing something.

According to the statements recently published in both Nashville papers and purporting to represent the sentiment of the sheriff of Maury County, nothing can be expected from Maury County officials in the prosecution of this case. It is improbable that Davidson County officials will put forth any extraordinary efforts, judging from past records. My conviction, therefore, is that a special prosecutor appointed by the governor or employed by a fund raised by popular subscription and charged with responsibility for this case would represent a tangible expression of real intention to see justice done and would be a guarantee that justice would be done.

Furthermore, if statements credited to the sheriff of Maury County in the Nashville papers are correct his fitness for office is highly questionable. For Governor McAlister to order an investigation looking toward ouster proceedings against the sheriff of Maury County, if the facts warrant it, would be as wholesome in its effect as the appointment of a special prosecutor. Sheriffs who condone lynching are mainly responsible for the continuance of the barbarity that it represents. The quickness with which Cordie Cheek was seized after being released from the Davidson County jail looks very much like the murderers were "tipped off" by someone in Maury County on the "inside of things." It is absurd to prate of the "majesty of the law" when the execution of law remains in the hands of officials who at least in public statement, whether in actual act or not, flout and disdain normal legal procedure!

In the third place, I believe that your committee would do a constructive service if it should advocate federal legislation on lynching. A federal law automatically vacating the office of sheriff in a county where a lynching takes place and assessing a fine of $10,000 against the county itself, the proceeds of the fine to go to the family of the lynching victim, would forever stop lynching. In all likelihood, Cordie Cheek would not

have been lynched had such a law been in force on December 15th. There is no difference between kidnaping and lynching, except that in the former case the victims are usually wealthy and prominent while in the latter they are usually poor and defenceless! There is more reason for a federal anti-lynching law than for a federal anti-kidnaping law, if frequency of occurrence, brutality of execution, and contempt for law are valid criteria. There have been over five thousand lynchings in this country since 1880 and local state government has never manifested its effectiveness for ending this form of lawlessness or punishing those who indulge in it. A bill will be introduced into the next session of Congress looking toward federal legislation against lynching. Will not your committee approve this move and proceed to create public sentiment favoring it?

With every assurance of my confidence in you personally and in the good faith of your committee and with a sincere wish to cooperate with your committee by the contribution of money or otherwise to the end that the murderers of Cordie Cheek be brought to speedy justice, I am

Respectfully,
ALBERT E. BARNETT.

EL PASO TEX.
HERALD

DEC 26 1933

4000 LYNCHED IN 50 YEARS

By M. E. TRACY

I AM moved to testify in this lynching round-table, not as a partisan of either side, but as a mere observer who finds public indifference much more interesting and much more significan than the excitable outpourings of a shocked minority.

On the very same day that those 80-odd horrified authors registered their protest with the New York World-Telegram over Mr. Pegler's column anent the San Jose affair, a young negro was lynched in Tennessee. From every moral standpoint, his execution at the hands of a mob was far less excusable than was that of the two murdering kidnapers in California. A grand jury had freed him after investigating his case and, according to law, he should have been allowed to pursue the even tenor of his way unmolested. The neighbors did not feel that way about it, but instead of raising a rucus they performed the miserable business with quiet efficiency. The sheriff had no idea that anything of the kind was contemplated until he received a telephone call advising him that he would find a dead man hanging to the limb of a cedar tree at such and such a place on the road. The governor of Tennessee made no statement, the discovery was heralded with no four-column heads and, curiously enough, no storm of indignation broke out in other parts of the country.

One finds it hard to escape the conclusion that our moral risibilities are more apt to be affected by the technique than the act. Admitting that the San Jose mob had little choice in the matter, since it was confronted with the task of battering down jail doors and rushing a large force of deputies, Gov. Rolph's technique was sloppy. He should have fumed and threatened, ordered the district attorney to start an investigation, called for a special grand jury, marshaled a company or two of the national guard and drawn a blank. That would have satisfied our hunger for lip righteousness, even though it left the situation exactly where it is.

Wise politicians pay strict attention to the demand for vocal idealism, yelling for peace while they build battleships, ballyhooing international trade while they boost tariffs, condemning lynch law while they do little or nothing to stop it. They realize how blind we can be to acts if the phrases are right, how easily we can be misled by slogans, how completely we can be fooled as to the presence of graft if the head of the city or state only declares himself against it. It is taken for granted that a heroic defense of the San Jose jail was made, though, as far as I can find out, no member of the mob was injured

• • •

During the last half century, more than four thousand persons have been lynched in this country, more than one thousand of them white. The devilish custom reached its peak in 1892, when a total of 255 died at the hands of mobs. Practically nothing was done in a legal way to suppress or punish mobs, yet the number of lynchings gradually diminished until it was only 10 in the year 1929. Since that time it has shown a tendency to increase. To some extent this may be due to the effects of depression, but a far more logical explanation is to be found in the various forms of lawlessness which have manifested themselves during the last decade—the rise of rackets, the revolt against prohibition, the breakdown of law-enforcing machinery and the resulting nervousness.

ABILENE, TEX.
NEWS

NOV 29 1933

Lynch Law Geography.

Alabama has the laugh on other states now. It used to bear a hard name for lynching, but just now it is engaged in the orderly trial—for the third time—of a group of negroes accused of what Alabama and the South generally consider the blackest crime. Alabama has used its troops to see that the accused were given their constitutional right of trial by jury.

Meantime the state of California puts on a mob act that made many of the Southern affairs seem tame. The governor of California put his approval on the lynching of two young white men, promised lynchers in future full pardon if they confine their activities to kidnapers.

In Maryland, home state of that arch-baiter of the Bible Belt, Henry L. Mencken, held the stage yesterday. State troops who were sent to Salisbury to arrest alleged members of a mob which recently lynched a negro were set upon by an infuriated mob of Marylanders, who drove the troopers into an armory and finally compelled them to depart as fast as their trucks would carry them. The mobsters then went to a hotel to search out newspaper reporters, but the pencil-pushers managed to get away. Local authorities in Maryland had refused to arrest members of the original mob, and yesterday's action was at the direction of Governor Ritchie, whose attitude toward mob rule is somewhat different from that of Governor Rolph of California.

In high-brow Boston a few days ago police used their clubs to prevent the lynching of a German professor who attempted to make a pro-Hitler speech and was surrounded by a mob of 5,000 persons.

Mob law knows no geography. Fortunately, California has the only governor who openly condones a lynching-bee.

ATHENS, GA.
BANNER HERALD

NOV 27 1933

CONDEMNING LYNCHING

Before adjournment of the Georgia Baptist Convention, in Augusta, last week, a number of timely resolutions were read and adopted. Chief among the resolutions, condemning vice, crime and modern day social practices, a resolution bearing on lynchings was timely and appropriate for the occasion. While the number of lynchings committed this year has not shown any material increase over the number for last year, yet cognizance of the crime by an organization of the influence of the Georgia Baptist delegates, is bound to have an influence for checking and reducing the number of such outrages.

The resolution as adopted by that convention, reads:

"Our courts are able to mete out swift punishment for criminals and the law should be allowed to take its course."

"Lynching is a barbarous crime and the lawless and murderous tendency to thus take the law into one's own hands should be vigilantly opposed by all law-abiding citizens. And every perpetrator in the crime of lynching should be apprehended and brought to trial."

If all the church denominations and civic organizations would follow up the lead of the Baptist of Georgia, the evil would soon be eradicated. While crimes that cause lynching are of the henious type; crimes that stir the very soul of men into action, yet the law should be preserved and the guilty given a trial and on conviction, the extreme penalty should be imposed by the courts. Not until the law is enforced and the courts moved up to speedy trials will the crime of lynchings be entirely wiped out. The dilly-dallying court procedure in Alabama in the trial of the Scottboro negroes was responsible, in a great measure if not entirely, for the lynchings that have occurred in that state during the past few months.

Lynchings - 1933
Discussions

White Press, Southern

3998

St. Petersburg, Fla. Independent
December 11, 1933

Lynching Innocent Persons.

While a Georgia council of southern women was meeting in Atlanta Friday to discuss prevention of lynching, a mob was burning the body of a negro at Kountze, Texas, adding one more to the score for Texas on the list that the women were analyzing. Aside from this last Texas case, the council reported a total of twenty-seven lynchings this year, with four each in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina. Florida has a clean slate thus far this year. Other southern states on the list were Mississippi with three lynchings and Tennessee with two. In the north and west were Maryland, Missouri and California with one each.

Governor Rolph's surrender to the mob was of course noted and condemned, and a report from the executive director of the council had additional significance, in view of the Californian's declaration that mobs could be left to do justice. This report consisted of an analysis of each of the twenty-seven lynchings of the year, with an effort to determine just what would have happened if the cases had reached the courts. The probable penalties under the law, had the victims been proved guilty, would have been as follows: nine would have been death, five imprisonment, one possible imprisonment, seven fined, and five no punishment.

On the basis of this study, about one half of the persons killed by the mobs this year were either innocent or guilty of minor violations subject to fine only. Allowing room for error of judgment, there still would be ample reason to assume that blood-thirsty mobs lynched a number of innocent persons in their ravages this year. The Atlanta report is a study of cases by Georgia women, and not a report from some northern society.

This half and half division of guilty and innocent persons killed is, moreover, a natural division. Blind passion has about one chance in two in being right, if the alternative is between guilt and innocence. That would be according to the law of averages in taking a gambling chance, and yet, strange to say, there are adult persons, including editors of some newspapers, who condone mob violence on the assumption that a mob has intelligence enough to do justice. Both reason and statistics contradict that.

The Georgia council postponed until next month the consideration of a federal law against lynching. That should be well considered before recommendation. Serious as is the crime of lynching, it nevertheless seems to be a problem for the states to work out themselves. Intrusion of the federal government, with the possibility of the use of troops to enforce a federal law, would seem to be an ineffectual approach to the matter, and might indeed make it worse.

And speaking of Governor Sholtz' latest blast on the schools, and the breakdown in teachers' salaries, the Orlando Sentinel asks: "Why should a man or woman seek such a career when the state offers starvation wages for educators of our future citizens, and on the other hand is twice as generous with guards who look after our convicts who maintain the roads?" That is a question that young people undoubtedly are pondering, and the future of education is bound up with it.

Vicksburg, Miss. Herald
December 30, 1933

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THE DANGER OF MOB VIOLENCE

Some of our good editor friends are wondering what the reaction will be to the California lynching horror—if the people of this country will condone the lynching of kidnapers or will seek to break up this lowest of crime rackets through the police force of the nation.

No one need await the verdict of the people on lynchings, whether they occur in California or elsewhere. The sentiment of the people will be overwhelmingly against mob violence. Thoughtful citizens will oppose mob violence whenever and wherever it occurs, for they know the danger to life and liberty that lurks in letting the mob spirit run riot.

We are not concerned over what the reaction of the people to the California lynching will be. We are concerned over what effect it will have at large when condoned and praised by the governor of California.

The admitted fear of other communities in California that a lynching may occur in their midst owing to the excited condition of the people, and the wrecking of a county jail at St. Joseph, Missouri, to seize a negro, lynch him and burn his body, are disturbing events that demand sober attention.

The widely public utterance of Governor Rolph, of California, in which he lauded the lynching of the two kidnapers and slayers of young Hart, is very likely to lead to lynchings and serious trouble in more cases than one.

It is to be hoped that the determined action of Gov. Ritchie, of Maryland in which he used troops to arrest four members of a band of nine lynchers of a negro, will largely counteract the serious harm done to law and order by the miserable stand taken by Governor Rolph.

If every state in the union had a governor with the understanding and high sense of duty exhibited by the Maryland governor lynchings would be few and far between. Once let mobs understand that when community police force is overpowered they will have the militia to deal with there will be an end to mob violence.

The mob spirit must not be allowed to grow in America. Every state and every community that realize the necessity of crushing the mob can do no less than take the position Gov. Ritchie takes.

Gov. Park of Missouri, who ordered out a National Guard tank company, but which proved unable to cope with the huge mob that lynched Lloyd Warner at St. Joseph, says:

Mob violence whether in punishment of crime or in attempt to obtain alleged civil rights is always wrong and destructive of good government. To condone such offense is to encourage lawlessness, deny efficiency of the courts and the power of constituted authority.

Nashville, Tenn. Tennessean
December 23, 1933

Lynching Should Be Made U. S. Offense, Asserts Rabbi Mark

Advocating that lynching be made a Federal offense and calling for public sentiment against "this vile form of collective murder," Rabbi Julius Mark last night in the Vine Street temple spoke on the subject "Governor McAlister Says: 'The Mob Shall Not Rule in Tennessee.'"

Rabbi Mark began his address with an apt Biblical illustration "A very curious story is related in the 21st chapter of the book of Deuteronomy. The body of a murdered man has been found and no one knows who has committed the crime. Thereupon, the elders of the city nearest the spot where the body has been found come together and slaughter a heifer. Then they wash their hands and say: 'Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it. Forgive, O Lord . . . thy people . . . and suffer not innocent blood to remain in their midst.'

"What is the meaning of this ceremony? An interesting explanation is found in that great commentary on the Bible, called the Talmud The question there raised is: 'Why should the elders, the good people, the respected and prominent people of the community say that they have not killed that man? Why shouldn't the robbers and gangsters and cutthroats of the city be assembled and swear that they had not done it?' The answer is: for everything that happens in a community the best people, and not the worst, are responsible.'"

Referring to the recent lynching in Maury county of Cordie Cheek, 19-year-old negro, Rabbi Mark said, "Those responsible should be punished and meetings of citizens throughout the state should be held, condemning lynching as a challenge not only to the majesty of the law, but to every humanitarian feeling."

Rabbi Mark offered three suggestions for action against lynching. Urging that it be made a federal offense, he said, "It is a well known fact that criminals have little fear of local and state laws, but they stand in dread of government officials."

"It is also beyond question," he added, "that the Federal authorities are less swayed by local passions than state and community officials.

"Secondly, speeding up the processes of justice so that criminals may be more certainly apprehended and made to feel the penalty of the law.

"Thirdly, and this is the most important of all," Rabbi Mark concluded, "public opinion must be aroused against this 'vile form of collective murder,' as President Roosevelt called it. It goes without saying that no law is effective, no punishment, drastic though it may be, is a deterrent, if the public sentiment and public feeling are not behind it."

Huntsville, Ala., Times
November 26, 1933

Study Lynching Laws

The Department of Justice is secretly studying the question of its jurisdiction in investigating lynchings, with special reference to recent ones at Tuscaloosa, Ala., and Princess Anne, Md. Col. Louis M. Howe, Roosevelt's secretary, is responsible for that.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
STATE
OCT 17 1933

Where Mobs Fail.

"When a crowd began to gather about the jail, the sheriff took his rifle and went to meet them. He opened the jail yard gate and dared the crowd to enter.

"'You will have to kill me to get in here,' he told them. Two deputies stood behind the sheriff. The mob hesitated and soon dispersed."

There were some seventy-five men in this mob that had come to demand

a Negro prisoner.

This sheriff, somehow or other, did not happen to have business just then in an entirely different section of the county. Neither did he tell the mob to come back at night. Nor did a deputy or jailer refer the assailants to a higher official on the question of surrendering the prisoner. Nor did it just so befall that the mob found the legally constituted guardian of the prisoner unarmed and took the keys from him.

No, the sheriff, sworn to uphold the law and to guard prisoners held by the law, was ready to defend his charge. He did not argue with the mob. He faced them, and used language that mobs respect. He made nor offered terms. He simply placed his life between them and his prisoner, but he let them know that he would sell his life dear.

Mobs are notoriously cowardly. Those constituting this one no exception to the rule. They could not face that rifle in the hands of that kind of officer. The seventy-five before the firm stand of three defenders of the law "hesitated and dispersed."

This was not in South Carolina where a "mob" of four or six has been known to get its man, but at Thibodaux, La., where just a day or two ago Sheriff Thomas Stark and his two deputies prevented a lynching.

There has been in South Carolina too, on occasions, heroic defense of prisoners by officers of the law in the face of threats of mob violence. Mobs are the same everywhere. In South Carolina or in Louisiana they fail before a courageous and determined stand by the properly ordained guardians of the law.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.
NEWS

DEC 28 1933

MEASURES AGAINST LYNCHERS

It seems as though mobs in a number of states had conspired to reduce to an absurdity the proposition that lynching is desirable or defensible. Whatever has been said for the lynchings in San Jose—that they were committed by outraged citizens; that they expressed desperation at the inadequacy of criminal process in California—this could hardly apply to the sudden, almost simultaneous, outbreak of lynching in a number of other states. It could not be said in defense of lynchings seemingly inspired by popular prejudice or by the mere desire for frenzied excitement. Gov. Murray of Oklahoma, whose theatricals do not prevent his being pretty pointed and purposeful at times, has declared in plain terms that he does not mean to have any lynching in Oklahoma. In St. Joseph, Mo., Circuit Judge Gaddy has just told a special grand jury that persons found to have had a part in the lynching of a negro on Nov. 28 should be indicted for murder in the first degree. That sort of course will quickly check the impression that participation in the lawless killing of a man is an easy way to gather glory and to have a day's entertainment without cost.—Brooklyn Eagle.

WILMINGTON, N. C.
STAR

OCT 18 1933

ANOTHER PHASE

At Ninety-Six, S. C. a negro was taken from jail and beaten to death, and the matter now brings up the legal point of whether he was lynched. Under South Carolina statutes, the family of a person dying from mob violence is entitled to not less than $200 from the county in which such violence occurs.

In this instance, the widow of the slain negro has instituted proceedings against Greenwood county, but the legal advisor of that sub-division has served notice of raising the point that this crime did not constitute a lynching.

At this distance from Greenwood, the question is of no particular interest, but the splitting of legal hairs will inevitably pique the lay curiosity.

The word "jail" as used to describe Ninety's Six's prison is perhaps a misnomer. As we recall South Carolina, only county seats and cities have jails, and Ninety-Six is neither. Most probably then the prison described as a "jail" is what the small towners know as a "guardhouse," usually a tiny bandbox of an affair difficult to open either from inside or outside.

In that event it would seem that some responsibility rests upon those who left a man, against whom there was a possibility of violence, in a prison neither guarded by police nor occupied by a regular keeper.

Regardless of what the law may rule on the finer points of difference betwen a lynching and an ordinary murder, this circumstance should be given some attention.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
RECORD

DEC 30 1933

THE INNOCENT AND THE GUILTY.

There is a moral to the story out of Maryland of how a 16-year-old white girl on whose identification two negroes were jailed on a charge of kidnaping, has now been arrested for perjury.

The girl, according to the Maryland state's attorney investigating the case, has now admitted that her identification of the two negroes was false and has confessed even that the whole kidnaping story was invented as an explanation for her being out late. She was afraid of being punished, she said.

It supplies a perfect example of the danger of lynching mobs' going wrong. Kidnaping is a crime that seems to arouse the lynching spirit and the "positive" identification by a 16-year-old white girl of two negroes as her kidnapers is more evidence than lynchers usually ask for or get. There are communities in which the two negroes would have been dead long before the girl's story could have been investigated and it could have been discovered that she was afraid of being punished herself for staying out a bit late, but apparently had no compunction about seeing two negroes punished for something that never happened.

The one argument advanced in defense of the California lynching—it is the defense advanced by Westbrook Pegler, the former sports writer now turned columnist in the Scripps-Howard papers as a sort of foil to the liberal Heywood Broun—is that lynchings leave "no chance for a failure of justice."

"But all the time," Pegler wrote, "the two men who kidnaped the young fellow and took him out on a bridge where they knocked him on the head with a concrete block and threw him into the water are permanently dead. They did it, and they got theirs, and however hard the storm of right-mindedness may blow up, one certain thing is that no lawyer is ever going to get them loose on a writ of habeas corpus or a writ of error based on the fact that some stenographer, in typing the indictment, hit a comma instead of a semi-colon. Neither is any Len Small, come to the governor's office ten or fifteen years later, going to turn them loose in payment for some service which some hoodlum politician performed for him in the last election or might perform in the next. Not even Ma Ferguson can pardon a corpse.

"The fine theory of all expressions of horror and indignation is that punishment is not supposed to be vengeance but a protective business, whereas the rabble, which constitutes by far the greatest element of the population, wants to make the murderer suffer as the victim or his family did. And, though they would be willing to let the law do it for them if the law could be relied upon, they know too well what lawyers will do when they get a chance to invoke a lot of legal technicalities which were written and passed by lawyers to provide lawyers with opportunities to make money."

There is something of course in Pegler's argument. The law's delays and the legal and executive clemency loopholes encourage lynching, but they do not excuse it and Pegler simply doesn't know what he is talking about when he argues that there is "no chance for a failure of justice." That is the great trouble with mobs; they are always liable to get the wrong man and the mob spirit once a community surrenders to it tends to run away with itself. One day a mob lynches a guilty slayer; the next week it takes upon itself the punishment of men whose only crime may be the desire to assist in organizing a labor union.

The courts, the jury system and the code of criminal procedure are imperfect instruments and judges and juries make mistakes. Governors may be too generous with the state's pardoning power. But the remedy is the reform of court procedure and the curbing of the power of pardon to make more certain the speedy trial, conviction and punishment of the guilty. To surrender law enforcement to that element that runs in mobs, the fellows who glory in their participation in what President Roosevelt calls "that vile form of collective murder," is like cutting off your head to get rid of a bad cold. It is the negation of law enforcement, the suicide of orderly government.

And it is still important that law enforcement and orderly government be maintained. It is important that the innocent shall be protected as well as the guilty punished.

Lynchings - 1933

Discussions.

White Press, Southern

3999

Former Atlanta Newspaperman Tells of Escape From Maryland Mob

Eddie Gilmore of the Washington Daily News staff was one of the reporters driven from Salisbury, Md., this afternoon by a mob bent on revenging the arrest of four citizens on mob charges. Gilmore is a former Atlanta newspaperman and theater executive. His story of the eastern shore rebellion against state troops follows:

By EDDIE GILMORE.

(Written For the United Press.)

(Copyright, 1933, by the United Press.)

WASHINGTON, Nov. 28.—(UP) I now know what it feels like to have a mob get after you.

I have just returned from Salisbury, Md., after a gang of about 500 angry men stormed the Wicomico hotel there, demanding that the manager turn over to them seven newspapermen and photographers, who had stayed behind to send news stories to their papers.

After the infuriated mob members finally forced armed soldiers to leave Salisbury in a hail of curses and brickbats, they turned on us. I was just finishing my story over the telephone when the hotel manager stuck his scared face into the booth.

" 'Get out quick!' " he said. 'They're coming after you fellows.' I slipped out of the booth and went into the manager's office. About that time a group of men rushed up to the desk.

" 'We want those newspapermen,' " one of the mob demanded.

"They are not here—they've gone," the manager stammered.

I backed into a small clothes closet.

"We don't believe it," said the mob leader, "and we're coming back."

I held my breath. It seemed like about five minutes.

Finally the manager tugged at my coat.

"Get upstairs to 318 in a hurry," he said.

I ran for all I was worth.

Inside the room I found Bill Peake, reporter for the Washington Herald; Fred Cole, Washington News photographer; Gaines Monk, of the Washington Post; Jack Wilcox, of the Philadelphia Bulletin, and a couple more I didn't know. One was a Philadelphia photographer. His face was beaten.

"Keep away from the window," one of the boys whispered.

Outside, three floors below, you could hear the mob yelling for us.

"We want those newspaper guys," they shouted.

We looked at one another and smiled—sort of a sickly smile.

"The troops have gone," Bill Peake said.

"And the state police, too," someone else added.

"Then it's just us," said a photographer.

All the time the shouting outside was getting louder. We presumed the mob was increasing in number, but we didn't dare look.

"Burn their cars," we hear them yell.

Things were getting pretty bad.

"I'm going to call Governor Ritchie," I said. "That gang will get in here soon."

I picked up the phone.

"Long distance," I asked.

"I'm sorry," said the hotel operator, "we can't connect you outside."

"Anyhow," she whispered, "some of the mob are at telephone headquarters. They'll hear you."

I hung up.

"We've got to do something," said Monk.

About that time a bell boy knocked at the door.

"Boys," he said, "you all had better get in another room. I think them folks done seen you in heah."

Part of us went across the hall. The other bunch went farther down the hall. Then we waited.

Outside we could hear them chopping something. Fred Cole peeped out.

"They're chopping up and burning my car," he said.

"And my overcoat," I added.

We looked out of the back window. The mob had swarmed back there. They were pretty tough looking and determined.

The yelling and cursing was on in full blast in the street.

The hotel corridor was very quiet.

About 10 minutes later another bell boy came back.

"Come up to the seventh floor," he said. He looked scared.

On the seventh floor we were met by the manager.

"Get in here, boys," he said. "It's the ladies rest room."

We piled in.

"Now, listen," he continued. "This thing's getting pretty bad, but we're telling them that you have all gone. We've checked you out and all that but the mob is still suspicious.

"What," asked a Baltimore photographer, "do you think they would do to us if they caught us?"

The manager smiled.

"Give you a good beating," he answered. "I don't think it would be any worse than that."

I decided to make a break for the airport. Freddie Cole pushed two photographic plates into my pants, hiding them under my vest and coat. I handed someone my press card. One of the boys in the room had some insurance policies that belonged to his family.

"Take these," he said, "and if they stop you, tell 'em you sell insurance."

I took them.

With the manager I walked downstairs. There were a lot of people milling about. Of course, I imagined everyone of them was a mobber. I waited for 10 minutes. Then the manager eased up and said:

"There's a taxi driver outside. He won't pick up here. It's too dangerous. You walk down the street and hop on his cab at the corner."

"Goodbye," he smiled, "and good luck."

He shoved me down the street and I made my way to the taxi. I arrived safely at the airport a few minutes later and took a plane back to Washington.

By The Associated Press.

Missouri moved yesterday to fix responsibility for the lynching of a negro at St. Joseph as four men, suspected of participating in a Maryland lynching, were released in Princess Anne on writs of habeas corpus.

Governor Guy B. Park, of Missouri dispatched an assistant attorney-general to St. Joseph to investigate the hanging of Lloyd Warner, 19, who had confessed attacking a white girl. The governor declared there was "no justification" for the mob's action Tuesday night in storming the jail and hanging the prisoner to a tree near the court house.

At Princess Anne the four men whose arrest Tuesday by national guardsmen as members of the mob that lynched a negro a month ago brought on a riot were freed and amid cheers as a judge held there was "insufficient evidence" to hold them.

Messages of praise and condemnation continued to come to Governor James Rolph Jr., of California, regarding his expressed approval of the lynching at San Jose Sunday night of the two confessed abductors and slayers of Brooke Hart. The governor received 159 messages expressing approval; 33 disapproving.

The name of former President Herbert Hoover was among others affixed to a statement issued in San Francisco condemning the San Jose lynching and the "laudation of the deed" by Governor Rolph.

At Kennett, Mo., Sheriff Thomas F. Donaldson spirited out of town, C. D. Ward, 23, a negro, just sentenced to death for assaulting two white women. Authorities said they expected no trouble but took their prisoner to an unannounced place for safe-keeping.

THE CALIFORNIA LYNCHING.

As inexcusable as lynching is under any circumstances, it must be said in behalf of the people of California that if ever a lynching was justified the one taking place in San Jose Sunday night was.

It was the penalty for as heinous, cold-blooded and brutal crime as was ever committed. It combined the worst features of kidnaping and deliberate murder.

At a time when the country is inflamed over kidnap outrages the California outrage reached the ultimate in depravity in that its perpetrators deliberately planned the extortion of money from a frenzied family after they had thrown their victim's weighted body into the bay.

It is not surprising that the crime, committed against a promising and widely respected youth, should have so aroused public opinion that a mob estimated at more than 5,000 men and women should have taken the law into their hands and strung the confessed prisoners to trees in the center of a public park near the scene of the kidnaping.

The regrettable California outbreak proves, as has often been proven in the past, that when unusually provocative crimes are committed, the outraged citizenship of any section will be stirred to the extent of retaliation by the effort to take the law in their own hands.

Lynchings are deplorable from every standpoint, but there are crimes, brutal and revolting in nature, that are certain to arouse the passions of even so high type a citizenship as that of California.

OUR INADEQUATE ARMY.

The people of no nation in the world are more opposed to an over-large military establishment than those of the United States, but the warning of General MacArthur that the American army is now 17th in world-relative strength is certain to result in general approval of his recommendations looking to the bolstering of the various branches of our armed land forces.

In the chief of staff's opinion the army strength is now "below the danger line," and he urges an increase in enlisted men from the present 120,000 to 165,000, the expenditure of $200,000,000 on aircraft, modernization and motorization of the field artillery, mechanization and anti-aircraft equipment, improved training for the national guard, the maintenance of 120,000 reserve officers eligible for active duty training and the restoration of the 1932 instruction and personnel scale of the R. O. T. C. and C. M. T. C.

Undoubtedly the average American citizen favors the maintenance of all the country's armed forces on the most economical basis consonant with efficiency, but this does not mean that the American people would have our soldiers, sailors and marines reduced in number to such an extent that they will not be able to properly perform the peace time duties they are expected to render.

Congress will, of course, give serious consideration to General MacArthur's report. If it is found that he is correct in the opinion that our armed forces are below a point of safe efficiency, there can be no questioning the wisdom of the additional appropriation asked in the report.

There was mud slinging in ancient Pompei, says archaeologists. Even then politicians were doing each other dirt.

Americans must exercise patience, says an economist. But patience has long ago been given walking papers.

It may be a 70c dollar but it is not suffering from an inferiority complex.

Character that can be found on the bargain counter is the most expensive kind.

The only way to keep a farmer satisfied now is to pay the monthly installments on his car.

It looks like Uncle Sam is going to recognize Russia without somebody thinking up a slogan.

It's not peace time when the household discussion is over a fur piece.

The bullet-proof vest has been perfected, but none yet has been made that's soup-proof.

IN WHICH THE ADVERTISER SENDS FORTH CRUSADERS

Plainly, the International Labor Defense League and the League for Freedom of Political Prisoners are too busy these days recruiting eastern investigators to learn the truth about Alabama lynchings to bother much with the recent mob murders in Maryland, California, Missouri and elsewhere.

As a brand-new convert to the cult of

Far-Field Reformation, the Advertiser can now sympathize with its over-worked brethren among the diverse crusading societies.

The patriotic ladies and gentlemen who have been sending investigators to Alabama are faced with the grave problem of either: (1) moving their show from Alabama; (2) dividing their investigation bodies in quarters and trying to play ring master in the South, the West and the East; (3) recruiting additional investigators.

The Advertiser is glad to announce that it has found time, despite the rush business in the Pointing With Pride and Viewing With Alarm industry to come to the aid of these organizations interested in investigating lynchings away from home.

The Advertiser has organized two committees, one which it dispatched by airplane last night to California and one which is to leave Union Station at 5:45 a.m. tomorrow morning to learn the truth about the recent lynchings in the East. Nearly all members of The Advertiser's investigation committees are Alabamians and are charter members of the Association for the Freedom of Liberal Thinkers.

The gentleman heading our committee to investigate the lynching in California is the great-grandson of Col. Archibald O'Fritter, who was brutally murdered by California vigilantes when they found him playing with a branding iron in another man's cattle field. We were careful to choose a native Californian to head the investigation committee, so as to allay suspicion against outsiders. Committee Chairman O'Fritter has lived in Florida for the last 25 years but is still a true Californian in spirit, as he was born in Brooklyn only three years after his parents left the Western State.

Mr. O'Fritter is the author of "Brutality of the Westerners," "The Evils of Capital Punishment," and other books of scientific and economic nature. The committee chairman is accompanied by three Alabama liberals who had assurance of the innocence of the lynch victims before leaving as well as the names of 999 members of the mob.

Heading the Association for the Freedom of Liberal Thinkers' Committee to investigate the lynchings in Maryland and St. Joseph is Mr. Oscar McFlutter, who has prepared his findings in next week's investigation and plans to issue the report in pamphlet form at 25 cents the copy.

Mr. McFlutter has wired Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, demanding protection of all oppressed liberal thinkers in Maryland and has demanded an armed guard to protect the investigation committee which will be in danger the moment it sets foot in the State.

Meanwhile, the Montgomery headquarters of the Association for the Freedom of Liberal Thinkers will busy itself finding cases of prisoners charged with rape and murder in the East and in the West to which places it will send crusaders to carry on the good work.

Shame On California, Shame On Gov. Rolph!

The double lynching in California, with its attendant circumstances, was the most damnable instance of mob violence in this country in many years, and one of the most horrible. California should hang its head in shame; and while right now it does not seem to feel its disgrace, but rather, judging from the utterances of the more vociferous Californians, is actually exultant, California will yet be put to shame before the incident is forgotten. For this crime was so utterly indefensible. If ever people had reason to feel satisfaction in the orderly processes of law, they had it in this case. The day will come when California will rue this mad act.

As hideous and disgraceful as was the resort to barbarism and lawlessness, the lynching itself is overshadowed by the astounding attitude shown by Gov. James Rolph, Jr. Gov. Rolph does not merely condone the crime; he actually boasts of it as a "fine lesson to the whole nation." What lesson, pray, is the nation to take from it? Gov. Rolph himself would find it hard to explain what he meant by this absurd remark.

Gov. Rolph deserves all the denunciation he will get—and first and last he will get plenty of it—not only for his condonation of the lynching but for his willful failure to take measures to prevent it. He knew that the mob spirit was in the air at San Jose. He was appealed to by the local officials to send the militia to protect the prisoners. He refused to lend assistance, although the appeals of the San Jose officers seemed to be frantic. He would not turn his hand to save the situation. Plainly, he wanted the men lynched; and evidently he was convinced that they would be lynched. On Gov. Rolph, therefore, must be placed the chief blame for the crime. It was an atrocious performance on the part of the chief executive of a great state. It is possible to understand how a mob can run amok in a situation like that at San Jose. It is not possible to understand such an attitude on the part of a governor, the chief law enforcement officer of the state.

Alabama may not be in position to point the finger of scorn at California so far as lynchings are concerned. But Gov. Rolph has put upon his state a disgrace which Alabama, thank heaven, has not known. Alabama has had its lynchings; but our governors have not condoned them. On the contrary, governors of Alabama have consistently stood for law and order, and, when a lynching has occurred, condemned the crime vigorously and earnestly. Alabama's governors have set a good example in this respect and done what they could to strengthen public opinion against lynching.

California has one reason to be proud, although it is not the one which is the cause of the exultation on the part of Gov. Rolph and other Californians who feel as he does. The state can really be proud of the part that its law enforcement officers in San Jose played in this case. In the first place, the officers were quick to make the arrests in the Hart kidnaping case and to obtain confessions from the two prisoners. In the second place, they manfully stood their ground in the face of the mob and fought the lynchers off for hours, at the pain of physical injury to themselves, until they were overpowered by the force of greater numbers. They did their duty bravely.

Consider the speed and efficiency with which the officers worked in making the arrests and obtaining the confessions. Within a week after the kidnaping and murder of young Hart the guilty ones were under arrest, thanks to the alertness and ingenuity of the officers. A day or so later their confessions had been obtained. Their convictions were assured, and under the California law a sentence to death or life imprisonment without parole would have been automatic. No one can doubt that the prisoners would have been sentenced to death. What more in the way of speed and efficiency can anyone expect of the orderly processes of law? Surely that should have been enough to satisfy even the most inflamed of San Jose's citizens. Yet, the blood lust was too strong, and only a public lynching, in the presence of women and children, would satisfy the mob—and apparently that was the only thing that would satisfy Gov. Rolph.

Shame on California! Shame on Gov. Rolph!

PRAISE FOR GOV. ROLPH

To the Editor The News:

I read your editorial anent the double lynching in California entitled "Shame on California, Shame on Gov. Rolph." This is not the first time that you scorned lynchings, and perhaps not the last. Be that as it may, I wish to take issue with you.

Rape, kidnaping and other "rackets" are becoming entirely too numerous for any decent, respectable citizen to feel safe either at home or on the streets of any city, especially if you happen to be blessed with an abundance of money. What action, pray, have the courts of the country taken toward meting out justice to the families and the communities where these atrocities have been committed? The juries feel that their lives are endangered if they render a verdict which would stop these crimes; they are afraid of what might happen to their families, and why shouldn't they be? What protection has anyone against these organized criminals? Can the police of this or any community protect you? No, they can only do their part by arresting the culprits when they are found, but pray what good does that do to the injured family?

I wonder what you would do if your son or daughter was kidnaped and held for ransom, and then brutally murdered. Suppose your son was just in the flower of manhood, loved by those in his community, an outstanding citizen, the pride of your life, and some brute for no reason other than a lust for money kidnaped and murdered him. Would you be content to let him be tried by any jury? Even if he was found guilty and sentenced to a life in the penitentiary at hard labor, would that satisfy you? Would that return your son, and would not the same thing happen to someone else's boy or girl? Hasn't it continued unabated now for several years? Hasn't it grown worse in the last two years?

Thank God there are still some real red-blooded people in this country who will make an effort to stop these criminals when such criminals have absolutely ignored all law and order. The courts are no longer a scare to such barbarians, but the hangman's noose, ah, that's what causes them to stop and think twice before committing crimes that otherwise they would commit without a second thought. I say string them up when they are guilty of such fiendish crimes. As soon as we have more of such action we will have less kidnapings and brutal attacks on women and defenseless girls.

Three great big cheers for Gov. Rolph! May we have other governors who have the courage to stand up for the things that deep down in their hearts they know to be the only possible way to abolish fiendish crimes.

R. J. WILKINSON.

123 Windsor Drive, Homewood.

ALBANY, N. Y.
NEWS

DEC 29 1933

A Lynching Film

THE British are much stirred over an American news film reconstructing the scenes of a notorious murder and depicting the body of a lynched man hanging from a tree with a mob surrounding it. This was even discussed in the House of Commons and the film was withdrawn from exhibition in London.

We are rather glad in this country that Britons protested against such a picture. British good taste did not care for the gruesome details of a murder and that is to the credit of the Britons. Aside from that, however, we are not at all proud to have our murders shown and we are extremely ashamed that the English should view an actual picture of an American lynching. This crime has been a national blot for years and every time a lynching takes place in America the people of other nations refer to us in that old term of "uncivilized." And in that respect it is true, too true.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4000

Forest City, N. C. Courier
November 9, 1933

YANKEE LYNCHINGS

"Taken For a Ride," and "Put on the Spot," are Terms Used to Describe Northern Mob Murder. If it is Done in the South it is a Lynching.

Almost daily or nightly in the cities of Philadelphia, New York and Chicago the sidewalks or streets are spattered with the blood of human victims of mob violence. Those killed are usually murdered over money or disputes arising out of money. An examination of the statistics will show the extraordinary fact that while a Southerner never kills over a money dispute, money is the only thing that a Yankee will kill over. Those lynched in the North are generally thieves who have failed to divide up the stolen goods or who have "Told" on other thieves but this is not always the case. Sometimes officers of the law who have molested some criminal or have crimped the plans of some "Higher Up" pay for it with their lives at the hands of the mob.

This has become so common that the Yankee mind is accustomed to it. A mob murder in the street in Yankeeland causes no particular surprise or comment. It is a feature of life to which the people in the North are used. They call these gangs mobs, and the mobs kill their victims openly in the streets, usually in the night, but often in the broad day. No effort is made to avoid detection.

The method. A car ridden by a part of the mob passes along the street scouting the way and to make a clear front for the murder car which closely follows.. In the murder car is the killer with a machine gun. It is followed by another car closely for the purpose of preventing interference from the rear. When the victim is approached the killer opens up on him with the machine gun. Sometimes others are killed simply because they are in the way. In New York City the mob became so careless sometime ago that they killed little children in the street. This caused such an outcry that a bluff of hunting mobsters was carried on for several days. But from this the mob seemed to learn a lesson and they haye been careful not to shoot any more children so everything seems to be O. K. and the way clear for New York mobs to go ahead and operate as usual. The mob is never stopped in the act of murder and rarely ever followed after. They are almost never apprehended, or indicted, or punished. They have such a hold upon the population and the law enforcement authorities that though they may be known to hundreds they walk the streets in safety. It is a very rare thing to get any one to give evidence against these Yankee mobs though it is certain that hundreds see the crime. It is generally supposed in the North that the officers of the law are in league with these mobs, or are afraid of them, or believe it to be useless to bring them into court due to the fact that the courts fail to punish them. It is generally said in the North and generally believed that the politicians are allied with these criminal gangs and collect large sums from them for political purposes and as the administration of the law is in the hands of these politicians through their ability to control the selection and election of the public officials, it is easily seen why the difficulty in punishing a mob for a murder or any other crime. Fear of these Yankee mobs and their political influence hangs over the population of the Northern cities like a pall. From this Southerners may understand the reason why certain famous criminals have walked around free and big men in Yankeetown. And why others like them have done it and do do it. Certain kidnapping cases may be called to mind that made people wonder at the time.

So here we have a condition in the Northern states and cities where the instruments of society for the preservation of law and order, protection of the person of the citizen, and for the punishment of the violators of society's laws, do not function. Certain men and classes of men commit felony with impunity. They are safe afterward, and in some instances if not all, are protected by those officers of the law who are supposed to enforce the law. The ill gotten gains of these criminals are shared in many cases with the rulers of the people who therefore become the betrayers of the people. That murder may be done openly and no one punished, that it may be done again and again and no one punished, has a degrading effect upon the people. Great masses of the population in the North are cowed into abject fear or accessory guilt in regard to these frequent Yankee machine gun lynchings. And the fact that this condition is accepted as a matter of course not only shows the degrading effect, but the extent to which that degradation has proceeded in the North.

No condition comparable to this ever existed in any Southern state at any time, unless posibly for a short time during reconstruction, and if so, that was brought about by Yankee meddling and hate and the blame for it rests squarely upon them. If a lynching occurs anywhere in the South every Yankee from Philadelphia to Buffalo and from Boston to Pittsburgh springs upon his hind legs and hoots, He jeers, and scowls, and dances, and howls, and smiles with ghoulish glee. He cries, "The South is ignorant? The South is backward. The white people of the South will never be able to reach a high state of civilization? The white people of the South will never be accepted by the Yankees as the proper ones to govern the South? The South can not be trusted to handle its local affairs." The Yankee assumes the devine right to meddle in the affairs of the Southern negro as well as the Southern white. A lynching in the South serves the Yankee as an assumed excuse and is used as a vent for his inherited hate of the entire Southern population and all things Southern.

This Northern attitude is alike common to the descendants of the original Pennsylvania sectarian fanatics who would not let other sects and religious denominations build their churches on the front streets of Philadelphia, (a large part of which Pennysylvania population today belives in witchcraft), and the later as well as past generations of New England witch burners and pie stealers.

Intemperance of prejudice and toughness and persistance of sectional hate is a Yankee characteristic. And sectionalism, at least as far as the white people of the South is concerned, is nectar to his soul distilled in the cauldron of a jealous heart and flavored with the bitter condiment of the consciousness of moral and spiritual inferiority.

Lynchings occur in the South. Yes. But not many. And lynchings never occurred in the South before the negro came into contact with the Yankee. In all the recorded history of civilized mankind there is not an instance parallel to the poisonous effect the Yankee mind has had upon the negro mind. Not only that, the Yankees pick up the black fugitives from justice from the South and canonize them. The fact that they have committed a crime against the white man's law in the South seems to make them holy and heroic in the light of the Northern prejudice against everything Southern.

The peculiar and illuminating thing about this is that when a lynching occurs anywhere in a Southern state the Yankee press denounces and bemeans the entire Southern people. A thousand Yankee newspapers string it across the front page in heavy type. But when a negro criminal commits a crime in the South and is brought to trial in a Southern court of justice the entire South is denounced just the same The same papers string in heavy type denunciatory articles challenging the civilization of the Southern states.

The people of the Northern states and cities are not shocked by lynchings. God knows they have enough in their own country. It is not murder that shocks them. They think so little of murder that not twenty-five per cent of the murderers in their own land are ever punished. Many Yankee murderers are practically immune from Yankee law. It is that the Yankee mind and heart simply vibrates with hate of Southern white civilization. All of their subtlety and cunning can not hide this fact. And their eternal meddlesomeness in the present and the years of the past indicates that they would if they could substitute something else for the rule of the white man in the South. They long to do it. They hate the Southern people with the same hate they did when Sherman with an army of eighty thousand soldiers marched through defenseless Georgia, burning, stealing, hanging, murdering and destroying as he went with nothing in two hundred miles of him but the civilian population. But what, if

he could, would the Yankee substitute for the present white civilization of the Southern states? Emigrant Yankees? Yes? But he tried that in reconstruction days. The Southern people will be traitors to the very blood flowing in their veins if they ever forget it.

The Yankee honestly feels that he is the natural leader of the negro. That the negro is tied to him by ties of gratitude that will hold for generations. He has far less friendly human feeling for the negro than the Southerner has. But he has it in his head that negro rule means Yankee rule. Having no respect for the negro he would use him merely as an instrument of hate. Every Southern negro jail bird who flees northward is by degrees reduced to a lower state of degradation as a result of contact with the Yankee mind and becomes consciously or unconsciously in the end an enemy of his Southern negro brother and an instrument in the hands of a South hating peo[ple] for the purpose of meddling in Sou[th]ern affairs and making trouble [for] the races in the South.

Don't let the Southern negro th[ink] that the Yankee places him on a higher plane in his estimation th[an] he does any other race. The Yankee will marry a negro? Yes? But the Yankee plays no favorites; he will marry any race.

In the North they do not allow negro school teachers. Every negro child must go to school to a white Yankee teacher so that his mind can be properly poisoned.

—KENO KAW.

Raleigh, N. C., News & Observer
November 19, 1933

SILENCE OVER CRIME

Within a little more than a week three months will have passed since Dock Rogers, Negro, was lynched in North Carolina. Yet so far not one man has been arrested or charged with the crime, which was committed by a number of men within the sight of scores of witnesses. The time approaches for a frank avowal of failure, a frank statement that lawlessness and lynching are safe in North Carolina or some action to indicate that the sacredness of the law is important in this State.

Dock Rogers, who had been wounded by a posse, was taken from a truck in which officers were carrying him to Burgaw and riddled with bullets on the public highway. This occurred on the Sunday afternoon of August 27.

On August 31, Governor Ehringhaus instructed Solicitor Woodus Kellum to make every effort within the power of his office to apprehend persons responsible for the lynching. At the same time the Governor offered a reward for the lynchers.

A few days later, at a hearing before Judge Cranmer, the fact was definitely established that the killing was a lynching by men who took a wounded but still living man from the officers of the law.

Since that hearing nothing has happened.

It may be that Solicitor Kellum has been devoting the months which have passed to relentless efforts aimed at discovering the criminals. If so, it is to be hoped by those who cherish the good name of their State that these efforts will soon be rewarded and the lynchers arrested.

It is, however, possible that the silence means a relinquishment of the effort to punish those who put the law and the State's good name to scorn. The difficulties in securing evidence may be great, but the need to demonstrate that the law cannot be flouted in North Carolina is greater.

No lynching can be forgotten by a State which cherishes its reputation for justice and its determination that law and not lawlessness shall be supreme within its borders.

Who lynched Dock Rogers?

Which is supreme, the law of the State or men who kill in defiance of the law?

The time has come for answers to those questions from Solicitor Kellum and Pender county.

Savannah, Ga., News
October 21, 1933

MARYLAND'S LYNCHING CASE

Bordering upon the ridiculous are the efforts being made by the state committee of the Socialist party of Maryland to saddle upon Gov. Albert C. Ritchie the blame for the lynching of a negro in Princess Anne Wednesday night for assaulting an 81-year-old white farm woman. While the Morning News believes unswervingly in speedy justice in the courts for offenders of this class, rather than the exercise of mob rule even in apparently flagrant cases, yet the responsibility for the lynching should rest where it properly belongs.

Maryland's attorney general has stated that Governor Ritchie had no authority in the matter and that neither did the judge nor the state's attorney. He has stated that the sheriff is the only individual responsible for the custody of a prisoner and that when Sheriff Dougherty went to Baltimore to get the prisoner he was acting within his rights and neither the Governor nor anyone else could stop him, as the Maryland law does not give the Governor as much authority as do the laws of some other states.

Primarily, the responsibility rests with the mob itself, which stormed the jail and overpowered state police. No doubt the members of the mob, their passions inflamed by the horror of the crime, felt fully justified in their course of action and were determined to make an example of the man, without waiting for the slow machinery of the courts of law. But there is always the possibility of making a mistake in thus violating the constitutional rights of every man to a fair trial. In the Maryland case no mistake may have been made, but it is an extremely dangerous precedent to follow as it strikes at the very root of the principles upon which law and justice are founded.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
AGE HERALD

OCT 4 1933

Not The End

Though few will be surprised by the failure of the Tuscaloosa County Grand Jury to indict the persons guilty of the Harden and Pippen lynchings, many will deplore this confession of helplessness at a time when resolute and revealing action was specially needed. The upshot is that a great state having at its command enormous means for the detection and punishment of offenders who have brought so much discredit upon it now declares in effect that it is either unwilling or unable to deal effectively with this problem. There is little comfort in that realization for informed Alabamians.

There is little comfort in the Grand Jury's expression of confidence in Sheriff Shamblin. "Nothing in the investigation reflected on his integrity or ability as a law enforcement officer" is the way in which this particular feature of the Grand Jury's report is summarized in the dispatches. So far as this paper knows, no one has ever questioned the "integrity" of the sheriff. But it is quite a different matter, so far as his "ability" is concerned, at least as it was evidenced in events leading up to the lynchings. If the sheriff's men who accompanied those darkies were equal to their responsibility, the sheriff cannot be held at fault. But if that was not the case, the sheriff cannot escape all blame in this connection.

Somehow The Age-Herald cannot bring itself to believe that the sorry affair has thus reached its end in a sandy delta of Grand Jury platitudes. The new spirit evinced in Tuscaloosa leads one to believe that the force of an aroused public sentiment may yet make itself felt in a satisfactory handling of the Harden and Pippen killings. However much outside interference may have blown upon the flame of popular feeling, the fact remains that Alabama civilization was brutally assailed by the lynchers. Such an affront simply cannot be dismissed. It has already borne an evil fruit. It must be faced with courage and vision, if its lingering infection is not to continue harassing the life of the state.

Lancaster, S. C. News
December 29, 1933

A Fate That Was Invited

One incident has developed that gives pause to those who have sturdily opposed lynch law, and that is in the hanging of the two men who kidnaped and murdered the California boy. Their crime was one of unusual atrocity and heartlessness, and while we may decry the manner in which justice overtook them, we can have no sympathy with their fate. If there ever was a case of the mob taking the law into its own hands, that gave ground for debate, it was in this instance. There is a moral in it that may work to future good and that is —court action must be swifter and more sure. There have been too many loop holes for escape of the kidnaper, and continuance of this crime indicates that the kidnapers have but small fear of the law.

Furthermore, it is an argument for a National law imposing the death penalty on kidnapers, whether their victim is murdered or only held until ransom is paid and then restored to family and friends. The possibilities of kidnaping are too great to be compromised by a degree penalty. It should be death in all cases and only law of that kind will operate to the curbing of a practice become all too common in this country.

The performance by the San Jose mob was an extreme case in lawlessness and while it is to be condemned, it may at the same time serve as a warning to kidnapers that it is possible for an outraged people to step in before the courts can act. The lynching is to be condemned, but when it comes to controversy about the fate that overtook the inhuman murderers, the voice of protest is halted. It was a case of lawlessness justifying lawlessness.—Charlotte Observer.

Lynchings-1933 & Discussions-

White Press, Southern.

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Chattanooga, Tenn. Times
August 15, 1933

THE ALABAMA LYNCHINGS.

Three Negroes were wrested from officers in Alabama last Sunday while being taken from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham for safekeeping, and the bullet-riddled bodies of two of them were later found, while the third was subsequently found wounded. The three were awaiting trial on charges of murdering a white girl.

Officers allege that the forcible taking of the Negroes was due to activities of attorneys for the International Labor Defense in their behalf. This may or may not be true, but certain it is that attorneys for the organization have been conducting themselves in Alabama in a manner calculated to offend certain elements of the white population of the State and to provoke to violence some of those in the communities most concerned.

The activities of these attorneys have been unnecessarily provocative. They have given abundant evidence that they are much less interested in serving the ends of justice under the law than in fomenting race trouble. It would have been infinitely better for the Negroes, as well as the whites, of Alabama if they had remained out of the State and permitted the law to take its course under the watchful eyes of Alabama white and Negro leaders who are working toward a solution of the race problem in the State.

But that they failed to do so does not justify those white citizens of the State who committed a crime against constituted authority and against humanity by wresting the three alleged Negro killers from the hands of officers of the law and by summarily executing two of the prisoners. Their conduct adds still another blot to the spotted record of Alabama with reference to lynching, and the authorities concerned will fail miserably in their duty if they do not exhaust every possible resource to bring the lynchers to the bar of justice and mete out to them punishment in keeping with their barbarous crime.

Talladega, Ala., Home
August 14, 1933

TUSCALOOSA MOB.

Two of three negroes who were charged with assaulting a white girl in Tuscaloosa county are dead at the hands of a mob, and the fate of the third is not known. Rumors that the Tuscaloosa jail was to be attacked and the negroes seized, caused authorities to attempt to transfer them to the Birmingham jail Saturday night. En route to Birmingham the negroes were taken from the deputies who had them in custody. The finding of the bodies of two of them is mute evidence of what must have happened to the third. Such occurrences make one sick at heart, and there are no grounds for excuse, although the Tuscaloosa Sheriff and the Solicitor were quick to point to the recent interruption in the trial of one of the negroes when a dispute arose over the rights of attorneys of International Labor Defense to represent the defendant. While we resent as much as anyone this outside interferrence which was repudiated by the negro who was to stand trial, it was not sufficient to cause three men to be put to death by unlawful means. There can be no justification for flaunting the jurisdiction of the courts and committing murder, even to show to such a despicable outfit as the I. L. D., whose concern is not the negro, that it is not wanted in Alabama. Judge Foster of Tuscaloosa was quick to order a grand jury investigation of the mob action, and it is to be hoped that some good will come out of it, but already a statement that the mob members were masked and none of them recognized, promises very little in that direction. While there is no right-thinking man in Tuscaloosa, a town which holds the highest type of citizenship, who will not condemn the outrage, it is greatly to be regretted that even men of brutish instinct, could not see that in this particular case which has already attracted attention beyond state lines, they were holding up their town and state to condemnation all over the country, much of which will be unwarranted and coming from unfriendly quarters.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
August 15, 1933

Build Them a Monument

Shamblin is a good name for the deputy sheriff of Tuscaloosa, Ala., who headed two cars of sheriff's deputies on Sunday night, all armed to the teeth, to guarantee safe escort to three Negro boys entrusted to their care, to be placed in the Birmingham jail. The Negroes were handcuffed, presumably, and may have been chained to the automobile in which they were riding with the deputies.

The presence of the deputies and their weapons undoubtedly was to keep the three Negroes from jumping out of the car and running away. If they did jump out, the deputies were there to shoot, and to shoot to kill.

But the shambling sheriff lost his prisoners. They didn't jump out of the cars, but according to the shambling sheriff his two cars left Tuscaloosa loaded with the prisoners and armed officers. After a certain distance one of the cars turned back, and let the other one proceed. The reason for removal of the Negroes from Tuscaloosa was that there had been increasing talk there all day of mob violence, and it was feared the Negroes were not safe in the Tuscaloosa jail. So two automobile loads of trained, armed and trusted officers of the law were selected to give these legal prisoners safe escort to another jail.

When the shambling sheriff was accosted by two cars of lynchers, he and his assistant officers meekly gave up their prisoners, and later a search was made for them and two of the Negroes were found riddled with bullets. The third prisoner has not been located.

Sheriff Shamblin reported that the trouble possibly was due to the fact that the lawyers employed by the Northern International Labor Defense had stirred up public resentment and caused this violence.

Sheriff Shamblin is mistaken. The fact that the mob knew the kind of resistance it would meet with; the fact that the mob knew the guns in the hands of the deputies were to be trained only on the prisoners; and that these would be surrendered without a protest, and some such explanation given by the sheriff, incited the mob to the violence it committed.

It is quite true the I. L. D. lawyers cause more trouble than they settle. But that's no excuse for officers meekly lying down in the face of a mob's demands and acknowledging incompetency, cowardice. It is a safe statement that not one prisoner in 10,000 is taken from officers unless the officers are willing to it.

It is not material that these prisoners were Negroes. That is entirely beside the case. The fact that they were prisoners is the point. They might just as well have been white people. And with such deputies, if the mob had demanded, they would have been surrendered.

Sheriff Shamblin and his deputies ought to have a monument for neglect of duty.

Fayetteville, N. C. Observer
August 14, 1933

LYNCHING AND I. L. D.

Radical Northern lawyers who have been injecting themselves gratuitously into Alabama criminal cases with a race angle saw the seeds of the hatred they have sown bear fruit yesterday when three negroes, indicted for attacking a white woman, were lynched as they were being taken from one jail to another for safe-keeping.

Lynching was practiced in Alabama and the South before the International Labor Defense was ever heard of but it really had started to dwindle in the face of adverse sentiment on the part of the more intelligent white people.

Injection of class hatred into the South through the machinations of attorneys evidently hand in glove with Moscow, Russia, has resulted in fanning the flames of the passions of ignorant white people and of destroying much of the progress which had been made in wiping out lynching sentiment.

Birmingham, Ala., News
August 14, 1933

Alabama Is Disgraced By A Heinous Crime

Alabama stands disgraced in the eyes of the civilized world today. Shame of the blackest dye has been brought on this state by the lynching of two Negroes who were charged with killing a young white woman.

Most Alabamians feel this shame deeply. All enlightened, law-abiding citizens of this state are as outraged over this horrible affair as anyone could be. Indeed, such Alamamians, and that means by far the great majority, of course, are more outraged than any others could possibly be, for it is their state whose name has been blackened, and they will not be spared from the reproach of the rest of the world.

It will be unjust for those who deplore this outrage more deeply than any outsiders could to be held up to scorn because they are citizens of the state where this crime was committed. But that is an inevitable consequence of a lynching. People elsewhere will not understand that this atrocity was the act merely of a few hotheads, a small band of barbarians. Others will not understand that the vast body of this state's citizens not only do not condone this piece of savagery, but that they are profoundly shocked and grieved at this act of violence.

But that is the penalty that the many must pay for the lawlessness of a few.

What a pity it is that Alabama's honor should thus be blemished! What a tragedy that two men, facing trial for the crime with which they were charged, in the hands of the law, should be taken from officers by a mob and put to death.

There is never any excuse for a lynching. This lynching was particularly reprehensible, in view of many circumstances. That is to say that recently law and order in Alabama has been on trial in the eyes of the rest of the country—whether justly or not, justice in Alabama has been on trial—and at this time of all times every Alabamian should have been temperate and restrained in feeling.

It was, as Gov. Miller has declared, a heinous crime. The indignation which Gov. Miller feels, which Judge Henry B. Foster expresses, which is felt by the best citizens of Tuscaloosa, whom Judge Foster describes as "outraged and distressed" by it, will be shared by every Alabamian who has a proper regard for law and order.

The crime cannot be undone. But every effort should be made to apprehend the guilty ones and bring them to justice. To this end Gov. Miller and Judge Foster have moved promptly to order an investigation of the outrage by a special session of the grand jury. "We will leave no stone unturned to make the investigation thorough and complete," declares Judge Foster.

Let it be said that most Alabamians doubt that this crime would have taken place had it not been for the unwarranted interference in the case on the part of the International Labor Defense. To say that is not to condone it in the least. On the contrary, the crime deserves to be condemned only more strongly on that account. But the I. L. D. did enrage a few hotheads to the point of violence. To that extent, the blood of the victims be on the hands of the I. L. D.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
August 14, 1933

LYNCHED — BY THE CARPET BAGGERS OF 1933

LONG years ago, northern white men known as carpet baggers came into the south to preach social equality among the races. From their ignorance and arrogance lynch law was born.

After a dozen years of terror and bloodshed the carpet bagger himself was driven from our midst. Southern whites and southern blacks came to an understanding—rape and murder were to be capital crimes punishable by death. With the carpet baggers gone and the courts again in native hands, leaders of both races began the tedious task of obliterating mob law.

Slowly, patiently, and with great fortitude they worked. For nearly a half century now the whites and blacks of this community have been living in peace and harmony. When the law was broken, clean and clear cut justice was meted out to the offender without fear of favor. The negro has faced the bar of justice with as much confidence of a fair trial as has the white man.

And then came the "Belled Buzzards" of the International Labor Defense, spreading their poisoned communistic propaganda among our contented negro population. Implored by the wise and thoughtful negro leaders of the community to stay away and leave them in their peace, these scavengers came on regardless.

Pushing their dirty beaks in where they had no business; unwanted, these messengers of hate and unrest forced themselves upon a peaceful community. Repudiated by the blacks, escorted in safety out of the county by the whites, these buzzards brazenly announced that they would return again.

Murder and rape always have been, are now, and always will be capital crimes in the south. Social equality never has been, is not now and never will be recognized in the south. Those who came to preach a different order always have been, are now and always will be repulsed. Ignorant, misguided or unscrupulous reformers who thusly come into our midst can bring nothing but misery, disaster and bloodshed.

Faced with the assurance that the I. L. D. lawyers were coming back again the people of this community and for many miles around saw the dark tragedy of possible race riots flaring. Authorities acted, but not quickly enough.

So, for the first time in a half century a band of men in this section of the state have taken the law into their own hands.

This newspaper, in common with all thoughtful people, deplores the spirit of mob violence. We thought it had gone from our midst forever. May God forgive the carpet baggers of today who returned this foul thing to our midst—human hearts cannot.

Dan Pippen and A. T. Hardin, two young negroes accused of the murder of a white girl lie dead. They died at the hands of an unidentified mob, but they were "LYNCHED" by the communistic organization known as the International Labor Defense whose promoters may now enjoy to the fullest the havoc they have wrought.

Lynchings-1933 Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

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RICHMOND, VA.
TIMES DISPATCH
JUL 7 1933

Latest Lynching Statistics

SINCE America is the only so-called civilized country in the world where lynchings occur, and since the South is the part of America where most of these acts of violence take place, the latest figures on mob murders are always of interest in this section.

They have lately been releaseed by Tuskegee Institute at Tuskegee, Alabama, which makes a practice of compiling them from time to time, and they show that there were six lynchings in this country during the first six months of 1933, one more than for the same period a year ago. All of them were in the South, as follows: Louisiana, two; Tennessee, two; Georgia, one, and Texas, one.

It is a noteworthy fact that whereas the common assumption is that lynchings are the result of criminal assaults or attempted criminal assaults by Negro men on white women, this assumption rests on a quite flimsy foundation. The commission headed by George Fort Milton of the Chattanooga *News*, which recently investigated the South's lynching record, found that since 1890 fewer than one-fourth of the persons lynched have even been accused of such assaults.

The lynchings which took place during the six months which ended on June 30 are distributed approximately in accordance with the figures compiled by the Milton Commission. Of the six persons lynched, four were charged with murder, one with criminal assault, and in the other instance the charge could not be learned. Thus the percentage of assault cases was about the same for the last six months as it was for the last forty-three years.

There is little consolation to the South however, in this fact, for its lynching record is absolutely indefensible from any standpoint. There is no more justification for lynching a man for murder than there is for lynching him for assault.

Only one small fact emerges to bring a slight measure of consolation to Dixie. Whereas far more lynchings have occurred below the Potomac than above it, the State with the worst lynching record per 100,000 of population is Wyoming which has a record of 27.47 per 100,000 for the period since 1889. Mississippi comes next, with 25.05, and Georgia third, with 17.78. Georgia's total of 465 lynchings in the last forty-four years is the highest in actual numbers of any State in the Union

LOUISVILLE, KY.
COURIER JOURNAL
JUL 9 1933

POLITICAL ASSASSINS

Lynching in the United States has become practically extinct. Persons still occasionally are hanged, shot or burned; but the method pursued and the actuating motives are so changed that political assassination would fit the circumstances more often than mob murder does.

Seldom is the lynching any more the climax of a man hunt by a mob of citizens maddened by some atrocious crime. Rape and murder do not seem to provoke the mob spirit as they formerly did. The law takes its course. Far as it falls short of perfection, law enforcement has improved sufficiently to relegate the "regulator" and "vigilante" style of justice, already frowned upon by society.

So few participate in most of the lynchings nowadays as scarcely to deserve the name of mob, and they are not inflamed with passion. There usually is nothing in the case to inflame them. They wouldn't take the trouble to engage in a man hunt. They wait till their quarry is in the coop. Then they go and get him from the jailer. Either they "break in the jail and overpower" that officer or they "spirit the prisoner away." The latter method was employed by a mob of four who lynched a Negro at Clinton, S. C., for "striking a truck driver." But the invisible and inaudible movements of the mob in a county seat, guarded by police, constables and Sheriff; the silence of the jail telephone and the excellent condition next morning of the jail that had been broken into and of the jailer who had been overpowered limit judgment to the alternative theories of a ghostly vistation or public officers conspiring for the murder of their own prisoners.

This is worse than the old "mob law." That, at least, had an element of righteous wrath in it and a sense of social obligation, however misguided. Those implicated in the jail raids are cold-bloodedly confident of their local political power to prevent either exposure or punishment. Anybody is likely to be thrown into jail and lynched. The lynching is an object lesson and a warning, not to wrong-doers, but to good citizenship. Intimidation stands guard over privilege and corruption. Such a community is a point of infection in the body politic. Its election precincts are no safer than its jail. The State and judicial districts are composed of election precincts; for the atomic principle prevails in popular government. Power resides in the people if their votes are honestly cast and counted; in the election precincts if they are not. As infection spreads, the inclination of successful political corruptionists is to extend their influence, and their success wins them allies elsewhere. Their example discourages good men and elevates weak or bad men to public office.

This lynching probably will remain as much a mystery in rural Laurens County, South Carolina, as a gang massacre is in New York or Chicago. It cannot fairly be assumed that good citizens condone such deeds. Nevertheless, the Tuskegee records tabulate the number of mobs resisted by jailers and Sheriffs and the number which "overpower" the officers, never the punishment of either.

Raleigh, N. C. Times
July 6, 1933

T28

SOUTH CAROLINA PRESENTS NEW THING IN LYNCHINGS

The South Carolina of the Cole Blease days has been revived in all its savagery by the lynching of a negro near Clinton by four white men as guilty of premeditated murder as any assasin who kills his victim from ambush.

Nor did this reaction to an old lust have even the justification attending the usual mob violence. The negro had committed no crime other than engaging in an affray and striking a white man with a stick. The "sanctity of womanhood" did not come into the picture. There was not even the excuse of the psychological contagion of mob action. Four men made the "mob" and took a grim humor in their work by depositing the dead body at the gate of a cemetery.

All lynchings are in a sense exhibitions of hopeless barbarity, but this small murder by an intimate mob is baffling in its simplicity. There is not even the chance to berate the jail authorities for not protecting their prisoner, for Clinton is a smal place, its jail a makeshift affair, and the prisoner was not even accused of having committed a felony. Therefore, there was no special duty resting on the authorities. When four white men came to break the lock of the jail in search of their prey, they found the building with no defense save the presence of a terrified negro janitor.

We should like to think that there is in South Carolina a courage and decision to hunt down the authors of this most fantastic lynching, but such a wish probably is a vain hope. The net result will be that this curiously motivated murder will tend to reinspire the mob spirit to even more grotesque manifestations.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
August 19, 1933

Protecting A Prisoner

"It is true that outside interference of conscienceless agitators was responsible for the lynchings....But this cannot wash the blood from the hands of Alabamians. This does not exonerate the state in the eyes of the world and in the eyes of its own people. We cannot escape our own shame by pointing an accusing finger at our partners-in-crime. ...Alabamians resented the interference of outside agencies in its courts....But resentment cannot burn so deeply into the consciences of Alabamians as does shame, not the shame of persons or organizations outside the state — but shame which only Alabamians can suffer."

The foregoing from an editorial in The Montgomery Advertiser sums up the situation as all thoughtful citizens of this state must see it. They will, therefore, applaud the spirit behind the removal of the Negro who escaped the lynchers to Montgomery for safe-keeping. Judge Foster, in ordering this step, must have felt that he was acting in accordance with the clear requirements of the hour. There is nothing the authorities can do which is wasteful excess, so far as providing security for this prisoner is concerned.

Birmingham, Ala., News
August 19, 1933

THE IMPOTENCE OF ALABAMA

As the sun rose on Sunday morning in Alabama it fell brightly upon the riddled bodies of two dead Negroes, but the light that came with the morning sun disclosed not so much black carrion as the utter impotence of Alabama as a civilized state able to give justice to its citizens.

Men had said before that there was no justice in Alabama. Northern attorneys, who made the fight for the Negroes in the famous Scottsboro cases, said so in terms more violent than wise. Alabama denied the charge with passion, and there was the example of an Alabama jurist who set the Scottsboro verdict aside, as based upon unworthy and insufficient evidence, to show that there are men in the state who love and honor justice.

Alabama said that Northern attorneys were not necessary in Alabama to secure justice for the least of its citizens. An Alabama mob stained that first promise by terrorizing attorneys who had come South to defend the Negroes who were lynched on Sunday morning there.

Alabama was going to provide justice in an Alabama court with only Alabama attorneys on either side of the bar. The state itself made the Maddox case a demonstration of its ability to provide absolute justice to Negro defendants. Yet in this very case a mob composed of only two autos of Alabama lynchers took the Negroes from deputies who were transferring them to another jail and lynched them.

So far as the reports go, the deputies fired not a shot at the white mob which took the Negroes from them. There is not the least evidence that their resistance was worthy of any men defending the dignity or the justice of a state. The deputies let the mob take the prisoners of the state of Alabama, and the sheriff, perhaps in an attempt to justify the compliance or cowardice of himself and his officers, lays the blame upon the Northern attorneys who undertook the defense of the Negroes in the courthouse.

Alabama showed its anger at the attacks upon its courts. It announced with the fury of an injured pride that Alabama could give justice to its own. Alabama was a proud state, a just state. It needed no aliens to help secure justice. Alabama would uphold Alabama justice.

And so when the sun came up in Alabama on Sunday morning Alabama was not only shamed by a lynching as other Southern states have been shamed, it was uncovered in its impotence, the empty loud impotence of a state which could clamor its justice but not defend it.—Raleigh News and Observer.

Madisonville, Ky. Hustler
August 18, 1933

JUST ANOTHER EXCUSE

Sheriff R. L. Shamblin, of Tuscaloosa county, Alabama, cites the interference in the case of the International Labor Defense as the cause of the lynching of three Negroes in his custody.

Unfortunately for the sheriff's excuse, however, the International Labor Defense had already been thrown out of the case by the presiding judge. Furthermore, the Negroes were guarded by several deputies, presumably armed. If the deputies were able to exhibit even one dead lyncher as proof that they had not betrayed their trust, the whole case would be strengthened. But there is no dead lyncher in sight, not even proof that the deputies tried to kill one. Only the prisoners the deputies were supposed to be guarding are dead. There is not even a seriously injured deputy.

Therefore all this talk about the International Labor Defense will be regarded by the rest of the country as just anothr excuse. It was a bestial and indefensible crime and a disgrace to Alabama.

Talladega, Ala., Home
August 18, 1933

In the Birmingham Age-Herald John Temple Graves II, says: Of the 183 lynchings is the United States in the last 10½ calendar years, only four were in Alabama. In six of these years Alabama had a record of no lynchings at all. The lynching of Quinn Neal at Haynesville on Aug. 5, 1931, was the last one prior to the crime of last Sunday morning. The greatest number of lynchings in the United States and in Alabama occurred in 1892. In that year the national total was 231 and Alabama's was 24. The measure of improvement shown is gratifying but, by that very measure, Alabama's shame for the deed of last Sunday must be the greater because it represents so disgracefully backward a step.

Ripley, Miss. Sentinel
August 17, 1933

Tuskegee Institute reports six lynchings in the United States luring the first six months of 1933, or one more than the number reported for the corresponding period last year. Of those lynched two were white and four were negroes, from the following states: Louisiana and Tennessee two each, Georgia and Texas one each. Whlie this was six lynchings too many, the record shows great improvement since the year 1892, when no less than 255 persons were lynched in the U. S., 100 of them being white.

Booneville, Miss. Independent
August 25, 1933

In the past ten years 183 people have been lynched in the United States. In 1892 there were 231 lynchings in one year. Much improvement has been shown in this matter. There should not be any lynchings at all and if the officers of the law show a little more courage and determination to protect prisoners this sort of disgrace and disregard for law could soon be stamped out entirely.

Roanoke, Ala., Leader
September 6, 1933

Writer In Age-Herald Would Prevent Mobs

In recent days much has been written in both secular and religious papers anent lynching. As much as we abhor mob action as an instrument of social use, it will not be eliminated by convention action, by conference resolution or by editorial stricture. The social ameliorist must attack the problem from the viewpoint of the cause for mob action.

The aggrieved, whether injured by misdemeanor or by felony, would be willing to await court action if he had any assurance that justice would be forthcoming. But when the wronged knows that appeal and reappeal, technicality, delay, postponement, outside interference, alien or internal propaganda will surely issue in the defeat of justice, he becomes incensed at the utter collapse of equity promised by an orderly government.

There are cases now before the courts in Alabama that have been continued for several years. If court action would always be as swift and as certain as in the case of Zangara, who fired an assassin's bullet intended for President Roosevelt, the cause for mob action would be largely removed. It seems strange that so many persons have not discovered that the cause for mob action lies not so much in the crime itself as in the futility of appealing to the law for immediate and complete redress. You will do an evcellen and constructive piece of social work if you will attack the problem from this angle. Denunciation has gotten us nowhere. We believe there is value in this new approach to such an anti-social practice.

W. G. Henry.

Florence, Ala., Aug. 18, 1933.

In Birmingham Age-Herald.

Columbia, Tenn., Daily Herald
September 5, 1933

LYNCHING

The shooting to death last Sunday of two negroes in Alabama while they were being transferred by officers of the law from one place to another for safe keeping was a case of cruel and cowardly murder.

Whether the unfortunate negroes were guilty of the crime of which they were accused or not, that of murdering a white girl, has nothing to do with the crime committed by the mob. The accused were in the custody of officers and there is no reason to believe that they would not have been tried by a court and jury that would have meted out justice to them. That is the only American way to deal with crime and criminals.

Then these men were helpless and defenseless, both in the matter of protecting themselves against the charge and against the violence of the mob. Only a coward will kill a man who is powerless to offer resistance.

While this outrage was perpetrated in the state of Alabama there is no reason for blaming it on the fine citizenship of that great commonwealth, much less to hold it against what is so often referred to egnerically as the "South."

The law abiding citizens of that state are as much opposed to mob violence as those of any other state and it is fair to presume that Alabama has as many of that kind of citizens in proportion to population as any other state.

The criticism of the state of Alabama, as represented by its public officials, which would be merited would be based on the failure of law officers to do all within their power to ferret out, prosecute, and convict those responsible for unlawfully killing of these negroes. They should use the same vigilance and perseverence in bringing these criminals to justice that characterized their activities in apprehending their murdered prisoners.

The Governor of a state is its chief law enforcement officer and if any of his subordinates refuse to do their duty he ought to displace them with men who will.

It is strangely true that the records disclose comparatively few cases of conviction, or attempted conviction, of lynchers.

Yet it is beyond belief that efficient officers would so often fail to identify any members of a local mob that takes prisoners from their very presence.

A sheriff or other peace officer who would fail or refuse to hunt down and arrest men who thus violate the law and trample upon his authority, regardless of their political or personal influence, is himself an accessory after the fact and should be dealt with as such.—Knoxville Journal.

RICHMOND, VA.
TIMES DISPATCH
DEC 30 1933

Much in This

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—We wonder why, in this civilized country, such atrocious crimes as kidnaping and lynching are committed.

When we consider the fact that this country finds itself the most lawless of civilized nations it is time we sought a remedy.

We spend millions making and enforcing laws. Then we turn right around and allow millions to be spent in an effort to skirt those laws. When a crime has been committed the State in which it has been committed immediately sets to work to apprehend the guilty one. When this has been done what happens?

In many cases, if the criminal be a wealthy man, he is given the privilege of obtaining the best lawyer or lawyers in the country. They, working on behalf of their client, immediately obtain bail and the wheels of justice begin to turn in his favor.

If, on the other hand, the accused happens to be a poor man, unable to pay for the services of the best lawyers, one is provided by the State—but of what type? It is because we allow money to buy the ablest lawyers in this country that we so very often see justice miscarried.

There is only one way we can hope to rid our country of crime and that is by making sensible laws, fixing penalties that fit the crime and by judging all men equally.

Each State, city and county should have its own prosecuting and defense lawyers, matched in ability as equally as is possible, and it would be unlawful for any man to employ his own defense. This would mean that the man with millions would have no pre-eminence above the pauper.

It is the duty of the State to prove a man guilty or innocent. When this has been done the case should rest. If proven innocent, he should be set free. If proven guilty, then he should most assuredly pay the penalty for his crime.

How often do we see the poor man who has committed a petty offense, being made an example of for the rest of society, while we also see the man who has had every opportunity that society offers, given leniency on one trumped-up excuse or another.

Justice—blindfold and playing upon one string—should not alone be a symbol; it should be a reality.

If this were the case, then America need no longer bear the stigma of a nation of lynchers, for her people would soon realize that every court was in truth a court of justice.

MRS. W. A. DuBOIS.

Highland Springs.

White Press, Southern.

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Lynchings - 1933
Discussions.

Guntersville, Ala., Advertiser
December 13, 1933

PRESIDENT'S DENUNCIATION OF LYNCHING

The President of the United States took occasion in his address Wednesday night, to denounce "that vile form of collective murder—lynch law"—which has broken out anew in our country. "We know," said Mr. Roosevelt, "that it is murder, and a deliberate and definite disobedience of the commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill.' We do not excuse those in high places or in low who condone lynch law."

That is a pointed rebuke, carrying all the force of the high office of the President of the United States to Governor Rolph of California, who not only condoned but boasted about the double lynching in his state. It is a rebuke quite as pointed to all who have either engaged in or condoned this worst of all forms of mob violence.

A thinking America, Mr. Roosevelt continued, goes further than preaching against lynch law. "It seeks a new government of its own that will be sufficiently strong to protect the prisoner and at the same time to crystallize a public opinion so clear that government of all kinds will be compelled to practice a more certain justice. The judicial function of government is the protection of the individual and of the community through quick and certain justice. That function in many places has fallen into a state of disrepair. It must be a part of our program to re-establish it."

A part of that program to restore the majesty of the law must be to bring lynchers to justice where "that vile form of collective murder" has been perpetrated. Mr. Roosevelt's utterance on the subject is a call from the President of our country to the people and to the law-enforcement agencies to uphold the law. It is a call which should be particularly heeded just now in California, in Maryland, in Missouri, and in Alabama.—Birmingham News.

Huntsville, Ala., ~~News~~ Register
December 10, 1933

No Mob Spirit at Decatur As Many Predicted

Being "purged" by various newspapers in our own state and others in the frantic plea that we stop "mob spirit", before the Scottsboro trials we now await with pleasure the words of commendation to flow from these same pens.

After all, if they keep up with the news they must realize by this time that there was no evidence of "mob spirit" in Decatur during either of the Scottsboro trials.

If they believe other than that, then they are misinformed.

There was curiosity in the first Scottsboro trials, in the second there was hardly sufficient interest here to fill the Morgan county court room.

The curiosity was dead.

And that was tough on the defense counsel, for if ever a defense counsel craved publicity, it is our opinion that this one did. It was difficult to even imagine a phantom mob, and if we recall correctly there were two or three phantom mobs developed while the first trials were being held here.

And all the while the people of Decatur, Alabama, were being ministered to with soothing words from far flung journals, telling us how to conduct ourselves.

That there was not any need for protection of the "Scottsboro boys" is self evident, that there was any need for protection of the chief of counsel for the defense is somewhat problematical. We understand that he asked for protection and was given protection.

Now that the shoe is on the other foot, we wonder just when these monthly journals with their far-fetched news stories, their "brilliant" editorial writers and their cartoonists, all having no conception whatsoever of the people of Decatur, Alabama will have t osay. All their predictions seem to have come to dismal failure.

There was no mob at Decatur, Alabama and we wonder somewhat if some of these loud talkers, at least are not disappointed?

They certainly did an excellent job of attempting to inflame the people of Decatur, Alabama.

Of course the Scottsboro cases are not over and there is a chance that the remaining trials will be heard here, much as the people of Decatur, Alabama, regret that outlook. Meanwhile, if the same guardian angels will continue their "friendly interest" perhaps we'll grow better and better day by day.—Decatur Daily.

While The Daily Register was not one of the newspapers charging that a mob spirit hovered over Decatur during previous trials, nevertheless, it commends the fine spirit prevailing at the most recent retrials. Everything was orderly and apparently there wasn't the slightest sign of a disturbance impending!

LOUISVILLE, KY.
TIMES
NOV 29 1933

MARYLANDERS SHOW SENTIMENT FOR SELF GOVERNMENT

As a flare-up of sentiment for local self-government, the Maryland incident is more interesting to students of American history than a lynching.

The principle of local self-government is almost everywhere applauded. The doctrine is that bad government locally provided is preferable to any sort of government originating at a distance. Sentiment for home rule is red flame in the hearts of many of us.

The fire was kindled when a leading national question was whether we should have a union of States with their prerogatives carefully guarded, or a Union with less attention paid to rights of States.

Prominent among anti-Federalists, before the *Bill of Rights* was born, was LUTHER MARTIN, of Maryland.

He held that representation in the national House of Representatives should not be based upon population, because that would be injustice to small States.

The berserker rage of some of the people in and about Salisbury is self-government sentiment.

California now presents an example of State sovereignty.

Governor ROLPH applauds a lynching, and that ends discussion of probability of prosecution.

Eastern Shore Marylanders, or some of them, feel that they should have the same brand of sovereignty that California enjoys.

We have the theory of local self-government reduced to absurdity, its advocacy amounting to advocacy of anarchy, or we don't, according to your view.

When the community indorses a murder, as is the case often, nothing can be done about it unless the State can intervene as the State of Maryland has intervened. And that is local self-government, or safeguarded anarchy, according to your view.

It is easy to indorse the principle of local self-government. It is difficult to say where, in practice, application of the principle should end, or begin.

Carried to its logical conclusion the doctrine of local self-government is, of course, no government.

Buford, Ga., Advertiser
December 14, 1933

Lawlessness Rampant

The lynching of a Negro at St. Joseph, Mo., comes as a speedy aftermath to the disgraceful affair at San Jose, Calif. Governor Rolph's inexcusable statement in justification of the lynching of the two kidnapers and slayers of the unfortunate Brooke Hart was bound to have serious consequences and the country will be lucky if more lawless outbreaks such as the one at St. Joseph do not follow.

The Governor of Missouri is outspoken in condemnation of the St. Joseph occurrence, saying that "mob violence, whether in the punishment of crime or in attempts to obtain alleged civil rights, is always wrong and is destructive of good government." And, he adds, and this can be construed as a direct rebuke to the Governor of California "to condone such an offense is to encourage lawlessness, deny the efficiency of the courts and the power of constituted authorities."

With that sentiment thoughtful, law-abiding citizens everywhere will be in hearty agreement. Lynch law is a menace to orderly government, just as it is a disgrace to a civilized age, and it should not be countenanced or tolerated by any community or any State. When the Governor of a State so far disgraces his office as to condone and defend the lawless taking of life, he shows himself unworthy to occupy a position of trust and responsibility at the hands of his fellow citizens.

A LYNCHING SUGGESTION

Telegraph 12-15-33 Macon Ga.

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

Just a word to W. T. Anderson and all othe so-called whites who love and defend the Negro

There has been more in your paper of hel rendered the Negro than white. The good car of the T. B. patients, and the large sum of money given to educate them, is just putting them ahead. Think of the whites who are hungry, cold and uneducated!

If God had intended for them to be on our equal he would have made all white and no blacks.

They are supposed to be slaves and servants, uneducated except to perform their duties.

In Wednesday's Telegraph W. T. is upholding Negroes in their meanness and attacks on white women.

Suppose some Negro fiend should attack some member of his family? Of course he would resent that and feel like lynching him, so doing would protect all white women.

Of course there are white people who put themselves down with the Negro, but they are paving the way for an attack or insult.

W. T. says, "in slavery time this race hatred didn't exist. Men left their families in the Negroes' care and felt safe." But remember they were slaves and not Negroes of today. If they had been, when the men returned they would have found a sight most astonishing.

The worse mistake the government ever made was in freeing the Negro.

W. T. also says "Georgia is at the bottom of the list in education." No wonder, when you think of the lack of interest given white schools. The interest if any goes to Negro colleges.

In some towns women are agitating an anti-lynching law. They are surely cutting off their nose to spite their face.

If one of the group should suddenly be dragged into some dark alley and the crime be committed upon her that has been upon many white women, surely she wouldn't be against lynching.

A white man that is white,

Thomaston, Ga. E. O. SULLIVAN.

P. S.—If you don't print this in your Sunday's paper you are a coward. E. O. S.

Editor's Note—The Telegraph has stood for justice for all people; for law and order, and opposed lynching—opposed lynching of anybody, including Mr. Sullivan. If the Negro has profited by such a program, nobody can be blamed. The Telegraph has argued that if the Negro is kept poor and is imposed upon, the poor white man must stay alongside of him. Justice knows no color line. If the Negro must work for starvation wages, the whites who do the same kind of work must take those wages, also. They are tied together. They cannot get away from each other in wages and working conditions. The defense Mr. Sullivan makes of lynching is on the basis of Negroes raping white women. The record is that 4,321 people were lynched in the United States from 1885 to 1912, and only one-third of these were even accused by women of any wrong-doing. Yet this has gone on since the civil war, since the Negro has been lynched and burned by whites to stop raping; and before this kind of treatment was administered by the whites, the Negro was the most trustworthy and dependable individual with the family of the white man of any people on record. The Telegraph is opposed to lynching because nobody is safe when once the mob gets under way—not even Mr. Sullivan, if some woman makes a charge against him. The plan is to hang first and forget it. We didn't print Mr. Sullivan's letter on Sunday because of a desire to be ranked as a coward rather than be bullied into printing his letter ahead of some others who were ahead of him.

Eustis, Fla., Region
December 8, 1933

LYNCH LAW

Lynch law has been invoked in Maryland, in Missouri, and in California within the last few weeks. These sporadic outbreaks, in widely separated communities, show that the disease is present in the entire body of the nation, and may show itself at any point at any time. Lynching is not peculiar to any one section. It is as likely to occur in Boston as in New Orleans.

There is this much to be said in favor of Lynch Law. It gets results. That is more than can always be said for the more respectable procedure which leads into the courts, to appeals, to rehearings, to delays and to final defeat of justice. The people may be horrified, at times, by the swiftness and finality of Judge Lynch's court, but even that is probably better for them than the permanent feeling of distrust which they have toward the other and more regular courts.

Lynching, however, is evidence of the presence of a dangerous hysteria in the people. Deliberate and judicious action rarely leads men to take the law into their own hands. It is hysteria which precipitates them into that action which results in the horrible death of the suspected person. If the ends of justice are served by lynch law it is a matter of chance rather than of reason.

Lynching a known criminal is a confession on the part of the citizens that they do not have the moral and mental stamina to enforce the law.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
December 10, 1933

LYNCHING LAID TO COMMUNIST

Prominent Maryland Negroes Assert Radical Lawyer Caused Trouble

SALISBURY, Md., Dec. 9—(AP)—In a statement issued here bearing the signatures of three prominent negroes, the declaration was made that "we hold Bernard Ades, communist attorney of Baltimore, entirely responsible for disturbances which have occurred on the eastern shore for the past two years."

The statement was signed by James F. Stewart, member of the Maryland Inter-Racial Commission; J. M. Dickerson, pastor of one of the largest negro congregations here, and James L. Johnson, retired public school teacher.

"As is well known the entire disturbances have grown out of the Euel Lee case into which he (Ades) injected himself not at the request of nor in behalf of the people of our race," the statement said.

Euel Lee, a negro, was convicted and executed for murder. The case dragged in the courts for two years.

"It is not to be understood," the statement continued, "that we condone lynching any more than we condone the acts of the persons lynched and yet we are able to look through it all and see just why these things happened. We sincerely regret that our race has been exploited by this man Ades who is only a self seeking individual and one who cannot possibly contribute anything to the happiness and stability of the colored people of this State."

Lawrenceburg, Tenn., Democrat
December 29, 1933

Mob Violence

Massmeetings continue to be held for the purpose of condemning the mob violence that claimed the life of Cordie Cheek, Maury County negro who attempted to assault a little white girl of that county. Protests and lamentations have been loud and long as to the shame that is Tennessee's because of the act. Much of it is deserved. Mob action is undesirable, anytime, anywhere. It is as unfortunate that a fiery leader with unscrupulous ability can sway a convention of representative citizens into investing him with power of which he is unworthy. Hasty action, occasioned amid the duress of excitement and high emotionalism, is nearly always undesirable, whether it be within a political convention or within a street mob.

Too, there is the disregard for law that the Maury lynchers exhibited. None of us will come out publicly and countenance disregard for law and order. Yet we all break the law, to a greater or less degree. We break it when we drive our cars across a railroad track without stopping. We break it when we make a purchase on Sunday. Many, many other laws are on the statute books which general precedent has caused to be ignored. Yet technically we are breaking the law when we violate them. The next thought then is that lynchers of Cordie Cheek violated another's rights, in addition to violating the law. And so they did. But have we stopped to think that the lynching of Cordie Cheek was started by the negro himself when he attempted his evil designs on the innocent little girl—and that it was crystalized into actuality when a Davidson County grand jury, through some technicality, set the culprit free. The law had failed, and justice had not been done. Society had been outraged, and the guilty scoundrel could laugh derisively with the law to back him up. We do not believe in mob violence, generally, but if ever there was a time when it was justifiable, we believe this was the time.

Our brothers of the mass meetings and long-winded resolutions strangely have not seen fit to question the methods, ofttimes illegal in themselves, by which notorious gangsters and public enemies have been brought to justice, after having been successful in eluding the ordinary processes of law. No criticism has been levelled at them for thus ridding society of dangerous menaces, even though they had to take the law into their own hands, to some extent.

There is little to be said in favor of taking the law into one's own hands, in any case, and very much to be said against it. But it seems to us that if our little sister or daughter had been assaulted, and after we had allowed the law to take its usual course, the guilty person was freed, we'd feel pretty much the same as the Maury county folks did. How about you?

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
December 22, 1933

Defends Lynching

In the letter column of this issue appears a communication from J. M. Bronson of Macon, in which he takes The Telegraph to task for its contributions to lawlessness and crime. He arrives at this accusation through The Telegraph's arguments against lynching and like crimes. This is not the first time The Telegraph has been accused of getting things done by being against them.

Mr. Bronson condemns the newspaper that gives to its readers only the opinion of the editor in editorials, and does not cover both sides of a question. How he expects an editor to have two opinions is not clear. A newspaper should print the news honestly and fairly, and give both sides in the news columns. With this practice the reader has the same information as the editor, and is supposed to agree or disagree with the editorial position as he thinks best. The Telegraph not only endeavors to live up to this standard, but it conducts a letter column so that others who have editorial opinions may present their views in contrast.

As to mobs being cowardly, all mob violence done to an individual is by two or more attackers, unless it is done from ambush or without warning. That is cowardly practice as applied to an individual who is not suspected of crime, and we can see no difference if one is suspected of crime. The editor of The Telegraph has seen more than one mob in action, and has read of others, as in the California lynching, when the mob was reported as having been made up from speakeasy loafers and drunks. We have yet to see a so-called responsible citizen in a mob—one who does his work in the daylight and is not afraid of taking the law into his own hands without the presence of his buddies. What is the record as to Ku Klux operations in the hey-day of that organization?

The complaint as to shyster lawyers deferring execution of sentences, whatever is done is done under Mr. Bronson's laws—they are as much his as those of anybody else—and whatever is wrong ought to be fixed by the people whose government is supposed to operate this country, so that shyster lawyers cannot juggle the people's laws. Are we to admit that the shyster lawyer and the gangster are superior to the majesty of the law, of the people?

As to the Chicago case of lynching the two men, and thus securing a cessation of crime until the fear of mob violence waned—why has all kinds of crime increased all over the country despite lynchings? No person who ever committed a crime expected to be detected or caught. The punishment promised only serves to make the criminal more careful to cover up. Did any member of a mob ever expect to be apprehended or punished for the mass murder in which he joins?

As to injection of the racial question, The Telegraph has appealed for justice for all people, and has not singled out the Negro. Others have read this into what we have written, because of the possible consciousness of the injustice that he may suffer. What The Telegraph has said in behalf of the Negro has applied as well to the poor white people with whom the Negro competes, and whose level the white people must accept as their own lot from an economical standpoint. The less fortunate of humankind can be developed into an asset instead of a liability, and it is from this angle that this newspaper has argued. We are as much opposed to lynching a white man as we are opposed to lynching a Negro. To lynch a Negro only makes it that much easier for the mob to select a white man as the next victim.

We are opposed to crime, and favor changing the laws so as to punish crime and make the punishment more swift and certain. We are not in favor of abandoning the use of locks because some burglar or sneak-thief picks one now and then.

Nashville, Tenn. Banner
December 21, 1933

GOVERNOR COMMENDED

The strong condemnation of lynching and the prompt action of Governor McAlister in offering a substantial reward for the apprehension of the persons guilty of kidnaping and murdering young Cheek have not only met with the approval of the people of Tennessee but have received strong commendation beyond the borders of the State.

The Chattanooga News makes this comment:

"Governor McAlister has posted a reward of $1,000 for apprehension of those who lynched a Negro near Columbia this week. It is gratifying to the South for a Southern Governor thus to take his stand for law and against mob violence, in striking contrast to California's Governor Rolph.

"Other refreshing evidences of the public reaction against lynching were shown in Nashville yesterday. Criminal Judge Chester K. Hart, in a special charge to the grand jury at Nashville said 'steps must immediately be taken to bring the guilty parties to justice.' And the Nashville Pastors' Association asked the Governor 'to sound a note for law supremacy throughout our State, and to summon afresh all officials to do their full duty without fear or favor, that everyone may enjoy his right to trial by jury.' The Negro youth was seized in Nashville and taken to Columbia, where he was hanged.

"Governor McAlister's determined stand, and the posting of the $1,000 reward, should spur this State onward in the effort to stamp out lynching."

Among other things, the Mobile Register has this to say:

"Governor McAlister used language none too strong when he said 'it was a disgrace to the State,' though of course an overwhelming majority of the men and women of Tennessee, and of Maury County, had no part in it, and do not and cannot condone it . . .

"The continued substitution of mob violence for the orderly processes of the law is dangerous. Mobs do not reason. They act upon impulse, in obedience to inflamed passions. Very often, too, these mobs are composed of young men who fall in with the cruel work of noisy leaders. From whatever angle we may view it, whatever may be said of exciting causes in different cases, it is bad business, bad in its influence of the law, on orderly society, a reflection on public officials, and particularly bad from the standpoint of participants in these acts of violence, for very often these participants are burdened with the memory of things they would like to forget."

Columbia, S. C. Record
December 21, 1933

DANGEROUS.

It takes more than the declaration of a politician like Sunny Jim Rolph, the California governor who is always the people's friend even when they're lynchers, in praise of lynching to prevent the punishment of lynchers—if the citizens of the community in which the lynching occured happen actually to be opposed to murder.

And despite Governor Rolph's espousal of the lynchers' cause arrests have already been made in the San Jose horror. On evidence, gathered by the Civil Liberties union, the San Jose district attorney, a man evidently mindful of his responsibilities and his oath, swore out the arrest warrants and the lynchers—how many of them may eventually be arrested there is now no telling—can be tried. It depends upon the citizens of San Jose. Law enforcement is a local problem and a local responsibility. And no mere governor's praise of lawlessness can prevent any law's being enforced if the people want to enforce it.

California's problem unfortunately is not quite so simple. It merely ought to be. The people have to live in the community and they ought to be allowed to rule it in their own protection. For the people of lynching communities will learn that lynching breeds not law observance but law violation, that the mobs one day may execute the guilty and the next wreak vengeance upon the innocent. When law and order surrenders no man is safe.

But in California the people, desiring to safeguard their own considerable interests in law enforcement—and it is yet of course to be demonstrated that the people of San Jose actually desire to punish the lynchers—are handicapped. Governor Rolph talks too much, but he is prepared to do even more. He will, he said when he first learned of the lynching, pardon any one convicted of participation in the "good job" of slaying the two kidnapers. And this promise, repeated after the first arrest had been made in the lynching investigation, he can fulfill, nullifying and cancelling such efforts as the people of San Jose may make to punish the criminals. For California, like too many other states, has made the mistake of granting one man the power to prohibit law enforcement. It is a dangerous piece of business and more power than should be delivered to any one man under democracy.

Daytona Beach, Fla. News
December 21, 1933

The city of San Jose has had its "lynching tree" dug up by the roots. That is a slap at Governor Rolph, and a well-merited one. But tree-lovers will wonder why human beings must take it out on the poor, defenseless tree? It did nothing to be "lynched" for.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
December 22, 1933

A United Undertaking

A recent letter to the Herald-Tribune, written by Major General William C. Rivers, U. S. A. retired, discusses quite dispassionately the subject of lynching and urges the need of some great and noble u n d e r t a k i n g of people united in their objective as they have been now and then of recent years in various other humanitarian causes.

General Rivers feels, as the majority of people must, that edi-

torial or official condemnations of this horror amount to little, possibly from the fact that they go no farther than the mere denouncement of the outrage.

He himself was born in the cotton belt and writes from memories of lynching that go far back into his boyhood.

He mentions the fact that an elder brother of his old days, a young lwayer, now and then was able to save the intended victim of violence by haranguing the mob and persuading them to go home.

It was not however, by making them feel any pity or shame for the thing they were about to do, or by inspiring them with fear of the law in their turn.

Neither did he suggest the possibility of a speedy trial. He held these measures fatal.

What he did was to change their mood, and to do this, he used his gift of eloquence and persuasion to soothe their wrath, or stir their humor, or to turn their interest to some other project.

Following this suggestion, General Rivers would look to some constructively united body of people who would work consistently for the abolishing of this debasing form of revenge, even though a new fashion in the way of changing the people's mood might be necessary before the final remedy could be applied.

"It would be difficult," he wrote, and "it doubtless would involve changing the constitutions of states and of the United States.

"But would it be as difficult and as costly, for example, as the campaign for prohibition or the campaign against prohibition? Of course, the direct appeals—through schoolbooks, Sunday schools, churches, the bar and the press—should be written and carried out, as a rule, by men and women of the state where lynchings are most frequent.

"There is no doubt that there are such men and women willing to undertake the task."

Greensboro, N. C., News
December 25, 1933

THE WRONG APPROACH.

In the welter of argument which followed Governor Rolph's condonement of lynching, the governor's defenders have made much of the breakdown of the courts, the tardiness with which judicial machinery functions and the uncertainty of legal processes as contrasted with celerity and surety of direct, although mob action.

There is unquestionably much to what these critics of justice, reaching the height of their dignity, perhaps, in Columnist Westbrook Pegler's discussion, "Fair Enough" in the New York World-Telegram, say, although it is rank inconsistency to attempt to justify lynch law, with its thrust at all that is fundamental to law, order and organized society and its general indifference to innocence or guilt, on any such basis. Aside from that comparison, the facts will not bear out the position which this group of commentators has elected to take.

A study of lynching statistics shows that the great majority of mob victims are negroes and that where the rule of Judge Lynch does bulge over to the whites here, too, his victims are almost exclusively of a low, ignorant, friendless and defenseless type; the type without funds and in many instances without counsel until appointments are made, frequently at the last minute, by the courts. Where the crime is such as to arouse mob feeling, particularly if womanhood is involved and the trial happens to be in the south, it is a fairly safe bet that the benefit of doubt, if any, will go against rather than for the defendant. Justice will move speedily; in fact one fears, in some instances, too speedily. There are cases, it is true in which trials and re-trials occur, as in the Scottsboro litigation, but they are exceptions where a cause enters in and outside agencies, for motives which may or may not be commended, take up the gauntlet.

But, to get back to retarded justice and legal loopholes, it is not for the moneyless, friendless, uninfluential and ignorant defendant, the type upon whom mobsters generally prey, that they are utilized *ad infinitum*. Therein lies the forte of the wealthy, the prominent and the more cleverly represented criminals. And who, right off the bat, can recall when or where any of that group was dragged out of jail, strung up to a limb, or riddled with bullets? Criticism of the courts is justified; but the Rolph condoners are far off in their angle of approach.

Clinton, Tenn. News
December 29, 1930

THE LYNCHING EVIL

The lynching wave, which has aroused feeling from coast to coast recently, reached Tennessee recently when a negro youth was made the victim of a mob near Nashville a few days ago. Lynching is a deplorable thing under any circumstances and the Anderson County News is a foe of any such action, but at the same time is not blind to the factors which contribute to such outrags.

The lynching, several others before it, and possibly many others to come, can be laid at the feet of the Scottsboro case. In this instance, where according to the evidence presented, criminal attacks in wholesale quantities were committed, the mob spirit was kept down and Alabama, much to its credit, waited for the law to take its course. There was some talk of mob action but nothing of a serious nature took place.

The first steps toward justice were smoote. An indictment was returnen, a trial was held, a jury returned a guilty verdict, and a sentence of death was pronounced. It looked liked speedy justice and the southern citizens were happy that they had left it all in the hands of the law.

Then began a series of legal maneuvers, conceived in New York and executived by attorneys paid by the International Labor Defense, which for more than two years has been successful in thwarting justice. The case twice has been appealed to the state supreme court and even now is hanging fire after two of the negroes for a third time has been sentenced. Meantime the paid propogandists have placed the negroes in the hero role, talking of southern prejudice and painting this section as a bleak wilderness where people are little removed from the cave man stage, with no culture, intelligence or social accomplishments. These people have no interest whatever in the fate of the negroes accused, they are using them as a tool whereby they can spread their Unamerican and Communistic doctrines.

With this case of aborted justice starting them in the face it is hard for outraged citizens to listen to pleas to sit quietly by and wait for the law to act. They can't forget that Eastern lawyers and money can postpone and prevent justice in the courts.

Again—this is no condonement of lynching, but is to show that the proper administration of justice can do more to kill the evil than any number of flowery speeches on mob spirit and appeals to reason. Let Reds and foreigners stay out of southern courts and there will be less desire to engage in mob action.

Cartersville, Ga., Herald
December 29, 1933

Georgia's Fourth Lynching for 1933

The fourth blot on Georgia's record occurred in October in the town of Richland when a Negro was taken from the town calaboose and lynched by a small mob of people.

The increase in lynchings in the South in 1933 is three times that of last year. As missionary-minded women, we must recognize and assume our responsibility for failure to carry forward a continuous program of education of our people in the evils consequent upon such crimes, the evil effects of which are reflected in all of our mission fields; a crime that mocks any expression that we may utter in condemnation of other nations who persecute on the basis of race. In the eyes of the other nations of the world our treatment of the Negro is only paralleled by Germany's treatment of the Jews.

Christian citizens should demand of the officers of the law a thorough and honest investigation of every lynching—yet in all of the four instances in Georgia this year, no effort whatever was made to bring to justice those guilty of mob violence.

Arcadia, Fla., Arcadian
December 28, 1933

A VIEW AS TO LYNCHING

Many expressions have been heard on the attitude of Gov. Rolph of California recently, when he condoned the lynching of two prisoners by a mob and offered to pardon anybody who might be convicted of the crime. Probably the following article, which was printed in the Pratt, Kansas, Union over the signature "A Pratt Business Man," comes as near epitomizing the opinion of the average citizen as anything yet seen:

Curb lynch law! "A consummation devoutly to be wished." But while our law makers and high officials are condemning lynch law and heaping criticisms, maledictions, execrations and scorn on certain officials who honestly condone certain lynchings, let's stop and take a look at ourselves.

Why not do something about certain criminal lawyers, and the maze of technicalities that we permit to surround the murderer?

We can abolish lynch law by abolishing a few other things; unethical criminal lawyers, "presumption of the prisoner's innocence" when the whole country knows he is guilty and he doesn't deny it, but even brags about it, hero-worship, mush-headed governorsr who pardon known murderers, rattle-brained pardon and parole boards who do the same thing, and often for money, silly women who send flowers and sympathy to convicted murderers and despoilers of their own sex, weak-minded governors who listen to the inspired pleas of mothers who want just one more chance for their boy (to go out and murder a few more people), and so on.

Sam Insull has "lots of friends in Chicago, because he was good to Chicago, gave them grand opera, etc." Yet, with the money of thousands of poor stockholders who lost their all in his "Holding Companies," and now he get an annual pension for doing it.

The criminal code of every state in the Union is such a joke that it can't do a thing to the known gangsters or racketeers, but has to rely on the federal authorities, who in turn have to send a black hearted murderer greater than Nero, who grows rich off of murder, extortion, traffic in girls, torture and other unspeakable crimes, to Atlanta, not for any of these crimes, but because he doesn't pay the Government its commission!

Yes, let's abolish a few of these things and lynch law will fade away when justice operates promptly and we read no more reports of the death penalty being imposed after many years of legal battles and technicalities.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4005

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
October 28, 1933

LYNCHING AT RICHLAND

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

Attached is an editorial clipped from today's issue of The Macon Telegraph.

I admit that lynching is not a thing to be proud of and I would not even try to justify such an act.

However, you have done an injustice to the law abiding and innocent citizens of this city in your editorial. You have stated that the Negro was lynched by a white mob because of his attack upon a Negro girl.

You have either been misinformed as to the true facts in the case or have chosen to ignore them. I trust that the former is your position.

After the attack upon the Negro girl her mother reported it to our night patrolman and asked him to make the arrest. The officer went to the Negro's house and while there was murderously assaulted by the Negro. In a surprise attack the Negro struck the officer over the head with an iron bar, stunning him so that he could not defend himself. The Negro then beat him into insensibility and left him as dead.

The officer came to his senses enough to stagger from the house in a few minutes and was brought to the doctor's office by another Negro.

The Negro who was lynched was a notoriously known bad character. This was not the first time that he had run afoul of the law. The Negroes did not like him as he was continually causing trouble and it was known that he had made threats as to what he would do if the officers ever tried to arrest him again.

It is said that he admitted to the lynching party that he intended to kill the officer and thought that he had succeeded.

It was for this attack upon the officer that the Negro was lynched by a white mob and not for his attack on the Negro girl as you have suggested.

I hope that you will see fit to publish this letter in whole or in part, or in some other way make a correction in your paper for you have certainly given this community a much blacker name than it deserves.

A CITIZEN of Richland Ga.,
and a Constant Reader of The Telegraph.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
November 3, 1933

THOSE Eastern Shore, Maryland, folks who lynched a Negro and topped it off by barbecuing the body, explain they did it in "defense of womanhood," and one wonders if they ever heard of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, which, in 1930, set this down as among its views on the subject: "We are profoundly convinced that lynching is not a defense of womanhood, or of anything else." Even a lyncher who can't read ought to be able to understand that, if somebody would read it to him.

REPORT IS MADE ON MOB MURDERS

Telegraph

Commission Blames Tuscaloosa Police Officers For Lynching of Three Negroes

11-4-33

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Nov. 3. (AP)—The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching made public here today a summary of the report on the situation in and about Tuscaloosa, Ala., where three Negroes have been lynched within the last three months. Macon, Ga.

This report, which came from the commission's investigation staff, of which Dr. Arthur Raper is the head, was made at the request of Dr. W. W. Alexander, executive director, of the Commission on Inter-racial co-operation. George Fort Milton, editor of The Chattanooga News, is chairman of the commission on the study of lynching.

Police Officers Blamed

The summary follows:

"Since August 12, mobs in the vicinity of Tuscaloosa, Ala., have taken the lives of three Negroes and left a fourth for dead. Careful investigation of the situation reveals these facts.

"1. One of the four mob victims was undoubtedly, two others probably, the fourth possibly innocent.

"2. Unquestionably the police officers of Tuscaloosa county have not performed their duty in safeguarding these prisoners or protecting them from violence. . .

"3. In spite of the vigorous charges which the circuit judge made to two grand juries, Tuscaloosa county's law-enforcing agencies have taken no effective step to punish the lynchers.

"4. While only a few white individuals in the Tuscaloosa neighborhood resent the tragedy of errors, the community's white citizenship has variously accepted the sorry train of events as inevitable excusable or commendable.

"Group-phobia" Noted

"5. The extreme community hysteria was the result of the superaddition to the ever-present latent white group-phobia against the black man—a phobia in large part traceable to the group insistance upon the right of economic exploitation—of the newer but equally consuming fear of communism injected by the attempts of the international labor defense to force its way into the case. Much of the hysteria observed in the Tuscaloosa vicinity is directly traceable to a pervasive, unreasoning fear, even on the part of some of the most intelligent people, that Communist agents had actually organized conspiracies of violence, outrage and insurrection among the large Negro population of the area.

"The most careful search has failed to reveal any insurgent spirit whatever among the Negro population, or even any sustained effort on the part of the Communists to gain Negro support.

"6. The commission sincerely hopes that the judicial and prosecuting authorities of Tuscaloosa county will on their own initiative effectively renew their investigations. If the local authorities fail, the commission feels that the best hope for justice rests upon the supreme court of Alabama, which is empowered by the state constitution to impeach officers who signally fail of their duty, and in the governor of the state, who has authority to remove officers so impeached."

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
November 3, 1933

HOLD OFFICERS RESPONSIBLE IN LYNCHING CASES

Southern Commission Suggests Impeachment of Officials Found Negligent.

SAY VICTIMS INNOCENT

Study on Tuscaloosa Situation Released—Racial and Communist Fear Blamed.

The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching made public here today a summary of the report upon the situation in and about Tuscaloosa, Ala., where within the last three months three Negroes have been lynched. This report, which came from the Commission's investigation staff, of which Dr. Arthur Raper is the head, was made at the request of W. W. Alexander, executive director of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, a southwide group which for years has sought to reduce race tensions and to better racial conditions.

The report was released here Friday when Dr. Raper was visiting in the City.

George F. Milton, editor of The Chattanooga News, is chairman of the Southern Commission to Study Lynching. Other members of the commission include Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina; Julian Harris of the Atlanta Constitution; Alex W. Spence of Dallas, Tex.; Dr. W. P. King, editor of the Christian Advocate of Nashville; Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk university; Dr. John Hope of Atlanta university; Benjamin F. Hubert, president of Georgia State college, and Maj. R. R. Moton of Tuskegee Institute.

The summary follows:

"Since August 12, mobs in the vicinity of Tuscaloosa, Ala., have taken the lives of three Negroes and left a fourth for dead. Careful investigation of the situation reveals these facts:

Victims Likely Innocent.

"1. One of the four mob victims was undoubtedly, two others probably, the fourth possibly innocent.

"2. Unquestionably the police officers of Tuscaloosa county have not performed their duty in safeguarding these prisoners or protecting them from violence. We are convinced that some of the county officers probably connived in the taking of the three Negroes first seized. At best, they exhibited inexcusable inefficiency and stupidity in handling these cases.

"3. In spite of the vigorous charges which the circuit judge made to two grand juries, Tuscaloosa county's law-enforcing agencies have taken no effective step to punish the lynchers. Both mobs were made up largely of Tuscaloosa people, many in that community know their identities and a really vigorous official investigation would have been productive of indictments.

Citizens Accept Lynching.

"4. While only a few white individuals in the Tuscaloosa neighborhood resent the tragedy of errors, the community's white citizenship has variously accepted the sorry train of events as inevitable, excusable or commendable.

"5. The extreme community hysteria was the result of the superaddition of the ever-present latent white group phobia against the black man—a phobia in large part traceable to the group insistence upon the right to economic exploitation—of the newer but equally consuming fear of Communism injected by the attempts of the International Labor Defense to force its way into the case. Much of the hysteria observed in the Tuscaloosa vicinity is directly traceable to a pervasive, unreasoning fear, even on the part of some of the most intelligent people, that Communist agents had actually organized conspiracies of violence, outrage and insurrection among the large Negro population of the area.

Negroes Quiet.

"Even had there been some basis of fact for these rumors, they would have afforded no justification for intimidation and murder. As a matter of fact, however, the most careful search has failed to reveal any insurgent spirit whatever among the Negro population, or even any sustained effort on the part of the Communists to gain Negro support. Certainly the Tuscaloosa community could hardly have placed itself in a worse light than it did by insisting that the Negroes' defense be left in local hands, and then permitting them to be murdered and these crimes against society to go unavenged. Immediate responsibility for this situation, and probably for the lynchings themselves, rests upon a local secret organization, the Citizens' Protective league, with its elaborate system of espionage and intimidation.

"6. The Commission sincerely hopes that the judicial and prosecuting authorities of Tuscaloosa county will on their own initiative effectively renew their investigations. If the local authorities fail, the Commission feels that the best hope for justice rests upon the Supreme court of Alabama, which is empowered by the state constitution to impeach officers who signally fail of their duty, and in the governor of the state, who has authority to remove officers so impeached."

Cape Charles, Va., Times
October 26, 1933

AN INEXCUSABLE OUTRAGE

Dealing with the recent outbreak of lawlessness which resulted in another lynching of a negro at Princess Anne, Maryland, the Virginian Pilot philsophizes wisely as follows:

Paralysis of a state's law enforcement machinery has never been shown more disastrously than in the lynching of the Negro assailant of an 81-year-old white woman in Somerset County Maryland, Wednesday night, when a mob overpowered state police, the sheriff and his deputies, took the prisoner from the jail at Princess Anne, dragged him through the streets, hanged him and later burned the body.

Local officials had refused to remove the prisoner to Baltimore for safe-keeping even after a mob had formed. Governor Ritchie had offered to send military to protect the man, but was told troops were not needed not only by the prosecuting attorney and circuit judge, but by a captain of State Police in charge of a detail at the jail. The judge, whose experience on previous occasions had taught hi ma lesson, was howled down when he pleaded to let the law take its course, promising an immediate trial.

The Eastern Shoremen, with other crimes of a similar nature in recent years inflaming their passions, disregarded all pleas, and the officers at the jail made no more than a gesture toward combatting the mob. The defenders at the jail assert they did not recognize any of the individuals in the mob, and from the time they brushed the sheriff aside with a tap on the head and blow on the chest, there was no further interference withtheir tragic performance.

From Baltimore come reports that under the Maryland law, the state is powerless to prosecute the perpetrators of the lynchers, the case being wholly in the hands of local authorities, and from the attitude of the county officials at the time of the occurrence, it is difficult to vision anything more than a perfunctory investigation.

The breakdown of a state's law enforcement machinery whatever may be the occasion and interference by mob rule with the orderly processes of the law even with the perpetrator of a particularly brutal crime is not only a reflection on Maryland—and on any other state where lynching is permitted—but it gives ground for further agitation of congressional action in the direction of a law giving the Federal courts jurisdiction over participants where a state fails or refuses to afford protection.

The Times agrees unreservedly with the Virginian Pilot in all it says, and while we have always resented unwarranted encroachments of the federal government upon the jurisdiction of states we feel almost as if we would welcome some sort of intervention of Congress to take care of abuses of this kind. We had occasion a few years ago to criticise Henry L. Menkin for an article which he wrote on the Eastern Shore concerning a similar outrage and have nothing to retract of the position we then occupied, because Menkin indicted the whole Eastern Shore as a backward and benighted people maknig no distinction between the lawless and the law abiding citizenry of that section, and displayed no better judgment than to bring in his verdict of guilty against them all. But there is a wide distinction which should not be ignored and in justice and decency should be very clearly marked.

The Princess Anne case is representative of a class which deserves no better treatment than the victim of their outrageous behavior, and the manner in which this lynching came about places everyone who participated in it under the suspicion of being a potential murderer of the most brutal kind.

There are two circumstances which impress us as particularly absurd; one is the information communicated to Governor Ritchie expressing the view that there was no danger of violence to the prisoner. It is impossible that the mob could have so completely concealed its purpose and preparation for the lynching as that somebody had not the intelligence to foresee it; the other is the protestation of the Sheriff who is quoted as saying he did not recognize a single member of the killing party. The very statment itself carries with it its own implications; an officer who knows the people of his bailiwick as well as the Sheriff is supposed to know and who was at all anxious either to protect his prisoner or detect his his assailants would have to plead nothing short of absolute blindness not to recognize a member of a mob the size of that. The lowest estimate we have heard of the crowd assembled around the jail was 2000 and while a crowd that size may have so disguised themselves as to have concealed their identity it will be difficult to convince intelligent people that such actually was the case.

The Times hasn't one word to say in defense of the brute or the act for which slain, neither have we anything to say of a system which prolongs the life of Euell Lee, who is finally to pay the penalty of his crime tomorrow. What we do say, however, is that the orderly process of law can normally be relied upon in such cases to inflict adequate punishment and should by every principal of safety and decency be allowed to pursue its course. Lynch law is a survival of the most barbarous ages thru which the world has ever passed; there is never an excuse for its execution so long as there are courts and officers honest enough and courageous enough to perform their duties. Any community that will maintain in office those who display such weakness as were manifest in this instance is necessarily blameworthy for the consequences, and must share with the mob, their aids and abettors, the disgrace which follows.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
TIMES
DEC 6 1933

"OUGHT TO BE STOMPED"

Fourteen hundred persons met in the Great Hall of the College of the City of New York to condemn lynching, and the Governor of California, and a New York clergyman who congratulated the Governor of California, who had approved a lynching.

The meeting was almost, but not quite, unanimous on its condemnation of murders, murderers, and those who applaud murder, and murderers.

Almost, but not quite.

A woman who said she might be called *Madame X*, disagreed with the view that mob murders always are deplorable, and that Governors who like, and laud them, are deplorable, and that ministers of the Gospel who laud lauders of lynchers are deplorable.

Some persons in the crowd, many of them, seemingly, yelled: "Throw her out!"

But a Negro, a *Stentor* whose voice was stronger than the voices of others, as the bow which Ulysses bent was stronger than the bows others could bend, shouted: "She ought to be stomped."

And the crowd rejoiced, in the voice and the words, of the Negro.

And thus the very core of the spirit of a mob was revealed, where men and women met to condemn mob violence.

Had the sentiment of the Negro motivated the crowd; had *Madame X* been "stomped," tragedy, comedy—and news, news, news—would have been combined.

Lynchings - 1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4006

Lynching Etiquette

Commercial Appeal
12-6-33
Memphis, Tenn.

The Kansas City Journal-Post says:

The California episode was different from lynchings in the South. The crowd knew the men were guilty, it knew that it had the right men and did not torture them.

The country is indebted to the Journal-Post for its distinction between the little incident in California and lynchings in the South. They are so different that the Journal-Post should have a word for it.

Southern lynchings are accompanied by anger, harsh language and hardly any feeling at all for the comfort of the victim. The California lynching, if, in the absence of a softer term we may call it that, was really a festive occasion. A pleasant time was had by all, with the possible exception of the victims. There is no way of knowing how they felt about it.

Southern mobs are rough and uncouth. The California mob, or perhaps we should say congregation, was composed of the best people. Instead of using an old well rope or plow line, as southern mobs do, the Californians chose a new and hitherto unused rope which, it must be said for their good taste, made a much more becoming necktie.

Persons lynched in the South are usually hung to a telephone pole or the first available tree. The Californians honored the victims by escorting them to one of the city's principal parks and stringing them up on the limb of a tree with exceptionally attractive foliage. The kind of a tree a man is hanged on makes a lot of difference to him, particularly if he happens to be a person of discriminating taste.

It is true that the California victims were escorted with pomp and ceremony to the place of execution. The South being more backward does not take into account these little niceties. The parade from the jail to the place of hanging was witnessed by a large and enthusiastic crowd.

It might have been mistaken for an NRA parade celebrating the end of depression. The victims were dragged through the streets with ropes around their necks, kicked, cursed and perhaps mutilated, but it was all in good spirit. No harm was intended. It was just one of those delightful surprise parties which only those of refinement and culture can make of what in the South would have been a gruesome affair. The South is indebted to the Journal-Post for the distinction it draws between the correct and the incorrect method of serving a lynching.

Since the Journal-Post printed the editorial referred to, Missouri has put on one of those delightful affairs. We trust that there was nothing in the ceremonial of hanging and burning the victim that did not meet fully the aesthetic taste of the editor of the Journal-Post, who is so well qualified to determine between a crude and an artistic execution.

We observe that the Missouri victim lynched, perhaps according to the rules of the Journal-Post's book of etiquette, was hanged and then burned. Perhaps the Journal-Post will provide us with a book of rules for guidance in the conduct of future lynchings in the South. The South wants to do the thing right and without giving offense to the most meticulous critic.

We are sure the Journal-Post will not begrudge us a little advice on the correct way to conduct a lynching. The South will be glad to modify its practices so as to qualify it for association with the elite lynchers of other sections of the country.

A NOTE TO NEW YORK

Advertiser
12-9-33
Montgomery, Ala.

The shocked world almost forgot about the trial at Decatur last week. Thanks to Governor Rolph, of California, and Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, the world almost forgot about "Scottsboro."

The Advertiser had not overlooked the third trial and the third conviction of Heywood Patterson found guilty of rape. This newspaper, however, purposely overlooked "Scottsboro" because it did not wish to say anything that might be considered prejudicial to the trial of the other defendants in Decatur.

Strangely enough, this paper has found only one editorial reference to the third conviction of Patterson. The New York Herald Tribune has this to say:

> The fatal circle has again closed in the Scottsboro case, and the Negro Heywood Patterson stands for the third time in the shadow of the death penalty. Unmistakably local sentiment waxed more and more tense as the trial proceeded. The appearance of outsiders in the forces of the defense renewed the old prejudices and passions in which the case has been enveloped from the start.
>
> It will be recollected that last Summer Judge Horton set aside the second conviction as against the weight of evidence. This time, if Judge Callahan's point of view is to be fairly inferred from his charge to the jury, there is little hope of relief from the trial court. Hope of reversal must rest upon appeal to the Alabama Supreme Court or to the Supreme Court of the United States.
>
> It is too soon to consider the possible basis of such appeals. But we think it is not too soon to say that the charge of Judge Callahan fell short of complete impartiality. It was as if the tense emotions of the community had penetrated to the courtroom and to the bench itself.
>
> There has been no small evidence of courage and impartiality on the part of distinguished citizens of Alabama in the course of this historic trial. We shall cling to the hope that the legal processes of the State will yet suffice to reverse a verdict which, in view of Judge Horton's decision last Summer, must be viewed by every disinterested observer as a shocking miscarriage of justice.
>
> If these processes fail, resort must again be had to the great tribunal at Washington. Limited as are the powers of such review, they go to the heart of justice, to those essentials of a fair jury trial which were certainly not observed in the first instance. Principles and institutions of far vaster importance than the fate of any individual defendant are at stake. In view of recent events in California, in Missouri, in Maryland, the eyes of the whole nation will be focused upon the sequel of this Alabama verdict.

It is duly noted that The Herald Tribune racks its brain in an attempt to find some reason for which Heywood Patterson should be tried again, some manner in which Patterson may "prove his innocence."

Has it not occurred to The Herald Tribune that after three trials in which the Negro has been found guilty three times that the Negro IS guilty?

MACON, GA.
NEWS
NOV 23 1933

FEELING RATHER BILIOUS

From the Pembroke Journal.

In the arrangement for the reception for President Roosevelt when he visits Savannah on the 18th, it is noticeable that a great deal of the choice space and seating capacity has been assigned to a lot of Negro brats.

Enough to accommodate five thousand in number, this space is located directly in front of the speakers stand and is considered the choice location at the stadium.

These Negro brats will not know who is speaking and will care less. If any of their fathers are able to qualify under educational grandfather clause, he voted for President Hoover, like he will vote next time, and like these boys will do when they attain majority.

Thousands of good white citizens will be deprived of an opportunity to listen to the great white Democratic leader speak, by reason of the fact that this space has been assigned to a lot of Negro boys.

It is noticeable that among the noted celebrities of prominence in the parade and on the grand stand the names of Messrs. Howell Cone and J. Saxton Daniel are painfully absent.

Howell Cone as collector of the port is the direct representative of the president in Georgia.

But the Negroes seem to have crowded him out. If it had been the Hoover celebration, your "Uncle M. O. Dunning" would have ridden astride of the president's shoulders during the parade. In fact he may do it anyhow.

If you happen to see a big double figure coming down the street at the head of the parade you need not inquire what it is, it will be M. O. Dunning setting astride of Franklin D. Roosevelt's shoulders.

The arrangement that is usually adopted in the staging of a parade is to hook the calliope to the tail end of the procession, but in this case, it may be located in the front car.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
NEWS
NOV 29 1933

Defends the Lynching

Glory, glory Allelujah
As we go marching on.

I say this as I read of the justice meted out to two men, confessed slayers of Brooke Hart.

Glory to San Jose that she should have men of such swift and determined action.

The armies of heaven fought with them.

It is good to be a man of peace, of balanced judgment, but from this very man of peace may come swift, accumulated judgment.

This is a time for searching of hearts, for forming ourselves into heroic moulds, for clearly seeing our sins and the sins of our forefathers.

MARY P. FROST,
27 King St.

ROCKY MOUNT, N. C.
TELEGRAM

NOV 24 1933

"Lynchings And Beer

The Greensboro News quotes another section from the recent report of the committee on Temperance and Social Service in the Western North Carolina conference of the Methodist church:

" 'Legalization of beer by the legislatures of of the several states and the exaltation of alcohol by the national government together with the base surrender of those charged with law enforcement have already borne bitter fruit. Since March 1 of this year we have had 21 mob murders in the south, all of the victims being Negroes. This is a record of more lynchings in eight months than we had in 26 months preceding. Surely the recital of this bare fact might jar us wide awake to the growth of this disgraceful evil.'

"Data in support of these conditions as to shameful record are not included in the report," continues the News "And nowhere in lynching reports has it been noticed where the jail that was desecrated or the ground that ran red with some helpless and perhaps innocent victim's blood was all littered up with beer bottles. Nor have any of these containers been used, if the accepted chroniclers are to be relied upon, for pummeling suspected assailants into the Great Beyond.

"If the Methodists are correct there are a few matters, having to do largely with statistics, which need to be cleared up. For instance, lynchings, 64 in 1921 and 57 in 1922, as the 18th amendment shut down on drinkers, were far more prevalent than during these later years when the wet reaction set in and 'the base surrender' of those charged with law enforcement paved the way for repeal."

This newspaper is not seeking to become involved in this discussion of lynching and the effects of beer on the increase or decrease of a deplorable practice. In the first place we have seen little evidence to connect beer drinking and mob violence. But the conference committee has as much right to express a view, without substantiating evidence, as we have to regard the view wholly out of relation to the point. We are not submitting one shred of evidence.

But there is another factor to be considered. That is the cause of the breakdown of laws regulating the traffic in alcohol and the repeal of many of them. The sale of mild and not particular popular beer in this State, contrary let us say to a surprisingly large majority of voters who took the trouble to vote on the liquor question, has exercised precious little effect on the habits and customs of North Carolinians. Before beer was legalized, alcohol was obtainable, not only in North Carolina but in other states in the South. The News quotes statistics to show a decrease in lynchings at the time when there was an increasing desire to remove restrictions on the sale of legal alcohol.

The Methodists proved nothing; neither have we. But one of the chief causes for the breakdown of National Prohibition as a public policy was the thoroughly naive practice of attributing every imaginable public evil to liquor. With or without liquor there will be periodic recurrences of mob violence until a people have been educated to a point that they are superior to such an offense against organized society. And the process of educating them is not an easy one nor an end brought about quickly.

'Collective Murder'

The endorsement Governor Rolph gave to the speakeasy lynchers of California a few days ago when they strung up the kidnapers will go further toward causing the federal government to enact an anti-lynching law than anything that has happened. Ever since 1833 Congress has put through bills that had for their purpose the prevention of nullification of federal laws by the states. The name of "Force" bill was given to laws looking to this end, and under this classification there were four measures put on the statute books, all aimed directly at the South. California will now share "honors" with the South in federal attention.

Macon Telegraph

12-8-33

The United States constitution provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. And as the laws already on the books, as above cited, provide for the federal forces and government seeing that constitutional rights are not violated, it is probable that the authority is abundant. The Congress has had under consideration many specific bills to punish lynching, one of the most agitated and conspicuous being to have the federal government assess the state that has a lynching the sum of $10,000, to be given to the family of the person lynched.

Macon Ga

President Roosevelt in his address of Wednesday night delivered to Governor Rodph a very dignified rebuke for his endorsement of lynching, when he said:

> This new generation, for example, is not content with preachment against that vile form of collective murder—lynch law—which has broken out in our midst anew. We know that it is murder, and a deliberate and definite disobedience of the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill." We do not excuse those in high places or in low who condone lynch law.
>
> But a thinking America goes further. It seeks a government of its own that will be sufficiently strong to protect the prisoner and at the same time to crystallize a public opinion so clear that government of all kinds will be compelled to practice a more certain justice. The judicial function of government is the protection of the individual and of the community through quick and certain justice. That function in many places has fallen into a state of disrepair. It must be a part of our program to re-establish it.

It is not clear as to what the president means in his second paragraph when he says, "thinking America . . . seeks a government of its own that will be sufficiently strong to protect the prisoner and at the same time to crystallize a public opinion so clear that government of all kinds will be compelled to practice a more certain justice." He may mean a federal government sufficiently strong to protect the prisoner and to practice a more certain justice. It is not probable, however, that he did mean that, but had in mind that we "should have state governments sufficiently strong to protect the prisoner and at the same time effect a more certain justice."

A mass meeting of Jews, Catholics and Protestants in New York Sunday petitioned President Roosevelt to support a federal anti-lynching bill, and certainly the situation is in a state of flux where almost anything is likely to develop out of it.

Whatever is done will have to be done with state enforcement as a basis. The distribution of federal officers to act quickly in case of a threatened lynching is not an easy accomplishment, nor is it practical. State officers are on the ground, and some influence of the federal government with them seems to be the only plan by which any results can be secured. Unless something of this kind is devised, the federal government's function in lynching matters is going to be largely that of holding inquests and fixing penalties against the lynchers. It will hardly be able to act in time to save a victim's life.

Three Theological Students Arrested Protesting Minister's Praise Of Rolph

NEW YORK, Dec. 3.—(AP)—Theological students today picketed the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Heavenly Rest in protest against an endorsement by its pastor, Dr. Henry Darlington, of Gov. James Rolph's commendation of the San Jose lynching. The demonstration resulted in three arrests.

Advertiser

12-6-33

Montgomery, Ala.

Although Dr. Darlington recanted his endorsement at the morning service, the students—18 young men and two young women—paced up and down the sidewalks of Fifth Avenue bearing placards denouncing his stand.

Police arrested two men and one of the girls on disorderly charges preferred by Mrs. Mary Brown, who tore to bits two of the signs and, in the excitement, slipped and fell to the pavement.

The young woman, Miss Lillian Migrath, 21, of Butler, N. J., preferred a charge of assault against Mrs. Brown, but the desk lieutenant at the precinct station to which they were taken refused to receive it.

The other two arrested were Louis Goldberg, 25, of Brooklyn, and William Chamberlain, 27, of Lakeside, Mich. All have been ordered to appear in Harlem Court Monday morning.

The picketers are students at the Union Theological Seminary and said they were members of the Intercollegiate League for Industrial Democracy.

Dr. Darlington, during the reading of church announcements prior to his sermon, told the congregation he had come to the conclusion he should not have sent his telegram to Governor Rolph of California, in which he had said, "Congratulations on the stand you have taken."

"It was the result," he said today, "of being deeply stirred at the time, and upon further consideration of the facts, I have come to the conclusion that it should not have been sent.

"It is the duty of all good citizens to uphold the law, and I do not condone in any way the attempts of groups or individuals to take matters into their own hands."

He made no further mention of the subject in his sermon and members of the vestry later said there would be no additional comment.

Lynchings-1933 & Discussions

White Press, Southern.

4007

U. S. Attorney General Excoriates Lynch Law

Atlanta Constitution 12-8-33

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7.—(AP)—Attorney General Cummings told newspapermen today the recent lynchings in the country were "a very distressing thing" for which there was "no possible excuse."

"They are injurious to the cause of law enforcement," he said. "They are so reprehensible, so intolerable and so inexcusable that it is difficult for me to speak about them in a parliamentary fashion."

EDITOR DEPLORES LYNCHING ATTACKS

Georgia's Educational Standing Also Hit by W. T. Anderson in Club Speech

Telegraph 12-6-33 Macon, Ga.

"Georgia leads the nation in lynching, and is at the bottom of the list when it comes to education," W. T. Anderson, editor and publisher of The Telegraph and News told members of the Macon Lions club at their meeting Tuesday afternoon in the Hotel Dempsey.

Mr. Anderson was introduced by Carl Block and he opened his address by deploring the fact that the governor of California had openly advocated the recent lynchings in that state.

"Up through 1930, the latest year for which figures are available, 4,300 people were lynched in the United States. Those who take part in a lynching are cowards—they run in packs. They wouldn't dare commit such a murder alone for they know the one attacked might prove the better man.

"Lynching is uncivilized. It is a throw-back to the primitive. The mob tramples on the civilization that our ancestors have built and fought for throughout the centuries.

"Lynching in Georgia has come as a result of race hatred—a race hatred that did not exist during slavery times. When southern masters went to the war they left their wives and babies in the care of the Negroes, and knew that their loved ones would be well taken care of.

"When freedom came to the Negroes they were thrown into the road, homeless, without clothes, and without food. The government freed them and left them alone. Carpetbaggers, scallywags and camp followers from the north, coming into the South at this critical period, convinced the Negroes that Southern people were the enemies of Negroes. That is where this race hatred started.

"And then we have tried to hold the Negro down—to our own disadvantage, for you cannot hold anyone down and rise yourself. You must stay down with them. For every one of the eleven million Negroes in this county who is being oppressed, there is a white person being held back.

"A white man says he takes a job for three dollars a day. The employer says he can get a Negro for $1.50. The white man cuts his price to $1.50. Then the employer calls a Negro and when the Negro says $1.50, he says, 'Why, I can get a white man for that,' so the Negro takes the job for 75 cents.

"We handicap them in every way possible and lynch them on the least pretense. We hold them back, and keep ourselves back. If the South is to advance, we must give the Negro a chance."

Mr. Anderson cited the beginning of civil liberty in history and traced it down to the present day.

Elbert Peabody had Hudson Edwards as his guest at the meeting.

Lions will elect officers and directors for the coming year at the meeting Dec. 19, said Art Nims president.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
COURIER JOURNAL
NOV 29 1933

MARYLAND'S GOVERNOR

The Governor of California exults over a double lynching in his State one day; the Governor of Maryland orders out troops to arrest lynchers in his State the next. There's a contrast for you, as wide as the land.

Governor Ritchie, of course, doesn't approve the alleged conduct for which the victim was slain any more than Governor Rolph of California, approved the dastardly deed confessed by the San Jose pair hanged in a park. But, Governor Ritchie has too much respect for his own discriminating intelligence to confuse disapproval of a crime with condonation of another crime to avenge it.

Governor Ritchie did the honorable and courageous thing when he ordered out troops to arrest lynchers after the State's local prosecuting officer had shown the white feather. His respect for his oath, for his office, for the laws of the Commonwealth he serves, partially redeems Maryland from the disgrace of the mob.

The contrast enhances the character which has earned Governor Ritchie the long-sustained confidence of Marylanders and the admirations of his fellow-countrymen generally.

MOB MURDER IS DENOUNCED BY PRESIDENT

Telegraph 12-7-33 Macon, Ga.

Faith in 'New Generation" Is Expressed in Address to Church Council

JUDICIAL DECAY IS NOTED

'It Must Be Part of Our Program to Re-establish It,' Executive Says

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6 (AP)—President Roosevelt in an address tonight called lynching "a vile form of collective murder."

The president also indirectly rebuked Gov. James Rolph of California who recently expressed approval of mob action in San Jose, California, which resulted in the death of two men.

"We do not excuse those in high places or in low who condone lynch law," Mr. Roosevelt said.

He did not, however, in his speech before the Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America directly refer to the California lynching or to similar incidents recently in Missouri and Maryland.

Mr. Roosevelt expressed faith in the "new generation" as a preliminary to his strong condemnation of mob violence.

"This new generation, for example," he said, "is not content with preaching against that vile form of collective murder—lynch law—which has broken out in our midst anew. We know that it is murder—and a deliberate and definite disobedience of the commandment 'Thou shalt not kill.' We do not excuse those in high places or in low who condone lynch law.

"Quick and Certain Justice"

"But a thinking America goes further. It seeks a government of its own that will be sufficiently strong to protect the prisoner and at the same time crystalize a public opinion so clear that government of all kinds will be compelled to practice a more certain justice.

"The judicial function of the government is the protection of the individual and of the community through quick and certain justice. That function in many places has fallen into a sad state of disrepair. It must be a part of our program to reestablish it."

In his first public utterance since returning from Warm Springs, Georgia, where he spent a Thanksgiving vacation, the president said the government was seeking the goal the churches look toward and that "from the bottom of my heart I believe that this beloved country is entering upon a time of great gain."

"That gain," he said, "can well include a greater material prosperity if we take care that it is a prosperity for a hundred and twenty million human beings and not a prosperity for the top of pyramid alone.

"Great Objective" Defined

"If I were asked to state the great objective which church and state are both demanding for the sake of every man and woman and child in this country, I would say that that great objective is 'a more abundant life.'

"The early Christians challenged the pagan ethics of Greece and of Rome; we are wholly ready to challenge the pagan ethics that are represented in many phases of our boasted modern civilization. We have called on enlightened business judgment, on understanding labor and on intelligent agriculture to provide a more equitable balance of the abundant life between all elements of the community.

"We recognize the right of the individual to seek and to obtain his own fair wage, his own fair profit, in his own fair way—just so long as in the doing of it he shall not push down nor hold down his neighbor.

"And at the same time, we are at one in calling for collective effort on broad lines of social planning—a collective effort which is wholly in accord with the social teachings of Christianity.

"New Generation Ready to Help"

"This new generation of ours stands ready to help us. They may not be as ready as were their fathers and mothers to accept the outward requirements or even many of the ancient observance of the several churches, yet I truly believe that these same churches can find in them a stronger support for the fundamentals of social betterment than many of the older generation are willing to concede.

"This younger generation is not satisfied with the exposure of those in high places who seek to line their own nests with other people's money to cheat their government of its just dues or to break the spirit of the law while observing its legalistic letter. This new generation seeks action—action by collective government and by individual education, toward the end of practices such as these."

NASHVILLE, TENN.
EVE. TENNESSEAN
NOV 28 1933

Judge Lynch in the West.

Lynching of the two slayers of young Brooke Hart in San Jose was not as surprising as it might have been had not warning of such action been freely given.

One has but to read the details to understand that a California mob can be as efficient as one in the South, and that the racial issue is not necessary to make aroused groups forgetful of the law.

On behalf of the San Jose sheriff and his deputies, they seem to have put up as much resistance as possible without turning machine guns on the lynchers. The sheriff himself is seriously injured because he resisted the seizure of a third alleged slayer in his custody. He made a show of respecting his oath of office.

One of the most interesting aftermaths of the California outbreak is the attitude of Governor James Rolphe, Jr., who refuses to view the outbreak as a calamity. Having been asked for troops when danger threatened, he refused to issue the necessary order; and now that the expected has happened, he cites it as "the best lesson that California has ever given the country...that the state is not going to tolerate kidnaping."

In addition, the San Jose incident has given Mr. Rolphe the idea of making lynching a semi-official aid to crime prevention. He would like to parole to San Jose's "fine patriotic citizens" all prison inmates convicted of kidnaping. "Their method," he says, referring to the lynchers, "is the best way to get rid of kidnapers."

We are glad such an expression, if it had to come, can be credited to a Pacific Coast governor instead of one from the South. It has the ring of honesty, and possibly will be cheered by many of the state's citizens, but it denotes an unfortunate state of mind for a chief executive sworn to uphold law and order.

The two men who swung from gallows trees were entitled to no sympathy nor legal mercy. But there was no fear in this instance that justice might miscarry, especially since the finding of the victim's body.

More important than their right to a legal trial, was the state's right to try them legally. That is something to be remembered in every commonwealth, especially in those of our own section where the record of lynchings is entirely too dark.

President Roosevelt's Denunciation Of Lynching

The president of the United States took occasion, in his address Wednesday night, to denounce "that vile form of collective murder—lynch law" —which has broken out anew in our country. "We know," said Mr. Roosevelt, "that it is murder, and a deliberate and definite disobedience of the commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill.' We do not excuse those in high places or in low who condone lynch law."

That is a pointed rebuke, carrying all the force of the high office of the president of the United States, to Gov. Rolph, of California, who not only condoned but boasted about the double lynching in his state. It is a rebuke quite as pointed to all who have either engaged in or condoned this worst of all forms of mob violence.

A thinking America, Mr. Roosevelt continued, goes further than preaching against lynch law. 'It seeks a new government of its own that will be sufficiently strong to protect the prisoner and at the same time to crystallize a public opinion so clear that government of all kinds will be compelled to practice a more certain justice. The judicial function of government is the protection of the individual and of the community through quick and certain justice. That function in many places has fallen into a state of disrepair. It must be a part of our program to reestablish it.'

A part of that program to restore the majesty of the law must be to bring lynchers to justice where "that vile form of collective murder" has been perpetrated. Mr. Roosevelt's utterance on the subject is a call from the president of our country to the people and to the law-enforcement agencies to uphold the law. It is a call which should be particularly heeded just now in California, in Maryland, in Missouri and in Alabama.

News 12-9-33 Birmingham, Ala.

Send the Militia After Them

Governor Rolph of California said in effect "Sic 'em, lynchers, and after you finish lynching the law as applied to the kidnapers, hold a little session and see if you have a fancied or real grievance against me, and come and get me, or anybody else you select. I don't demand a trial. Mobs and his speak-easy gangsters are entitled to displace the officers of the law, the courts and myself. We are not fit nor competent. Organized society and civilization surrender to the rule of the mob. Hoop la! This is California."

Telegraph 12-7-33

And dear old Augusta having gotten away with her lynching of the anti-beer law, now goes a step further, in true mob fashion, and proposes to license the sale of whisky. And if anybody down in Augusta wants to kill a man, it is presumed all he has to do is to apply to the Augusta city council, pay a fee of $50 and get a license for that; then go out and get his man and show his license and all will be pretty.

Macon, Ga.

This newspaper has been opposed to the prohibition law since away back when no man remembers. We had a thousand reasons for that opposition, and have felt somewhat vindicated in the developments. But never have we been so profligate as to advocate open violation of the plainly written law by the authorities charged with its enforcement. Governor Talmadge knows his state militia, and doesn't need our advice as to what to do with it. But if it is not busy at the moment, it would be gratifying to see the governor send it down to Augusta and chase the mayor and all the councilmen voting for this licensing of whisky right slapkerdab into the Savannah river.

We know good and well whisky is going to be sold, as it has been, in Augusta and all other parts of Georgia. But as long as there is a fair regard for the law, at least by being apparently ashamed of violating it, there is hope for a people. But when they have statutes that everybody can understand and about which everyone is informed, as in this case, there is no earthly excuse for tolerating its official flaunting, at least.

This simply shows what evil there is connected with lynching, however. It is like inflation. Once you get a taste of it, there is no stopping it. Beer licensing was a sort of mild offense, and the Augusta mob got away with it. Straightway it comes back for another try-out and selects whisky this time. What next?

Governor Talmadge has indicated in the special beer session of the legislature that was agitated that he has some sympathy, political or otherwise, with the good intentions of the prohibitionists in Georgia. If he puts his gubernatorial foot down on Augusta in this matter, he will win the applause of not only the prohibitionists but every voter in the state who has any appreciation of the necessity for decency and law and order. We favor the speak-easy sale of 3.2 beer without license or recognition of any kind, until it can be legalized by the legislature, because it is our earnest belief that it makes for temperance and will remove the whisky evil to a large extent. It is an expedient. But old John Barleycorn cannot qualify in the list of virtues, from any standpoint, and it is cause for alarm and serious attention to have Augusta propose to license the sale of whisky, with the laws of Georgia as definitely set against it as they are.

HOUSTON, TEX.
PRESS
NOV 28 1933

THE SAN JOSE LYNCHING

THE San Jose double lynching is widely condoned. Governor Rolph, the chief law officer of California, announces that he will pardon the lynchers if any attempt is made to punish them. Rolph speaks, of course, not as a responsible public official, but as an irresponsible politician. He senses that his appeal to the mob spirit is popular.

There is no denying that Rolph's attitude is representative of a rather large block of public opinion not only in San Jose but elsewhere in the nation. Even many persons who usually abhor the crime of lynching are saying now, "They had it coming to them."

Why?

Obviously kidnaping provokes a blind public rage greater than almost any other crime. And when the kidnaping turns into fiendish murder, the brutality of the criminal fires the mob brutality. In this case also there was doubtless something of the spirit of the old California vigilantes. Though there was no reason to fear that these criminals would escape legal punishment, the kidnaping terror throughout the country has inspired a terrorist mood on the part of the public which demands vengeance.

Until very recently the law was not catching and punishing kidnapers. Our legal system was too inefficient or corrupt, or both. That is now being remedied, especially by the federal government. But we are still paying in mob spirit for the old breakdown of justice.

So it is easy enough to explain, in one way and another, the tendency of many persons to condone the San Jose lynching. This newspaper can not condone it.

The reasons against lynching go much deeper than the conventional arguments against barbarity.

This is a time of vast unrest. Otherwise, law-abiding citizens are taking law into their own hands. Farmers are using violence against officers and judges. The country is on edge. For many months whole communities and classes have been under nervous tension almost to the point of breaking. Now we enter another winter of mass suffering.

In such an explosive situation for Governor Rolph or any other sworn officer of the law to feed the mob spirit is feeding the flames of intolerance and insurrection. The mob is madness. The mob is no respecter of persons or institutions. Those who raise up the mob must be prepared to fight the mob.

Fortunately, the federal government and most state governments today are more intelligent than Governor Rolph.

More About Lynchings

By W. A. COVINGTON

Telegram 12-5-33 Macon, Ga.

More than once in this column I have called attention to the fact that mobs, from pogroms to revolutions, are always highly "liquored". From the "Porteus Riots" down—including the French revolution, the Gordon Anti-Catholic riots, the New York Anti-Draft riots and other ones, big and little—are liquor-fed from beginning to end.

In the good old days before the "Damnable Affliction of Prohibition", the saloons would always be officially closed whenever the unsoaped started any rough house. Down in Cuba the other day when a band of roaring savages went through the capitol of that island, shooting down unarmed citizens and dancing the turkey-trot in their dead faces, the drinks were all "on the house" for two or three days. So the papers said.

Up in Atlanta in November 1906, when nobody knows how many Negroes were killed just for being Negroes, the killers were recruited from the saloons, while for thirty hours all the forces of law and order stood paralyzed.

All this by way of getting to the San Jose lynchings of this week. The first news of it carried the statement that ten thousand "splendid citizens", "hate enraged" at the kidnaping and murder of a fine young man, just went raving crazy and took his two killers from the sheriff, beat them with their fists and whatever else came handy till they were all satisfied, and then strung them up to trees on the courthouse square. "It serves to show that the people of California will not stand for kidnaping", says one newspaper man of much reputed opulence. "Our courts are to blame", says an editor of our state. "There are too much delays in trials, too many technicalities got up by criminal lawyers". "It goes to show that human nature is the same North, South, East and West", chortles another editor of our state. "I am considering going into the California penitentiaries to get out the kidnapers there and paroling them to this 'splendid citizenry of San Jose'," said Governor Rolf, of that state, among other things of like nature.

Now then, here comes the reports of the reporters who were on the ground on the night of the lynchings, and on the next day. They say that the crowd actually engaged in the lynchings consisted of not over four hundred men, at the most, and that the most of them were boys who were notified in advance of the hour to meet for the business, and that at the time they were notified they were for the most part found in the score or more of speakeasies around the court house square. They were called speakeasies, but in fact, they were simply drink shops countenanced by the local and state authorities. One of the deputy sheriffs is quoted as saying that these men came right on through tear gas and smoke—"they had a crazy look", he said. Sure they did; they had had a matter of two hours to get properly tea-ed up. That's the "noble citizenry" that Governor Rolf grows peanic about. And surely Governor Rolf, if he has been correctly quoted, was himself either drunk or crazy at the time he was talking.

I see our great president is busy with a "code" for those Christian gentlemen who are to make and distribute intoxicants in this land. Till Congress meets. If it be not considered lese majeste, "or somethin'," I suggest a clause providing for the closing of places of sale for about two days before a mob is expected to get going.

Lynchings-1933 6 Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4008

LYNCHINGS TO BE STUDIED BY BODY FROM NEW YORK

11-3-33

Party En Route Here To Look Into Tuscaloosa Affair Of Pippen, Harden

Birmingham, Ala.

A delegation representing the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners of New York is en route to Tuscaloosa to investigate the Harden and Pippen lynchings, according to word received in Birmingham Friday.

Most of the delegation are Southerners, it is stated. The group consists of Howard Kester, Southern secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Vann Woodward, formerly on the faculty of the Georgia School of Technology; Bruce Crawford, editor of Crawford's Weekly, Norton, Va.; Grace Lumpkin, novelist, South Carolina; Jessica Henderson, Boston; Hollace Randsdell, of Pennsylvania, and Alfred H. Hirsch, of New York, secretary of the national committee.

The delegation is said to have left New York Thursday and is expected to reach Birmingham next Sunday. The Harden and Pippen lynchings took place last August as these Negroes, charged with criminal assault, were being brought to Birmingham from Tuscaloosa for safekeeping. A Grand Jury investigation of this affair brought no indictments for lack of sufficient evidence.

Lincoln Steffens is chairman of the national committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners and John Dos Passos in its treasurer.

The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, of which George Fort Milton, Chattanooga, is chairman, has conducted an investigation of recent lynchings of Tuscaloosa County offenders, and the findings were announced Friday at Chattanooga.

The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners is the same under whose auspices a committee headed by Theodore Dreiser went to the Kentucky coal fields for investigations in November, 1931, of conditions there.

Southern Commission Reports On Lynchings

CHATTANOOGA—(AP)—The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching made public here Friday a summary of the report upon the situation in and about Tuscaloosa, Ala., where within the last three months three Negroes have been lynched.

This report, which came from the commission's investigation staff, of which Dr. Arthur Raper is the head, was made at the request of Dr. W. W. Alexander, executive director, and George F. Milton, of Chattanooga, chairman of the commission to study lynching of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a southwide group which for years has sought to reduce race tensions and to better racial conditions.

The summary follows:

"Since Aug. 12 mobs in the vicinity of Tuscaloosa, Ala., have taken the lives of three Negroes and left a fourth for dead. Careful investigation of the situation reveals these facts:

All "Probably Innocent"

"1. One of the four mob victims was undoubtedly, two others probably, the fourth possibly innocent.

"2. Unquestionably the police officers of Tuscaloosa County have not performed their duty in safeguarding these prisoners or protecting them from violence. . .

"3. In spite of the vigorous charges which the circuit judge made to two Grand Juries, Tuscaloosa County's law-enforcing agencies have taken no effective step to punish the lynchers.

"4. While only a few white individuals in the Tuscaloosa neighborhood resent the tragedy of errors, the community's white citizenship has variously accepted the sorry train of events as inevitable, excusable or commendable.

"5. The extreme community hysteria was the result of the superaddition to the ever-present latent white group phobia against the black man—a phobia in large part traceable to the group insistence upon the right of economic exploitation—of the newer but equally consuming fear of communism injected by the attempts of the International Labor Defense to force its way into the case. Much of the hysteria observed in the Tuscaloosa vicinity is directly traceable to a pervasive, unreasoning fear, even on the part of some of the most intelligent people, that Communist agents had actually organized conspiracies of violence, outrage and insurrection among the large Negro populations of the area.

"No Insurgent Spirit"

"The most careful search has failed to reveal any insurgent spirit whatever among the Negro population, or even any sustained effort on the part of the Communists to gain Negro support. Certainly the Tuscaloosa community could hardly have placed itself in a worse light than it did by insisting that the Negroes' defense be left in local hands, and then permitting them to be murdered and these crimes against society to go unavenged.

"The immediate responsibility for this situation and probably for the lynching themselves, rests upon a local secret organization with an elaborate system of espionage and intimidation.

"6. The commission sincerely hopes that the judicial and prosecuting authorities of Tuscaloosa County will, on their own initiative, effectively renew their investigations. If the local authorities fail, the commission feels that the best hope for justice rests upon the Supreme Court of Alabama, which is empowered by the state constitution to impeach officers who signally fail of their duty, and in the governor of the state, who has authority to remove officers so impeached."

Nashville, Tenn. Banner
November 4, 1933

Officers Criticized In Study of Lynching

Tuscaloosa Situation Is Subject of Inquiry

Chattanooga, Nov. 4—(AP)—The Southern commission on the study of lynching made public here Friday a summary of the report upon the situation in and about Tuscaloosa, Ala., where within the last three months three Negroes have been lynched.

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"2. Unquestionably the police officers of Tuscaloosa County have not performed their duty in safeguarding these prisoners or protecting them from violence.

"3. In spite of the vigorous charges which the circuit judge made to two grand juries. Tuscaloosa County's law-enforcing agencies have taken no effective step to punish the lynchers.

"4. While only a few white individuals in the Tuscaloosa neighborhood resent the tragedy of errors, the community's white citizenship has variously accepted the sorry train of events as inevitable, excusable, or commendable.

"5. The extreme community hysteria was the result of the superaddition to the ever-present latent white group phobia against the black man,—a phobia in large part traceable to the group insistence upon the right of economic exploitation—of the newer but equally consuming fear Communism injected by the attempts of the international labor defense to force its way into the case. Much of the hysteria observed in the Tuscaloosa vicinity is directly traceable to a pervasive, unreasoning fear, even on the part of some of the most intelligent people, that Communist agents had actually organized conspiracies of violence, outrage, and insurrection among the large Negro population of the area.

"The most careful search has failed to reveal any insurgent spirit whatever among the Negro population, or even any sustained effort on the part of the Communists to gain Negro support. Certainly the Tuscaloosa community could hardly have placed itself in a worse light than it did by insisting that the Negroes' defense be left in local hands, and then permitting them to be murdered and these crimes against society to go unavenged. Immediate responsibility for this situation, and probably for the lynchings themselves, rests upon a local secret organization with an elaborate system of espionage and intimidation.

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They Don't Always Escape

John Temple Graves, II, able associate editor of The Birmingham Age-Herald, has been particularly vigorous in his comment upon the Tuscaloosa lynchings. "That lynchers should escape sometimes," he wrote recently, "is understandable. That they should escape always is hard to understand."

This reference prompted a letter from Thomas E. Kilby, of Anniston, former Governor of the State—and, [illegible], an admirable man.

"Some years ago, early one morning, I was on a Florida train reading the Times-Union," the former Governor wrote. "I read of a lynching in Baldwin County, Ala. Leaving the train, I went to a telephone and called my office at Montgomery. That night an assistant attorney general, Horace C. Wilkinson, and two private detectives (Pinkerton or Burns, I forget which) and several law enforcement officers were on the train bound for Baldwin. The second morning thereafter the sheriff of Baldwin County was in my office. His answers to my questions did not suit me. He signed his resignation, and on the same day Baldwin County had a new sheriff. Within two weeks, 20 members of the lynching party were in Baldwin County Jail. Within six weeks more than 15 had been convicted, with fines and sentences ranging from $50 to 15 years in the penitentiary."

This is a particularly important statement. As Governor Kilby points out, it shows that lynchers have not always escaped. More than this, it shows that when a State in which a lynching occurs is blessed with a Governor with courage, firmness, energy and a determination to enforce the law, something can be done about it. Furthermore, it shows that, on one occasion, at least, Alabama lynchers were sent to jail.

The example cited by Governor Kilby might well be remembered by other Governors. Lynching is an abhorrent reversion to savagery and barbarism. There is no excuse for it. When it does occur, lynchers should be and can be punished for their crimes.—Chattanooga News.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
STATE
OCT 11 1933

Disgrace to South Carolina.

Terming the killing of the young Negro, Bennie Thompson, at Ninety-Six, a "lynching" is to soften the reality, however lawless and uncivilized lynching may be.

Bennie Thompson was in the town jail, having been arrested on charges made against him by several young white men who "had had some trouble with him at a cafe" and who alleged he had drawn a pistol.

Thompson was taken from the jail by those having personal grievance for said trouble, and beaten to death. That was no lynching; it was cruel murder.

Cruel murder is bad enough, in all conscience, in a country claiming civilization and supposed to be governed by laws, made and administered by and for civilized people. Yet the story told of this Ninety-Six affair paints it in uglier colors than even cruel murder.

With promptness of action which has been commended by the governor of the state, Sheriff White of Greenwood arrested several suspects, and the Associated Press dispatch from Ninety-Six records their confession.

They confess to having taken the prisoner from the jail; to having beaten him with automobile top tubes and to have left him "still alive" by the roadside. It was there the "terribly scarred body" was later found.

But how did these men get the prisoner who was in the custody of the Law? Certainly they got him out of jail without noise or violence. Their story is that they went to the jail and asked the jailer to give them the prisoner! What a request of the Law! The jailer refused, saying they would have to see the chief of police. What an answer to be given by the Law! Who could for one moment suppose that a prisoner in a jail in South Carolina, put there to be safeguarded AND protected by the Law, and in charge of officers of the Law, could possibly be quietly put into the hands of those having personal enmity and wishing to inflict horrible punishment upon him? Yet the reply of the jailer did not seem to preclude such possibility.

The men who beat Bennie Thompson to death, informed those who arrested them that they DID go to the chief of police; that he told them to come back after dark and they would find the jail unlocked; that they did as directed and found the way had been opened for them to get the man who was the prisoner of the town and in charge of the police.

Chief of Police Rush denies he did this thing. He says he was asked by the young men to give them the prisoner but refused. It seems clear, however, whether or not one or the other story be true, that after it was known that several men wanted to get the prisoner out of jail the prisoner was not given the least protection; was not even guarded by a stout lock.

Officers of the law—the governor, the solicitor and the sheriff—will delve for the truth. It may be established. Because of its implications it is a peculiarly shocking case; disgraceful to the state of South Carolina.

CHURCH ASKS BETTER CURB ON LYNCHERS

Telegraph

Conference Wants Governor to Be Authorized to Act When Police Fail

11-19-33

DRY STAND IS REAFFIRMED

Macon, Ga.

'Preserve and Strengthen State Prohibition Laws,' Resolution Urges

BRUNSWICK, Ga., Nov. 18 (AP)—The South Georgia conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, South, today voted to ask the legislature to give the governor police power to act when the regular officials fail in cases of lynching, reaffirmed the church's stand against liquor and elected to meet at the Vineville Methodist church in Macon for the 1934 conference.

The invitation to meet at the Vineville church was extended by Rev. Silas Johnson, present pastor, and was unanimously accepted.

The attack on lynchings was made in the report of the board of temperance and social service, which is headed by Dr. Comer Woodward, dean of men at Emory university. The report said lynching had increased threefold this year as a result of the failure of the church to carry on an educational program against such crime. Local churches were called upon to make a thorough investigation of each case occurring within their territory.

Dry Fight Will Go On

The report requested that the next session of the Georgia legislature enact laws that will give the governor plenary power to act when officers fail to obtain convictions.

The purposes of the church with respect to liquor are unchanged by repeal of the eighteenth amendment, the report said, and the board called for sustained interest on the part of the church in development of national means for the control of liquor.

"We shall do our best," the report said, "to preserve and strengthen local and state prohibition laws in Georgia."

Rev. John F. Phillips, head of the consolidated forces for prohibition in Georgia, in an address to the conference, said the drys were just beginning to fight. He said they recognized temporary defeat in repeal, but that, like good sports, they were taking standing up with determination to overthrow the twenty-first amendment with another carrying advantages of the eighteenth. He said they recognized "political rottenness" of the days of the saloon were coming back with repeal and declared the church must again destroy that group.

Social Report Is Made

The social service report urged application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of wealth, social planning and control of credit and monetary systems for the common good. Wider and fairer distribution of wealth ... recommendations were living wages and safeguards for workers against unfair conditions.

Telegraph

The report also urged that the rights of employer and employe alike enter into collective bargaining; abolition of child labor; a single standard of purity and educational preparation for marriage, homemaking and parenthood; protection of society from traffic in intoxicants; repudiation of war and recognition of the rights of free speech and freedom of the press.

11-19-33

Macon, Ga.

More liberal support of home missions was recommended by the board of missions in its report. This body also urged the continued financial aid to Paine college, Negro school at Augusta.

The budget committee recommended appropriations of $148,000, the same as last year. The Emory junior glee club entertained the conference tonight. Ministers will preach in nearby churches tomorrow, with Bishop John M. Moore filling the pulpit of the First church, Brunswick.

The annual memorial service will be held tomorrow afternoon, and Bishop Moore will begin the reading of appointments at 4:15 o'clock.

Lynch Backer Sends Threats to Minister

Constitution 12-8-33 Atlanta, Ga.

OAKLAND, Cal., Dec. 7.—(AP)—Because of anonymous telephone threats against his two children, the home of the Rev. Leslie C. Kelley, who recently resigned from the California athletic commission, is being given special protection, police disclosed today.

In his report to police, the Rev. Mr. Kelley said the person making the threats by telephone referred to the minister's criticism of Governor James Rolph Jr. for the latter's approval of the San Jose lynching of the kidnap-slayers of Brooke L. Hart.

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THE RITCHIES, THE ROLPHS AND OUR CURRENT SOCIAL ORDER

Advertiser

Newspaper writers continue to make critical examinations of the recent spectacular lynchings here and there over the land.

Be it said to the credit of the press, the great majority of American editors have roundly condemned Governor Rolph of California and warmly praised Governor Ritchie, of Maryland.

The Dothan Eagle expresses the best spirit of American journalism when it says in a leading editorial:

12-4-33

While the demagogic Rolph of California was gabbling to the country that he not only endorsed lynch law, but would pardon any member of the San Jose mob arrested, the superb Ritchie of Maryland was calmly ordering out State troops to arrest nine known members of the Princess Anne mob which recently staged a lynching.

Montgomery Ala.

Which of these State executives is the more admirable? Give your better self a break and let your intelligence answer.

To our way of thinking, one typifies the low impulses of savagery, while the other is representative of the wisdom, the order and the decency of civilized men.

One is a dismal and disgusting demonstration of loose thinking—or no thinking at all—of a mind rendered utterly chaotic through emotions, while the other is a noble example of clear thinking and a high order of courage.

The California dunce immediately was the hero of the hour, and probably could muster California's overwhelming vote for the Presidency; but the Maryland mob which sought to wrest the prisoners from the State militia shouted, "Lynch Ritchie!"

And that, ladies and gentlemen, is what happens when reason is dethroned by blind and brutal passion.

We are told that rage is "mental imbecility," and that it is "essentially vulgar." These mobs were controlled by rage, not reason, and no civilization can prosper under mob lawlessness. Civilizations grow under law, order, justice and reason. "Nothing can be lasting when reason does not rule," said Claudian. "He is next to the gods whom reason and not passion impels," said Rufus. "Reason is the glory of human nature, and one of the chief eminences whereby we are raised above the beasts, in this lower world," said Dr. Watts. "Wise men are instructed by reason; men of less understanding by experience; the most ignorant by necessity, and beasts, by nature," said Cicero. But Sir W. Drummond uttered this lasting truth: "He that will not reason is a bigot; he that cannot reason is a fool and he that dares not reason is a slave."

A mob does not stop to reason. Therefore it is a bigot, a fool and a slave.

Probably the greatest rebuke has come from the father of the Hart boy who was kidnaped and killed. Said he: "I am so overcome with my own grief that I am unable to think of that other terrible thing. My sympathy goes out to the families of those two men."

From this man comes the real essence of all that is decent and charitable in the human make-up. His intelligence is not dethroned even by the emotions of a broken heart. He has the genuine sympathy of the American people, and he has the respect of every sober-minded citizen.

The mob hasn't a leg to stand on in debate. All the evidence is against it. The excuse that the courts have "failed" is met by the fact that mobs have failed even more ignominiously, though they have had a longer day in history in which to show what they could do.

There is nothing new or novel about mobs. The jury is much newer and fresher. The mob is as old as crowds. The jury is a comparatively new social device.

The jury at least begins its labors by taking an oath and acquiring a sober mien. The mob takes no oath to perform its duty fairly and justly. It rages and storms and terrorizes.

Governor Rolph is more of a poet than a philosopher, we fear. As a logician he would be compelled to recognize the ultimate possible consequences of his doctrine and practice.

Let the mobs of California understand that government is on their side, let them work their will freely as occasion arises, and in time a large enough mob might conceivably be organized to march upon Sacramento and string up an unpopular Governor and members of an unpopular Supreme Court.

If direct action is to be officially condoned in the field of jurisprudence, inevitably direct action will become the means of redressing political wrongs, both imaginary and actual.

Speakers at San Jose Protest Two Lynchings

Constitution 12-4-33 Atlanta, Ga.

SAN JOSE, Cal., Dec. 3.—(AP)—In St. James park here, where Jack Holmes and Harold Thurmond, confessed kidnap-murderers of Brooke Hart, were lynched a week ago, a crowd of several hundred persons today heard speakers protest mob violence and statements of Governor James Rolph Jr., upholding the hanging. Principal speakers were John D. Barry, San Francisco publicist, and the Rev. C. B. Sylvester, pastor of the First Methodist church of San Jose.

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Johnson City, Tenn., Staff News
November 28, 1933

A Lawless Execution

Citizens of the sovereign state of California Sunday night seized and lynched two confessed kidnapers and slayers.

A mob of five thousand persons, led by an 18-year-old youth, broke down the doors to San Jose jail, brushed aside the opposition of the law, and proceeded to wreak the vengeance of mob law according to the ancient tenets of an eye for an eye, and a life for a life.

In a few exciting hours they broke a record of thirteen years of level-headed law enforcement; the calm decorum of a reasoning justice was surfeited by the lust of angry men for blood. Only the zeal of officers, determined to avert further tragedy, prevented them from hanging at least one prisoner who was in no wise connected with the murder of Brooke Hart.

That, within itself, is strong indictment of their act The mob, inspired with the frenzy of the pack, loses sight of every human and humane law. Zealous to do SOMETHING, no matter what, it expends its energies on whatever victim is most convenient—hoping it has the right one—but seldom sure.

California has a brilliant record of solved crimes and law enforcement. Perhaps no other state boasts an equal number, relatively, of convictions. These have been, for thirteen years, in due process of the law—and with designated agents serving in the capacities of court and executioner.

With provision of capital punishment for murder, it has carried on under strict discipline. San Quentin has received its full quota for both penal servitude and the hangman's noose. Seldom has justice gone awry, or miscarriage been charged. Each of these cases has been marked by an even tenor, wherein the criminal has been privileged to plead his case under the full protection of the state. Their ultimate fate overtook them as a matter of course. And the law-abiding citizen has not been forced to seek recourse by dipping his own hands in human blood.

Northcutt, the boasting murderer of little boys—who operated a "murder farm," walked the last mile according to the law.

Hickman, the self-styled "Fox" of murder fame, confessed the kidnap-murder of Miriam Parker, and plunged to his death on a state-constructed gallows. Others have tasted justice with the full consent of the law.

Some have argued that death by violence—the sudden kind specified for murder in California—serves the same purpose whether it be at the hands of authorized executioners, or at the hands of a mob. It would be a fearful situation, if that system were allowed to work to its logical end. No guarantee could be given any prisoner —however innocent—of ever reaching trial. The mob would serve as judge, jury, and hangman. And nothing the hapless victim might say could possibly prevent a horrible translation into Eternity for a crime he may or may not have committed.

Governor Rolph praises the men who did this thing. It will serve, he expresses himself as believing, to stay a nation-wide epidemic of crime. They should be rewarded as benefactors—saving the state the expense of a trial and the formalities attendant workings of the law.

Many join the chief executive in this opinion. Boastingly, the youth whose mind conceived the plot, labels himself a second Paul Revere. And those who have watched such things visualize an avalanche of vaudeville offers for him. Such leadership, they believe, should be recognized and rewarded. But the job he seems best suited for is that of public executioner, where his talents could be controlled . . . to some degree, at least. And the lust for blood that Monday got his name in every paper of the land, could be satisfied legally. It is an unusual situation.

For two hours the sheriff battled for his prisoner. His oath includes the upholding of the law. The cringing pair trusted him to the last. For his pains, the officer received a badly bruised head, where struck by a brick; and the governor's retort that he had not sent the requested troopers because he did not especially desire to protect Brooke Hart's slayers.

This crime was not the expression of an old tradition of the Law of the Vigilantes. These worthies of the past were of service in an age when the state was no state, and had no duly constituted authorities. Sunday's mob had no similar excuse.

And those who might have approved the summary executions, with a degree of justice—the family of Brooke Hart — were shocked by the manner in which he was avenged. The slain youth's father sent his condolences to the familes of the two men. Overwhelming grief, among those with the keenest reason for grief, did not force them to the role of barbaric avengers.

Disrespect, among one element, for the law, does not create respect among the other. Despite Governor Rolph's opinion, this tragic lesson — so expensive in agony, for these two—will not deter crime. If it worked this way the ordinary executions, occurring almost daily, would serve the purpose.

And California has stooped a bit.

Anderson, S. C. Mail
November 29, 1933

MOB SPIRIT SPREADS.

THE mob spirit that inspired the lynching of two Californians and brought praise from that state's governor has apparently spread beyond California borders and threatens to become an epidemic that may compete strongly with the sweep of kidnaping in recent months.

Tuesday about 1,000 of three states gathered at Salisbury, Md., and battled national guardsmen sent to arrest men accused of lynching a negro and as side issues a dozen newspaper men and photographers were threatened with rough handling or possible lynching and cars were wrecked for no good reason. Cries of "lynch Ritchie," the governor, and "lynch Lane," the state attorney-general, were raised and had those gentlemen been available that very thing might have happened.

A matter of hours later a mob of about 7,000 lynched a negro at St. Joseph, Mo., the size and attitude of the throng apparently indicating the lynching idea may be growing rapidly in the country.

Punishment for the lynchers, where not blocked as in California, will be all the more remote as the spread becomes more general and greater numbers are involved. Mob hysteria can be developed easily when the prospect of paying any penalty for consequences is dim and a mob cannot be depended on to do any thinking, which makes it inevitable that its victims sooner or later will not even remotely deserve the fate accorded them. Those who applaud when a confessed murderer or rapist is strung up will quickly change their tone when a loyal officer is killed or a man wholly innocent of any wrongdoing is done to death.

There is no place in a civilized country for lynching and it must be stamped out as any other enemy of law and order.

Sanford, Fla. Herald
November 29, 1933

The San Jose Lynching

It is a terrible thing to think of a frenzied mob storming a jail, seizing two of its inmates, dragging them through the public square, and in the presence of thousands of people, hanging these two struggling humans to the limb of a tree. The effect of such a spectacle upon the personalities of those who thus took the law into their own hands as well as upon the memories of those who witnessed the orgy must be both enduring and depraving.

Yet one can hardly deny that Holmes and Thurmond got just what they deserved. They not only had kidnaped the son of a San Jose merchant, but then had murdered him, thrown his body into the sea, and then with unbelievable audacity demanded ransom for his return alive. There is a limit to which red blooded men will allow the peace of their communities to be abused and the laws of all decency to be violated.

During the past two or three years a veritable epidemic of kidnaping has spread over the country. It first reached the attention of the public with the Lindbergh kidnaping although this type of crime had been gathering momentum for some time before that. Since then, whether because of the ease with which these kidnapers obtained their ransom demands or the fact that they have thus far eluded capture, this sort of enterprise has gained in popularity in the underworld.

Recently considerable progress by officers and the courts has been made in dealing with it. A number of puzzling kidnaping mysteries have been solved, the principals seized, tried and convicted. At least one or two have been sentenced to death, several to life imprisonment, and a number to lesser terms. This is really a triumph for law and order. But the mania has not been stopped and kidnaping continues.

Time was when horse stealing was the most prevalent offense on the plains. A man couldn't leave his horse tied to a fence for five minutes and come back and expect to find it there. Corrals were emptied overnight by rustlers who hurried the animals off to other parts and sold them for a song. Cattle thieves grew rich selling the horses which they stole from others. The law seemed hopelessly impotent in dealing with the situation.

After a while the ranchers of the southwest got fed up with this sort of thing . Stealing a horse became an offense comparable to rape or murder. Posses were quickly formed and ran down every man who took a horse that didn't belong to him. With a rope around his neck he was soon dangling from the nearest tree. Some of them couldn't understand why so trivial an offense should incur so severe a penalty. But they quit stealing horses.

We dare say it will be the same with kidnaping. If fathers don't want their children kidnaped, they will have to be prepared to protect their homes. If they don't want to subject their wives to the terrors of kidnaping while the due process of law takes its time over technicalities in the courts, they must keep their powder d[illegible] heir ropes handy. If the alternative of kid[illegible] h law, the latter is preferable.

White Press, Southern.

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Orangeburg, S.C., Democrat - Nov. 30-1933

Lynch Law Out West.

The kidnapping and murder of Brooke Hart in California was a particularly vicious and cruel crime. The kidnappers seized the young man, carried him away, heartlessly knocked him in the head and threw his body into the waters—then negotated with his relatives for money to return him safely. The crime quite naturally shocked and infuriated the people of California.

Finally two men were arrested, charged with the crime while waiting in prison a mob seized them and proceeded to lynch them without any ceremony or hesitation. Governor James Rolph, Jr., in a public statement approved the action of the mob and announced that he would pardon any member of the lawless group convicted for his part in the murder. The Governor's public attitude brought condemnation from many sources and approval from others.

The Governor of California, in giving his approval to mob law, overlooks several factors which make it necessary to discountenance such illegal mass action. In the first place, the mob may have killed innocent men; the courts and juries are constituted to prevent such injustice. In the second place, Governor Rolph, in praising the mob, is indirectly condemning the sheriff and his officers who tried to uphold the dignity of the law and who were severely injured in the performance of their duty. In the third place, the protection of society is in government and orderly procedure and the encouragement of mob law is a direct attack upon the safety and security of every citizen because there is no telling at what minute some aggrieved group may take it in mind to punish somebody that they dislike or suspect.

Sharply contrasted to the action of Governor Rolph has been that of Governor Ritchie of Maryland, who, when local officials refused to prosecute accused members of a mob which had killed a prisoner he sent state officials with troops to make the arrest. When another mob sought to free the citizens who were under arrest Governor Ritchie ordered the soldiers to uphold the authority of the law and retain the custody of the officers. This action coming so quickly after the California experience presented a sharp contrast with it.

Rome, Ga. News-Tribune
December 1, 1933

MISTAKEN PRAISE OF MOB LAW

It is fortunate that Governor James Rolph, Jr., is not the chief executive of a Southern state, for were this the case his bold though reckless endorsement of lynching would have brought upon the land of cotton such waves of denunciation as it has not experienced since the shots, verbal and otherwise, that were exchanged in the days of 1861-65.

In truth, there seems to be in the country at large a feeling that lynchings and all events associated therewith, are made doubly outrageous when committed in the South. Why this should be so is not clear, but the record proves it.

A lynching in Illinois, or some other state outside of the South, usually provokes a mild rebuke, perhaps interrupted by a yawn, but when the thing happens here the shrieks of the outraged ascend to the stratosphere.

Therefore, were it a Southern governor who was appearing in the press of the nation as an enthusiastic advocate of lynch law as a cure for certain forms of evils, the storm would be terrific, but as matters stand the general disposition is to take the matter calmly. Indeed, some observers appear to think that the effect will be helpful in creating among kidnapers a more wholesome respect for public opinion if not for the due processes of law.

The truth, however, is that lynching is not a praiseworthy vehicle for conveying moral precepts, whether in the North, East, South or West. The security of society does not rest upon mobs but upon the orderly processes of the law, and the security of society, today and for all the days of the future is much more important than the instant punishment of some vicious transgressor.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
December 1, 1933

LYNCHING IN MISSOURI

Why was Lloyd Warner, a husky young Missouri negro dragged from his cell and lynched by an infuriated mob?

Here is a lynching that plainly would never have occurred if those in charge of law enforcement had measured up to their full duty. Six months ago, according to press dispatches, Warner had criminally assaulted a young negro girl, but the authorities failed to prosecute him. Naturally, when the fiend found his crimes were being taken lightly, he again sought to satisfy his brutal lust. His second venture took him beyond his color line and chose for his victim a young white lass. Caught again, he confessed and offered to plead guilty the day before the lynching, but the judge postponed the case and an outraged public took charge.

When Warner assaulted the little negro girl he committed a heinous crime and should have been promptly dealt with by the law. Had the law not failed in this case the second crime and the resultant lynching could not have taken place. After Warner committed his second crime, was caught, and offered to plead guilty, the court should have promptly accepted the plea and sentenced the brute,—again there would have been no lynching.

Here is a case where diligence, honesty and foresight on the part of court officials had two chances to prevent a lynching and failed.

Never was there a better illustration that white courts, white officials and white juries should cease to take lightly the crimes of negroes against members of their own race. The millions of good law-abiding negroes in this country are entitled to that protection. Not only that but here is an object lesson that to do so is necessary for the protection of the white race itself. Warner was a fiend who whetted his appetite upon a childish member of his own race, then fed it by ravaging a little white girl.

Again we say "TO PREVENT LYNCHING, REMOVE THE CAUSE." Incompetent, careless public officials must go. The courts of this country must be placed in the hands of men who realize the seriousness of their duty. Men who can meet the needs of the times are wanted everywhere. Strong and courageous sheriffs to apprehend the criminal. Wise, farsighted and courageous judges to conduct the courts. Serious-minded, honest and competent prosecutors to demand, and get, justice for the people.

The politician, the careless, the weak and the playboy must go.

Columbus, Ga Enquirer-Sun
December 2, 1933

LYNCHING AND WHAT WE THINK ABOUT IT

Nearly a week has gone by, since the most unusual act of mob violence, that has ever been witnessed in this generation. Now that the first impressions are passed, it is perhaps interesting to note one or two things, which especailly pertain to this incident and in particular this southland of ours, I expect you with me and a host others startled as we were at the daring exhibit of such an act, breathed a silent, "Good riddance to bad rubbish." However, in reflection, a reflex action has set in in my mind, as I have thought on the state of minds of those, who tock part in that physical and mental debauchery. What a peculiar thing human nature is. My son remarked this incident just goes to show that the covering of cultured civilization is a very thin veneer, which is true.

Now what are the reasons underlying such an outburst? Not the love of the crowd for the murdered boy, because very few of them knew him. The main and possibly, only deep underlying motive is the fact of fear. Fear that in the end, justice would not be done. Fear was translated into frantic action. Which leads me to observe that inasmuch as the mob subconsciously felt this way, there ought to be in this thing a definite impulse passed along to our judiciary. I have felt for a long time that unless our courts and particularly our lawyers; I refer to those kind of lawyers to whom criminals always resort to get them out of trouble by some judicial trickery; unless they led the way in something most definite, then the law would be taken into the hands of the populace, which is at the best, an unfortunate stain on any state.

The nation as a whole is entirely sick and tired of the verdict of the courts being undermined by appeal after appeal, until the matter is let die, or so it seems. Lynching in general is a nasty business and reflects no credit upon persons or state and it is edifying to see the many editorials from southern newspapers condemning Gov. Rolph's attitude. Happily no northern societies nor Labor Union can point a finger at our state after this event in California. Our morale is raised to the place where we never want to have such a stigma on our commonwealth. No amount of argument can justify Rolph's position. It is the stand of a weakling in the face of

mob violence. The governor has virtually said "My officers and my courts are impotent, go to it, boys!" This, Georgia will never submit to! However ineffectual our courts may be at times, we will uphold them, yea, rather better them, than by our own acts of violence declare that they are absolutely impotent. Rolph's days are numbered. His authority has been swept away. We are determined no matter what the cost, to uphold the dignity of our state governor and under no circumstances would we want to see him impeached for failing to do his duty and uphold the law.

Clarkesville, Tenn., Chronicle
November 29, 1933

Mob Causes

The lynching in California has been followed by another in Missouri for Tuesday night a mob broke into the Buchanan jail at St. Joseph and yanked from a cell a 19-year-old negro and hanged him from a nearby tree amid a lurid scene of shouting, disorder and the flickering light of torches.

What is causing these lynchings and why do many citizens, honest, high-minded and intelligent, find themselves slow to rigidly condemn the lawless mobs? The answer is in the appalling conditions that have existed in America. It is the grim realization that courts in many instances have been ineffective in discharging their duties. It is too hard here in America to convict a million dollars; too many shyster lawyers practice at the bar; too many strong defenses and alibis are built up over a long period of months in which criminals have time to find loopholes to escape justice; too many convicted men are pardoned or paroled soon after beginning sentence.

What is the remedy? Read the Wickersham report, that great document in regard to lawlessness has been overshadowed by its report on prohibition. That commission found a state of disrespect for the law, a state of lawlessness existing that should make us all think. Too many crooked lawyers are permitted to practice at the bar. The wheels of justice grind too slowly. There are too many ways and means in which money or influence are used to sway a jury.

It is significant that many of the worst criminals are comparatively young. Indeed it was an 18-year-old boy that led the mob of drunks who lynched those two confessed kidnap-murderers in California. Reared in an age when law is being flagrantly disregarded, when lack of discipline and authority is in the home, when motion pictures tend to place a halo about the beer baron's head, is it any wonder?

But the remedy is not in mobs. Mobs will be discouraged and lynchings looked upon in greater horror after the courts have speeded up their justice, after criminals are paroled or pardoned less often, after lawyers awaken to the responsibility they owe society, after newspapers and lecture platforms have done their part to arouse the people from the path into which they are drifting.

Courts should instill into the people by their procedure the faith that they represent that noble, intangible thing called law; that the criminal is inviting swift and merciless justice; then each law abiding citizen will feel that he is protected by the law which he helps to support and defend, and mob rule will be bitterly and speedily condemned as it should be and as it must be. Those in high places who condone the mob are guilty of a stupidity that some day might cause an innocent man to become a victim of the mob. Don't applaud the mob, but rather do your bit towards correcting, by an aroused and intelligent citizenry, the evils which breed such outrages.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
November 30, 1933

On Which Side?

THE familiar rage with which the Chicago *Tribune* customarily greets lynchings when they occur in the South has given way to a quiet philosophical vein in the *Tribune's* comment upon the California lynching. Indeed, after reading the *Tribune's* editorial we don't know whether it takes its stand with Gov. Rolph or with the law. Those who remember the frequency with which Southern lynchings have caused the *Tribune* to wave the bloody shirt and tear its hair will be interested in reading this editorial from its columns concerning the California affair:

The California execution of justice on the murderers of Brooke Harte in San Jose must be looked upon with mixed feelings. The worst concomitants of American lynching were missing. Racial prejudices were not at the bottom of the mob fury. Primitive emotions were there, but they were aroused by the character of the crime and of the criminals. The Governor had given a quasi sanction to what the mob was threatening to do. Opinion had outlawed the killers as completely as if they were still a legal process generally retained in the code.

This opinion was obviously based upon the conviction that there was no possibility that the administration of justice could fit the punishment to the crime and that proposes a thesis which cannot lightly be set aside. It need not be assumed that a jury could have acquitted the prisoners or even have allowed them to escape with their lives on trial, although juries often shirk their responsibility and courts often fail. Every week the evasiveness of juries allows criminals to escape the punishment which was their due and the punishment they dread most of all.

The juries do not stand up to their responsibilities. They yield to the weakest men in the box and succumb to a sentimental frailty which cannot be just because it has not the moral character to face a distasteful duty. It would be stretching the probabilities to assume that there was any conscious reckoning of American administration of justice in the minds of the Californians who wanted to execute it themselves upon two killers of extraordinary turpitude, but there is a feeling almost innate in American instincts that criminals will escape their just deserts. There is an apprehension of the shrewdness of attorneys, the weakness of juries, and the complexities of law.

The spasmodic determination of enraged men breaking into jail to fasten a noose about the neck of a prisoner is a poor substitute for the quieter determination of average citizens in a jury box to give the accused fully and justly what the evidence shows he deserves. Spineless men on the jury and enraged men on the curbstone give America two elements which may have a direct relation to each other. Weakness obstructs the law and fury outrages it.

The *Tribune's* analysis is certainly even-tempered and dispassionate. It compares "spineless men on juries" with men who seize other men from the arms of the law and lynch them. And the *Tribune* finds both about equally guilty.

Albany, Ga., Herald
December 2, 1933

JOHNNY SPENCER ON LYNCHING.

Johnny Spencer writes a column in the Macon Telegraph that is supposed to be just pure nonsense. It is one of the most popular columns in the country today, because the old saw is true, that "a little nonsense now and then is relished by the best of men."

But along with his nonsense Johnny every once in a while slips in a little bit of truth and philosophy that strikes a serious chord. This was the case this morning when he wrote a little "nonsense" about lynching. There was more truth than nonsense in it. Here it is:

Speaking of Lynching.

Sociologists seeking the cause of the recent epidemic of lynching might look into the matter of what happens to Big Shot Killers, Kidnapers, and other Topflight Meanies after the Law gets them. Where is Fred (Killer) Burke, known murderer, kidnaper and Most Dangerous Man Alive? He is in a Michigan penitentiary, with the Michigan taxpayers signing the check for his upkeep. Where is Machine Gun Harvey Bailey, known murderer, kidnaper and Most Dangerous Man Alive? And Machine Gun Kelly, known murderer, kidnaper and Most Dangerous Man Alive? The two of them are in a federal penitentiary, with the taxpayers of the country paying their living expenses. (Both might have been tried on capital charges, but they weren't.) Where is Al Capone who, according to the Chicago police authorities, dealt in homicide and racketeering by wholesale. He is fighting to get out of the federal prison at Atlanta, where he was sent because he wouldn't cut Uncle Sam in for as big a part of the loot as Uncle Sam thought was coming to him. Old Si Taxpayer is paying his board, too.

Where are the Touhy hoodlums, professional killers, tried the other day for kidnaping a brewer and jolting him loose from $100,000 to restore his liberty? They were turned loose.

Where are the four Brooklyn gangsters who confessed in open court that they had dynamited a number of laundries and threatened with death any witness who testified against them? The trial judge sentenced them to three years in prison—and then suspended the sentences!

Where are the millionaires who admitted dishonest practices in evading payment of their income taxes? They are swelling around making more income in the same old way. And so on for a couple of columns or three.

These things don't excuse lynching, but they may in a sort of way explain why old John Smith gets so alfired incensed and disgusted now and then that he hops out of the corral and takes the law, if any, into his own hands.

Perhaps the Bibb County system is best of all. When Solicitor Charlie Garrett convicts a criminal (a white one; the others don't count) of a capital crime, somebody starts out with a petition requesting the Governor to commute the sentence, which the Governor does, and that settles that. And everything is nice and upsadaisy.

Lynching has been out of fashion in Bibb for a long time, perhaps for these two reasons: First, we are a mild mannered people with no love of violence, and second, we've got a sheriff who'd shoot you in a minute if he caught you messing around trying to take somebody out of his jail.

Thomasville, N.C. Char & Children
November 30, 1933

The Governor of California has brought disgrace upon his state and has humiliated the whole United States by his brutal murder of two criminals. His refusal to heed the request of the sheriff to send troops to guard the prisoners was a tip to the mob to do the worst. The mob butchered the prisoners. The fact that the prisoners were two inhuman wretches had nothing to do with the case. They were in the hands of the state and the state had laws to suit their case. The Governor had sworn to uphold the majesty of the law. He broke his oath and incited a mob to do double murder. He says that he will pardon all who are guilty and who are indicted. He will not have to pardon but one and that one is the Governor of California. He stands before civilization convicted of murdering two helpless men. By all of the laws of the land the two confessed murderers should have been electrocuted and without doubt would have been but the Governor would not wait on the due process of the law but murdered them in cold blood. He would make an ideal "big shot" of the underworld but he is not fit to associate with law abiding citizens. The sheriff is in the hospital from wounds that he received at the hands of the mob while he was defending his prisoners. The sheriff is a real man and will receive the honor that is his due.

White Press, southern.

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BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
NOV 8 1933

The Basis of Law

Maryland has a lynching problem just as Alabama has, and a partial remedy proposed for Maryland by H. L. Mencken, the sage of Baltimore, is equally as applicable to Alabama as to Maryland.

Mr. Mencken thinks that the lawlessness which recently expressed itself in Somerset county, Maryland, in the rout of a national guard detachment and lynching of a negro may be traceable to the fact that the proper basis for all laws—proportional legislative representation—has been flagrantly disregarded in that section.

Somerset county, he points out, has three times as many representatives in the house of delegates, in proportion to population, as Baltimore county has, and he suspects that people who are given such a topheavy influence in making the laws naturally believe they have the right to take the law in their hands when it suits their whim.

Mr. Mencken's point that a law-abiding spirit should have its foundations in a legally constituted law-making body is perhaps more significant for Alabama than Maryland.

Where the Somerset citizen has three times as much authority as a citizen of Baltimore in naming the members of the house of delegates, a voter in Jefferson county, Alabama, has less than one-fifth as much voice as a citizen of Lowndes or Wilcox county in choosing the members of the lower house of the legislature and only one-seventeenth as much voice in choosing the members of the state senate.

All of which, incidentally, reminds us that Bibb Graves, who has shown a great deal of early-bird activity in the governor's race, has stated frankly that he will not make reapportionment an issue in his campaign, although he asserts he personally is favorably inclined toward it.

The constitution of Alabama makes reapportionment on the basis of population mandatory every 10 years, but the legislature has wilfully disregarded the constitution.

One of the amendments adopted last July reiterates that population "as the basis of representation shall not be changed." In certain quarters this clause was regarded as a joker perpetuating the present distribution of representation. This, of course, was an error, as it is not the representation which shall not be changed but only the principle of representation in proportion to population.

If Mr. Graves or any other candidate wishes to pursue a policy of side-stepping on the reapportionment issue, the sovereign voters should see to it that he not only side-steps this issue but that he side-steps the governor's chair as well.

Tifton, Ga. Gazette
December 2, 1933

"EFFICIENCY OF THE COURTS."

Governor Guy B. Park, of Missouri, in denouncing the lynching at St. Joseph of a negro, who had confessed a criminal attack upon a white girl, is quoted as stating:

"To condone such an offense is to encourage lawlessness, deny the efficiency of the courts, and the power of the constituted authorities."

The governor hit the nail on the head thrice in his three-lick statement.

To approve of any lynching is to encourage lawlessness. The Gazette does not wish to appear as the defender of lynching and lawlessness, but we do believe there are times when a lynching appears justified.

Three lynchings in far removed sections of the country—Maryland, Missouri, and California—have been mentioned prominently in the newspapers recently.

Is it not possible that the fact that the courts are not efficient and the constituted authorities are powerless, greatly influenced these lynchings?

The Gazette is not defending the mobs, but we believe Governor Park and Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, who have rebuked the mobs, would obtain better results by rebuking the courts.

It is possible for a criminal with sufficient money to get away with almost any kind of crime in this country. The examples are so numerous and widespread that it would be odious to attempt to cite them here. Any reader can recall numerous instances.

A criminal commits a heinous crime. He employs a smart criminal lawyer and the case is postponed on some pretext. Finally a trial is held and a conviction secured. Then there is an appeal from one court to another, and then a new trial. Probably in the interim some important witness has died or disappeared, and justice is deaf, dumb, blind, crippled and helpless.

Some poor fellow, without a penny or a friend, who steals to satisfy his hunger, may be arrested, tried, convicted, sentenced and sent to the gang within a day's time, but it's not that way with the worst criminals. They may get caught, but they seldom serve a sentence. There are too many loopholes and ways out. It often seems that the laws have been written for the benefit of the criminal and not for the protection of society.

Is it any wonder, then, that at times the people rise up and assert themselves by taking the law into their own hands? The law is supposed to be of, from, and for the people. If the constituted authorities and the courts fail to administer justice, the people must and will.

If the governors would discourage lynchings, let them see to it that the courts are swift and sure in meting out justice. Swift and sure justice is the only means of obliterating mob law. The law of the mob, we think, is better than no law at all, or a law which protects instead of punishing the criminal.

The recent lynchings should be a warning to the courts and the constituted authorities of the various states. The people are aroused. They are not going to condone continued delays in the punishment of the guilty. If the courts will not punish, the people will. The people are tired of long, drawn-out and expensive cases in the courts. They want justice done, and if the courts will not dispatch justice promptly the people will. We will continue to have lynchings as long as lawyers and criminals make tools of the courts. The public has stood for much injustice from the courts, but it is not going to stand for much more. The people are aroused. They are demanding a "new deal" from the judicial as well as from the legislative and executive branches of the government. The courts must speed up justice or the people will see that justice is done.

The people have been long suffering. They have stood for much, but the people will not always stand inactive and see the guilty go unpunished. Let the lynchings be a warning to the courts of the land. Let the stumbling blocks to justice be removed, let the loopholes be filled and make punishment of the guilty swift and sure, in order that the majesty of the law may be maintained

MONTGOMERY, ALA.
ADVERTISER
NOV 12 1933

Crusaders Make Poor Judges

By WALLING KEITH
Associate Editor, The Advertiser

One warm morning last August they found the bullet-riddled bodies of two Negro boys near a lonely road in West Alabama.

The night before, a mob of armed white men had seized them from sheriff's deputies who were attempting to take the two victims and a third Negro—all charged with the rape and murder of a Tuscaloosa white girl, to Birmingham for safekeeping. Back in Tuscaloosa there had been threats of a mob.

Two of the Negroes were lynched by the white men who somehow had learned of the secret transfer and had followed the police car in automobiles. The other prisoner, left for dead, was found wounded and badly beaten, in a Negro cabin several days later. He

was placed in custody of National Guardsmen and removed to Montgomery for certain safe-keeping.

Not many days after the bodies of the two lynch victims were found, another mob of armed white men in Tuscaloosa County went to the home of a Negro, called the man outside and shot him to death.

The three killings and the attempted lynching of the Negro who escaped can be laid at the door of Tuscaloosa County. For while the three prisoners abducted en route from the former capital of the State to Birmingham actually were not killed in Tuscaloosa County, the mob, of course, was composed of men from the community in which the murdered girl lived.

The State, shocked at news of the girl's murder some months before, and calling for the capture and trial of the murderers, nonetheless received news of the lynchings with bowed heads. Already troubled by outside agitation and charges of "legal lynching," Alabamians deplored the actions of the armed zealots, which made false charges seem more true in the eyes of persons living outside the State. People here felt a deep shame for the counter-crime of neighbors who thought they were righting a wrong. Alabamians knew that the lynchers not only had defeated justice—even if the victims were guilty and deserved to die in the electric chair at Kilby Prison—enlightened people here knew, too, that lynchings, despite thought in some circles, do not have the effect against crime and potential criminals that some zealous souls believe.

There was one small voice in Alabama, a small minority, indeed, we believe, which sought to condone the killings by declaring that lynchings may be excused in some circumstances, and that certainly if there are "excusable" cases, the criminal assault and murder of a young woman is one of them.

But the greater number of Alabamians, men and women who believe that the murderers of the girl should have been legally executed, were quick to condemn the murderers of the Negroes, whether they were guilty or innocent. Demands were made for thorough investigations of the mob killings, and the bringing to justice of the mobsters.

* * * *

The enlightened public in Alabama has not sought to shift the blame of the lynchings from Alabamians. There can be no doubt that Alabama white men seized and shot to death the three victims.

But one must believe that the three dead Negroes today either would be alive or would have been found guilty and legally executed if unscrupulous agitators had not forced their way into Alabama criminal trials with no other motive than to foment racial and class hatred among Alabamians, to splatter mud on Alabama courts and to embarrass the people of this State.

The International Labor Defense League, a Communistic organization, seized the case of nine Negroes charged with rape and has used it for the exploitation of the Negro and for baiting the Alabama court system.

If the I. L. D. really had cared for the necks of their "martyrs," certainly they would have adopted different tactics. The I. L. D. made few moves which could be interpreted as an attempt to convince an Alabama jury that the "Scottsboro prisoners" were innocent which were not calculated to arouse racial prejudice more than to convince the jury of the innocence of their "clients."

Birmingham, Ala., News
November 28, 1933

Shame On California, Shame On Gov. Rolph!

The double lynching in California, with its attendant circumstances, was the most damnable instance of mob violence in this country in many years, and one of the most horrible. California should hang its head in shame; and while right now it does not seem to feel its disgrace, but rather, judging from the utterances of the more vociferous Californians, is actually exultant, California will yet be put to shame before the incident is forgotten. For this crime was so utterly indefensible! If ever people had reason to feel satisfaction in the orderly processes of law, they had it in this case. The day will come when California will rue this mad act.

As hideous and disgraceful as was the resort to barbarism and lawlessness, the lynching itself is overshadowed by the astounding attitude shown by Gov. James Rolph, Jr. Gov. Rolph does not merely condone the crime; he actually boasts of it as a "fine lesson to the whole nation." What lesson, pray, is the nation to take from it? Gov. Rolph himself would find it hard to explain what he meant by this absurd remark.

Gov. Rolph deserves all the denunciation he will get—and first and last he will get plenty of it—not only for his condonation of the lynching, but for his willful failure to take measures to prevent it. He knew that the mob spirit was in the air at San Jose. He was appealed to by the local officials to send the militia to protect the prisoners. He refused to lend assistance, although the appeals of the San Jose officers seemed to be frantic. He would not turn his hand to save the situation. Plainly, he wanted the men lynched; and evidently he was convinced that they would be lynched. On Gov. Rolph, therefore, must be placed the chief blame for the crime. It was an atrocious performance on the part of the chief executive of a great state. It is possible to understand how a mob can run amok in a situation like that at San Jose. It is not possible to understand such an attitude on the part of a governor, the chief law enforcement officer of the state.

Alabama may not be in position to point the finger of scorn at California so far as lynchings are concerned. But Gov. Rolph has put upon his state a disgrace which Alabama, thank heaven, has not known. Alabama has had its lynchings; but our governors have not condoned them. On the contrary, governors of Alabama have consistently stood for law and order, and, when a lynching has occurred, condemned the crime vigorously and earnestly. Alabama's governors have set a good example in this respect, and done what they could to strengthen public opinion against lynching.

California has one reason to be proud, although it is not the one which is the cause of the exultation on the part of Gov. Rolph and other Californians who feel as he does. The state can really be proud of the part that its law enforcement officers in San Jose played in this case. In the first place, the officers were quick to make the arrests in the Hart kidnaping case and to obtain confessions from the two prisoners. In the second place, they manfully stood their ground in the face of the mob and fought the lynchers off for hours, at the pain of physical injury to themselves, until they were overpowered by the force of greater numbers. They did their duty bravely.

Consider the speed and efficiency with which the officers worked in making the arrests and obtaining the confessions. Within a week after the kidnaping and murder of young Hart the guilty ones were under arrest, thanks to the alertness and ingenuity of the officers. A day or so later their confessions had been obtained. Their convictions were assured, and under the California law a sentence to death or life imprisonment without parole would have been automatic. No one can doubt that the prisoners would have been sentenced to death. What more in the way of speed and efficiency can anyone expect of the orderly processes of law? Surely that should have been enough to satisfy even the most inflamed of San Jose's citizens. Yet, the blood lust was too strong, and only a public lynching, in the presence of women and children, would satisfy the mob—and apparently that was the only thing that would satisfy Gov. Rolph.

Shame on California! Shame on Gov. Rolph!

Newport, Tenn. Plain Talk
December 1, 1933

IS BEING CRITICISED

Gov. Rolph of California, who didn't get all worked up over the lynching of the two kidnapers of the young Hart boy in his state Sunday night is being criticised in many quarters for the action he has taken with regard to it all. At the same time the governor is also receiving a lot of commendations for his attitude of nonchalance. As a rule people regard lynching as a crime but it would seem that there are times when the crime justifies the end. In the California case this is probably true. There is no mistaking the fact that the criminal element of this country has been running over all others, and so common has crime gotten that it is becoming absolutely alarming. This is probably due to the fact that the slowness with which our courts act does not act as a deterrent to crime, but rather as an invitation for the lawless to commit their acts and then take the great chances that court trials always offer to escape any punishment. Quick and sure punishment through the courts would no doubt help some, but it will likely be a long time before this comes. There are too many technicalities in the law, and smart lawyers are quick to search these out. This means delay and after a case drags on in court for months people lose sight of it and it is finally forgotten.

Perhaps Governor Rolph was a little bit favorable to lynching in all of his actions in the case in hand, but it remains that after all California has been saved the cost of an expensive trial and the result has been just what the courts probably would have demanded. The action has been more rapid, that is all.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
November 30, 1933

ROLPH CONGRATULATED BY MRS. J. E. ANDREWS

Commending the recent action of Governor Rolph, of California, for "upholding the rights of the citizens of this free country in the protection of human life and liberty," Mrs. J. E. Andrews, chairman of the Georgia Woman's Committee for Law Enforcement, Wednesday dispatched a letter of congratulation to the coast executive. Mrs. Andrews was referring to the recent lynching of two white men by a mob at San Jose and the governor's statement that it was "a good job."

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
Post
NOV 8 1933

Lynch Probers Call To See Governor, Attorney General

By United Press.

MONTGOMERY, Nov. 8.—Seven members of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners arrived here today to confer with Gov. B. M. Miller and Atty. Gen. Thomas E. Knight, Jr., before proceeding to Tuscaloosa to investigate recent negro lynchings there. Members of the party said they would ask Mr. Knight for access to grand jury records in connection with the lynchings. It was expected the request would be denied on the ground that grand jury records are not open to anyone but constituted officers.

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Montgomery, Ala. Advertiser
December 3, 1933

The Rope And The Faggot Rule?

By WALLING KEITH

Associate Editor The Advertiser

Lynching was a popular pastime in these United States last week.

More persons condoned the lynchings in California and in Missouri than condemned them. There may be those who shrink from the record. There may be those who cry out: "But the right-thinking people deplored the lynchings."

Certainly it would look better for the permanent record of these turbulent times if most persons did condemn the outbreak of indignation, the rule of mob spirit which broke out in the West and in the East, but most persons did not speak out against the lynchings.

The truth is, most people applauded the lynchings!

Of course, it can be explained why men and women of usually sound judgment, men and women who shudder at the sight of spilled blood, condoned the hanging of the two kidnapers of the murdered California youth, and the burning to death of a Negro who assaulted a white woman in Missouri.

Americans are extremists. The history of the prohibition law illustrates how the American mind works, if it does not explain why. America went from the open saloon to absolute dryness. And from dryness it went extremely wet—before repeal. The country now is in danger of leaping to another extreme with reference to liquor.

Just so, it has been with law enforcement.

Americans saw the racketeer grow and flourish. They saw crooked bankers using "other people's money." That was the Era of Tolerance. Nearly everybody had plenty. Everybody thought perhaps something should be done to put a stop to racketeering and the growth of other criminal professions as well as the increase in non-professional crime. But nobody seemed to care enough to go into court and testify honestly and courageously on the witness stand. Nobody seemed to care enough to give necessary information to the police. Nobody seemed to care enough to sit on a jury and convict known public enemies.

Everybody thought something should be done to put a stop to crime. But nobody—that is to say, not enough persons cared enough to do their small part.

Officers of the law, for the most part, were honest and efficient and courageous in tracking down criminals.

Officers of the courts, for the most part, were honest and efficient and courageous in presenting what evidence they could gather before juries.

But the people, though honest, were either too cowardly or too busy looking after their own individual interests to testify in court and to convict by jury.

Then there came the agencies which in the name of mercy did everything in their power to thwart justice motivated by the desire to inflame the spirit of anarchy, to cause an outbreak against established law and order.

Such an agency found its first case of international interest in Alabama—the trial of the Scottsboro Negroes. Alabamians are thoroughly familiar with the tactics of the trouble-making agencies in Alabama. They know that it succeeded in so inflaming mob spirit in Tuscaloosa that three Negroes were lynched within one week.

* * * *

America stood by and mildly "deplored" for years, as it saw gangster chieftains beat the raps, crooked investment house presidents exonerated, murderers acquitted, rapists waxing fat in comfortable prisons while shrewd lawyers called for delay after delay.

We should have known what was coming, so consistent is the cycle of the American mind. We should have known that one of these days the people would rise up, impatient with slow justice, outraged by brutal crime and take the law into its own hands—for better or for worse.

That is what America did last week. It rose up and took the law into its own hands. It swept past the sheriff and the courts and the official hangman and executed—by rope and gunpowder and fire—prisoners guilty of brutal crimes.

The political demagogue who counts votes above principle, election to office above the interests of the people, his own pocketbook and stomach above the future of established law and order, could have done well for himself last week by applauding the lynchings in California and in Missouri and the actions of the mad mob in Maryland.

Indeed, if there are gentlemen so inclined, they might make statements this week, explaining away the right of mob rule. And mob rule can be explained away. The people are in a temper to agree with paste board leaders who will applaud the San Jose mob, Governor Rolph and the braggart 18-year-old San Jose boys who are claiming the "credit and glory" of spurring the mobsters into action.

The lynching spirit seems to be the popular spirit. No man need fear to speak out in favor of the California lesson. About nine out of ten persons with whom the writer has talked during the last three days were in hearty accordance with the views of California's Governor, Rolph, and nearly all of the persons with whom the writer talked were those the speakers at ladies afternoon tea clubs call Right Thinkers. All of them were above average intelligence. Few of them could be called narrow-gauged.

* * * *

The chief argument in favor of lynching is the ancient excuse: "The law is too slow. The guilty escape too often in the courts."

There are other excuses for lynchings, most of them are elaborate and almost logical.

The popular mind seems to have graspel all that might be said in favor of lynching and has overlooked the REAL reason why even the most "excusable" of lynchings can never be justified in the eyes of society.

Lynchings are brutal, it is true. But one must admit that the San Jose mob was not bent on brutality, that its members were not sadistic creatures—but normal men possessed of humane qualities under normal conditions.

Mobs sometimes get the wrong person, it is true. But one must admit that the mobs of last week did not murder innocent men. They lynched brutes guilty of horrible crimes.

But push emotion aside. For those who argue against lynchings can be guilty of indulging in maudlin sentimental gush just as can those who lynch and condone lychings indulge in emotional orgies.

No tears need be shed for the victims of the mobs last week. If men deserve death for crime those men certainly deserved death.

But there are chances of mobs killing the wrong person. The San Jose mob almost took an innocent man when it searched for the killer of Brooke Hart. Mobs have been known to get the wrong man. And mobs have killed more innocent men than have the courts.

Yet the condonation of one "justified" lynching can and did cause other lynchings.

And it could do more than that.

Once men believe that they can take the law into their own hands with impunity, they will do so. They have done it in the past. They will in the future.

And once men believe that they can flaunt established law procedure, some men will begin to use the rule of rope and fagot to settle personal grievances, to become a law unto themselves, to intimidate, to murder—even as a means to take property.

People have been protected by Government so long that they do not realize what protection they have been and are receiving from it.

Even during the recent years of extreme tolerance toward crime and criminals government has offered protection that the average person does not appreciate and cannot appreciate because he has never known life without government.

The lynchings last week may have been outcries from the people for reformation in the courts.

It was the duty of Governor Rolph of California to promise to do everything in his power to bring about reformation in California courts if that is what the people want.

He took an opposite stand. He not only condoned the lynchings. He applauded them.

Such sentiment is in direct contrast to the thought and effort which made it possible for the State of California to have a Governor—invested with the power to guard over the interest of the people. If vigilante rule had continued in California, there would be no Governor in California today. There would be no government in California today. The law of the rope and the fagot would rule.

Men cannot applaud "justifiable" lynchings without applauding the spirit of anarchy.

A lynching cannot be seen as the mere killing of men who should be killed.

A lynching must be seen as a mad onrush of mob rule which once out of control, threatens the very homes and firesides which mobsmen and their sympathizers like to think of themselves as protecting.

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
December 1, 1933

The Lynching In California

Having watched the reaction of the press and public for the past several days to the lynching of two kidnapers and murderers in California, a lynching which brought the unqualified approval of Governor Rolph of that state, we are much interested in the comment, particularly of the northern papers, which have claimed a sort of "superior virtue" for all sections of the country save the South in regard to lynching.

We can well imagine that if such an affair had occurred in Georgia and had the victims of the mobs been negroes instead of white men, and had the governor of this state issued the same sort of statement as did Governor Rolph, our friends of the North would have again consigned us to the state of barbarity and savagery that has been their custom for 50 years.

The recent lynchings in California, in Maryland, in Missouri and other places show that the emotions of human beings are very much the same in every section of the country. When people are aroused to the point of frenzy by some shocking crime then the same disposition to take the law into their own hands occurs in Georgia, New York, Massachusetts, California and everywhere else.

The Chronicle deplores the statement of Governor Rolph, issued without thought by the chief executive of California and while he himself was stirred by deep emotion. Undoubtedly, the governor is now sorry that he said what he did despite the approving telegrams that he has received. By his statement he encourages defiance of law.

The men who murdered young Hart should have paid the death penalty, of course, but not by lynching. If the courts of California had been notorious in their failure to mete out justice to criminals that might have been different, but so far as we know California courts are fairly prompt and certainly not behind other state courts.

And The New York Herald Tribune, after calling Governor Rolph a cheap politician because of his statement, goes on to say regarding California law and the courts:

"California law includes the death penalty for kidnaping as well as for murder. Until the mob broke into the San Jose jail Sunday night the case

promised to stand as an impressive example of quick detection and certain retribution by the machinery of the law. This example is now lost; it stands only as an invitation to future mobs to establish lynch law in the state and so set in motion the long train of tragic consequences that are now seen to be at work wherever the lynch law tradition survives. For the mob there is at least the excuse that in this case almost anyone might feel the savage thirst for vengeance, but for Governor Rolph there is no excuse whatever.

"Northern people not uncommonly find it difficult to repress a feeling of superior virtue when confronted by southern lynchings. The San Jose case may serve as a reminder that the true problem is less simple than that. Lynching is not merely an expression of moral depravity (even when that element may be present); primarily, it is a reaction natural to any community called upon to deal with social or economic or criminal problems which it feels to be beyond its powers. It is the short and seemingly easy method whereby the most normal and upright of men will attempt to deal with issues that appear too difficult, baffling or disturbing for their ordinary modes of thought and action. Kidnaping is not only a peculiarly horrible crime in itself, but one which is peculiarly difficult to deal with. As such, it presents to the most advanced communities the same sort of apparently insoluble problem which racial or the simpler criminal issues present to more backward communities; and there appears the same temptation to cut through the whole tangle by the drastic applicatior of lynch law."

Jacksonville, Fla., Times-Union
November 30, 1933

DEATH PENALTY FOR KIDNAPERS

There seems to be considerable sentiment in favor of amending the Federal law in regard to kidnaping—the Federal act known as the Lindbergh law—to allow the sentencing to death of those found guilty of kidnaping. The law now fixes the maximum penalty to life imprisonment. The United States Court takes jurisdiction in such matters only when there is shown use of the mails for extortion of ransom, or movement of actors in the offense from one State to another. The proposed changes include making the crime of kidnaping a Federal offense if any means of communication is used by the offenders to get in touch with family or friends of the victims. The suggestion is made that even the use of the telephone be considered a violation of Federal law, and this idea will be brought before Congress at its next session.

The Senate sub-committee which has been engaged in consideration of ways and means for combatting the crime waves prevailing; especially directing their efforts to plans for curbing the gangster and racketeer, is likely to suggest many things to Congress. Col. Franklin Hutchinson, of the committee, said recently that the program being framed would call for at least ten new laws, striking at racketeering and crime generally. He did not claim that a cure had been discovered for all crime; he did not expect crime to cease when the report was submitted. That it will take time to carry out the provisions of the proposed new laws; and there will be resistance everywhere found. Criminals are many and politicians are found defending them, in numbers.

A gigantic proposal to be submitted is the registration of the entire population—that is of every man and woman in the country. The head of the Senate committee does not think that the idea is unworkable, or necessarily troublesome. He would have every citizen carry a card of identification, with photograph and fingerprint. And Colonel Hutchinson suggests that there is not great opposition expressed to the plan. There can be no denying the necessity for checking crime as it has surged over the United States in the past few years.

That the public is likely ready to approve of the supreme penalty for the crime of kidnaping is rather well demonstrated by the action taken in the recent tragedy in California. The lynching of the two self-confessed kidnapers who brutally murdered a young man and then proceeded to try to get ransom money from the family, claiming that the victim would be treated well and returned if their demands were promptly complied with, is probably not generally condemned, although few people are willing to endorse such action. Getting rid of vermin such as kidnapers is rather generally desired, but, of course, the public would prefer that it be done in the regular course of law, as provided.

Because the public has seen evidence of the inclination of some politicians in authority to pardon, parole and release murderers, thieves, bandits, highwaymen, firebugs—criminals generally—after serving a few years perhaps of a long sentence, it has become impatient. The mob demonstration at San Jose, on the Pacific Coast, is a result of too much clemency and inclination to be easy with crime that has been evidenced in all parts of the country. The fact that criminals released on parole and others serving short terms, reappear in court, when arrested after new crimes—the story is heard everywhere.

Not only is a person charged with crime usually given the most generous opportunity for defending himself—counsel is provided by the court if he has no money to secure an attorney—trials are prolonged, after often having been postponed again and again. Finally there is the conviction, sentence, and the prison doors open for his admittance. Then appeals and perhaps new trials; then the plea for pardon, or parole.

The people have been looking on amazed and distressed as kidnapers ranged about and with apparent intent to get whatever they wanted, and get away with murder as well as extortion. Human nature revolts at such a crime and there was satisfaction expressed when it was decided to put it in the United States Court, under certain circumstances. Now the Federal law is sought to be amended and the death penalty added as a possibility where the perpetrators have shown their unfitness to live. There is no question as to the California kidnapers getting their deserts; but it would have been better to have had the penalty inflicted by the government which is presumed to guard the rights and liberties of the people against such fiends as they.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
November 28, 1933

An Astounding Admission

Governor Rolph's outspoken approval of the San Jose lynching constitutes an astounding admission on the part of California's chief executive that his own state is unworthy of dependence in the matter of maintaining its laws or punishing its criminals.

That the recent horror in Maryland so far promises nothing in the way of punishment to its perpetrators is indirect indictment of those in authority in that state, but at least there is no open approval or acknowledgement that the law is helpless and irresponsible in such cases.

The virtual declaration of the governor of California that his state must trust to lynch law and mob violence for the carrying out of its just laws is an unspeakable arraignment of a great commonwealth and one that not only his own people, but our country as a whole must bitterly resent.

There is nothing that justifies a lynching.

No crime is more brutal nor more brutalizing to a community than that which wreaks mob vengeance on a criminal.

To people in our own part of the country, the story of the California orgy of vengeance at least offers proof that the lawless white stock of the South is not different in instinct from the men of an infuriated mob in the queen state of the Golden West.

In one thing only is the California mob's deed less culpable than the usual lynching in the South, and that is in the fact that its action had not in it the element of race against race, nor the unutterable cowardice by which an ascendant race uses its power against one that is helpless of defence or revenge.

Yet even granting that much in this mob's favor, and that further, its progress was unmarked by revolting details, its violence was murder, pure and simple, and its action unjustified. The probability of the fact that its violence may speed the recent movement for more swift and sure punishment for kidnapers, and may do much to break the morale of such outlaws as those it hanged, in no way lessens its wrong.

That California needs to depend upon such lawlessness and horror for the defence of her people and the vindication of her laws is an unthinkable accusation.

Coming from the mouth of the Governor, it is one outside the pale of loyalty, dignity, or common sense.

Its honesty is its only good point.

Birmingham, Ala., News
December 3, 1933

PRAISE FOR GOV. ROLPH

To the Editor The News:

I read your editorial anent the double lynching in California entitled "Shame on California, Shame on Gov. Rolph." This is not the first time that you scorned lynchings, and perhaps not the last. Be that as it may, I wish to take issue with you.

Rape, kidnaping and other "rackets" are becoming entirely too numerous for any decent, respectable citizen to feel safe either at home or on the streets of any city, especially if you happen to be blessed with an abundance of money. What action, pray, have the courts of the country taken toward meting out justice to the families and the communities where these atrocities have been committed? The juries feel that their lives are endangered if they render a verdict which would stop these crimes; they are afraid of what might happen to their families, and why shouldn't they be? What protection has anyone against these organized criminals? Can the police of this or any community protect you? No, they can only do their part by arresting the culprits when they are found, but pray what good does that do to the injured family?

I wonder what you would do if your son or daughter was kidnaped and held for ransom, and then brutally murdered. Suppose your son was just in the flower of manhood, loved by those in his community, an outstanding citizen, the pride of your life, and some brute for no reason other than a lust for money kidnaped and murdered him. Would you be content to let him be tried by any jury? Even if he was found guilty and sentenced to a life in the penitentiary at hard labor, would that satisfy you? Would that return your son, and would not the same thing happen to someone else's boy or girl? Hasn't it continued unabated now for several years? Hasn't it grown worse in the last two years?

Thank God there are still some real red-blooded people in this country who will make an effort to stop these criminals when such criminals have absolutely ignored all law and order. The courts are no longer a scare to such barbarians, but the hangman's noose, ah, that's what causes them to stop and think twice before committing crimes that otherwise they would commit without a second thought. I say string them up when they are guilty of such fiendish crimes. As soon as we have more of such action we will have less kidnapings and brutal attacks on women and defenseless girls.

Three great big cheers for Gov. Rolph! May we have other governors who have the courage to stand up for the things that deep down in their hearts they know to be the only possible way to abolish fiendish crimes. R. J. WILKINSON.
123 Windsor Drive. Homewood.

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White Press, Southern.

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Discussions

Morn. Tennessean

NASHVILLE

TENNESSEE

AUG 18 1933

Alabama Mob Murders.

One is encouraged by the reported attitude of Judge Henry B. Foster of Tuscaloosa, Ala., to hope that some results will be obtained in the grand jury investigation of the mob-murder of two negroes and the shooting of a third.

The negroes were charged with the murder of a white woman and there is no doubt but that justice would have been dealt to them after trial by law if they were guilty of the crime attributed to them.

When it appeared that there was danger of mob action against the negroes, they were put in automobiles in charge of sheriff's deputies and the cars set out for Birmingham, presumably in an effort to save the negroes for the law. The officers were, of course, entrusted with the duty of preventing the escape of their prisoners, and were well armed to that end. They also were charged with the duty of protecting their prisoners and their arms were for use in this connection as well as in preventing the escape of the negroes.

But the guns which would certainly have been used if the negroes had undertaken to flee were not used in an effort to save their lives when members of the mob demanded them.

The participation of outside organizations in the dispensation of justice in Southern states might be a factor in the mob action at Tuscaloosa, but that does not excuse the officers for their failure to perform their duty by opposing the mob.

In charging the grand jury, Judge Foster referred to lynching as "mob murder" and ordered "a thorough investigation to ascertain the persons who participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the lynching." Though press dispatches failed to say that the judge directly mentioned the part played by the deputies, he declared that "no modern community can afford to tolerate lynchings" and that "no fair-minded and law-abiding community, bent on protecting its citizens, will permit such a crime to go unpunished."

The guilt or innocence of the two slain negroes is no longer the point at issue. The point at issue is whether a sovereign state is to offer every accused person the right of a trial at court or whether a self-appointed group is to be allowed to appropriate that right to itself, taking human life and demoralizing a community. There can be but one answer to such a question.

COLUMBIA, S. C.

RECORD

AUG 16 1933

Attacking Alabama Courts.

In Alabama three negroes, charged with the murder of a white girl, were taken from officers by a party of armed men. The bodies of two of them, riddled with bullets, were found Monday, 23 miles from Birmingham to which deputy sheriffs had been taking them for safe keeping.

Sheriff R. L. Shamblin, whose men had been held up on the road by the lynchers, blames the lynching upon feeling aroused by "the interference of the International Labor defense lawyers."

And in a sense, of course, he may be right. It ought not to be so, but Alabama citizens do not take kindly to outside intervention. In the Scottsboro case imported attorneys and the obvious attempts of Communist agitators to make the trial a cause celebre for propaganda purposes proved a serious handicap. That it was not fatal to the negro defendants is due chiefly to an Alabama judge who happened to be bigger than either the invading agitators or the local victims of race prejudice. The interfering interests might have learned a lesson from it, but they never do.

But the lynching of the two negroes—one escaped—in the Tuscaloosa case does not harm the outside agitators, but even rather plays into their hands, supplying them with ammunition with which to attack Alabama justice. The lynching is a reflection upon the Alabama courts; it is a confession that the lynchers have no faith in Alabama juries.

Wilmington, N. C. Morning Star

August 18, 1933

THE USUAL ERROR

In the course of a rather sound appraisal of the situation in Alabama, the usually astute New York *Evening Post* falls into the error of assuming that the recent lynching in that state was done by natives to pique the north and show that outside interference was resented.

The men in question were lynched for the alleged murder of a white woman and after International Labor Defense lawyers there to defend them had been escorted away.

Such conduct, the *Post* contends, paves the way for radicalism and communism; what the radical wants is a martyr and Alabama in this instance furnished him with two. Continuing the *Post* says:

"They do not want justice. They don't want to save Negroes' lives. They want victims of lynch law. They want martyrs. They want 'cases' to agitate. We wish the South could see this. We wish the South could see that the only way to lick and disappoint the agitators from the North is to give the same majestic and exact justice that the judge at Scottsboro did. Lynching but serves the purpose of Communism. And is, simultaneously, a disgrace to the civilization of the United States."

That much is quite true, but with reference to "piquing" the north the *Post* falls into the inevitable error of the northern commentator on southern affairs, particularly those who shoot at long range. The presence of outside agitors does not influence mobsters. There were lynchings in Alabama long before the I. L. D. came into existence. There is no connection whatever between racial troubles in the south and communism.

RALEIGH, N. C.

NEWS OBSERVER

AUG 15 1933

PUBLIC ENEMIES

Elsewhere on this editorial page is a condemnation of Alabama's failure to defend its justice against the lawlessness of a brutal mob. A North Carolina newspaper, however, if it looked at the riddled bodies of Negroes lynched in Alabama and overlooked the kidnapping and flogging of a man by a North Carolina gang in Laurinburg would be guilty of blindness to ugliness at home.

There are, it is true, wide distinctions between the two cases. The man flogged in Scotland county was not taken from officers of the law. He was not a defendant seized by lynch justice. Those who kidnapped and flogged him were merely men engaged in crime.

Fortunately, too, the officers of the law in Scotland county have moved swiftly in the case and have arrested a number of men charged with the crime. They should be speedily tried and, if guilty, punished with the severity of the law. There is no room in a civilized State either for gangsters who lynch or gangsters who flog or gangsters who make a business of kidnapping and murder in the larger cities of the country.

Wherever he exists and whatever his cause, the man who uses violence in defiance of the law is a public enemy. In North Carolina, in Alabama and in Chicago the only cure for the violent hoodlum is the sternest punishment which organized society maintains for its defense.

Charleston, S. C., News & Courier

August 15, 1933

Fools Make Tragedy

The lynching of the negroes near Tuscaloosa, in Alabama, was a disgraceful, a sad affair.

There would be lynchings in Canada if societies in the United States busied themselves to defend persons charged with infamous crimes in Canada.

The lynching in Alabama is deplorable. It is inexcusable. There should be no mob law in Alabama, no matter how great the provocation offered the ignorant, the unthinking, the prejudiced, the maddened.

There should be no "maddened" in Alabama.

One has never heard of a society of Alabamians hiring lawyers of Alabama to go to New York for the defence of New York's oppressed racketeers.

The Alabamians are content to allow the Chicagoans to defend their gangsters and gunmen. For all one knows the gangsters and gunmen are hardly used—how can one in Alabama be a better judge of criminal cases in Chicago than the Chicagoans are?

Is it the part of the South Carolinians to civilize the Philadelphians?

The lynching near Tuscaloosa was a sad, a shameful affair. It was not a surprise to The News and Courier.

The "International Labor Defense" in New York demands of the governor of Alabama that he arrest the judge and the sheriff.

Why do they not demand that the governor send himself to jail?

It will be discreet, for the present, for the International Labor Defense to remain strictly international but it would better exclude Alabama as a nation. If it should neglect to boycott Alabama, that is, stay out of it, it might need the assistance of a league of nations.

The members of the Internaional Labor Defense may be good, but it is certain that they have no sense.

Bamberg, S. C., Herald

August 17, 1933

SECTIONAL INTERFERENCE

In Alabama Sunday two negroes were taken from officers and summary vengeance was wreaked on them. It is to be remembered that several instances of attacks on women have occurred in Alabama in recent months, and in some or all of these cases lawyers from the north have come down to tell the southern juries to turn them loose, claiming all sorts of persecution of negroes as the reason.

The Herald does not condone lynching under any circumstances; we condemn it in every phase of its iniquitous practice. However, the situation is not in any sense helped by negrophilists from the north coming south to tell the courts what

to do.

The south is well able to handle its courts. Lynching was almost a thing of the past, and was disappearing more rapidly until these interferers began their vicious meddling. The people of the south will not stand for it. They ought to have sense enough to know it.

Samson, Ala. Ledger
August 17, 1933

I. L. D. Nebbing Brings Lynching

Three Negroes Accused of Killing Girl Taken From Officers and Two Bodies Found

Three negroes, Dan Pippen, Jr., Elmore Clark and A. T. Harden, accused of the death of Miss Vaudine Maddox in Tuscaloosa county several weeks ago, and who had been in the Tuscaloosa jail, were taken from officers who were spiriting them away to Birmingham because of threats of lynching said to have been made armed men in cars holding them up just inside the Jefferson county line.

The bodies of Pippin and Harden were found near Blocton in Bibb county.

Later Clark was found, suffering from gunshot wounds but not dangerously hurt, and was lodged in the Tuscaloosa jail.

When Pippin was arraigned to plead, attorneys for the International Labor Defense appeared and wanted to enter an appearance as his counsel. Pippin and his parents stated that they had not authorized them to act as counsel and were satisfied with local counsel. The judge thereupon refused to allow the outside attorneys to represent the defendant. Considerable feeling against the butting in of these outsiders was shown by a mob which gathered and the attorneys were finally slipped out of Tuscaloosa by National Guardsmen and taken to Birmingham, where they entrained for New York.

The sheriff said that he believed popular feeling against the action of I. L. D. attorneys had much to do with the action of the lynchers. This was also the attitude of Jack McGuire, one of the attorneys employed by Pippin's parents to defend the negro.

The attitude of the I. L. D. in butting into the Scottsboro case has caused much feeling against the organization, and when its representatives tried to muscle their way into another case, the feeling reached a point where mob law was invoked.

Judge Foster has ordered a special grand jury empanelled to investigate the lynching.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
August 23, 1933

One of the worst things about the lynching of Pippen and Harden is the defeat of the very ends sought to be served. The lynchers wanted to resist the admittedly damnable attempts of the International Labor Defense to make political capital out of Alabama Negroes—and they have succeeded only in diverting attention from those attempts to a statewide and nation-wide outcry against their own crime. They wanted to make punishment sure for the fiendish thing that was done to Vaudine Maddox, and they have succeeded only in diverting attention from that thing and from the unstinting punishment it deserves. In other words, they were as stupid as they were vicious.

* * *

"We are emboldened to believe," said Alabama's Hugh Morrow in the speech which has been credited with saving the steel industry in the South, "that it is far from the purpose of the administration to disrupt the economic life of this country. We believe that such was not the intention of the act of Congress." From this generality Mr. Morrow moved on to many particulars, but the meat of the whole case he made for maintenance of the wage differentials between North and South lies, to our way of thinking, in the generality. There are two sides to the wage differential question. Undoubtedly, as Mr. Morrow pointed out, living costs are lower in the South, and the Southern climate is likely to keep them so. It is equally true, as he pointed out, that Southern manufacturers, handicapped by greater distances from markets, lesser productivity of labor, greater amounts of labor required to produce a given product, and several other circumstances, cannot compete with Northern manufacturers if the wage differential is eliminated or materially decreased.

Times
Marion, Ala.
AUG 17 1933

THE TUSCALOOSA LYNCHING

If the population of those states which lie North of the Mason and Dixon line were entirely composed of radicals and New York Kike lawyers, The Montgomery Advertiser might have cause to fear "the storms of protest" brewed by the lynching of those three Negroes, charged with the rape and murder of a Tuscaloosa white girl.

As a Philadelphian by birth and an Alabamian by choice, the writer feels justified in making the statement that thinking Northerners sympathize with the South's efforts to cope with its peculiar racial problem, and that they have no use whatever for the Internatonal Labor Defense League and other Socialistic organizations which have been attempting to block the course of justice in this State.

Although there can be no defense for mob rule, intelligent Northerners are familiar with the incidents at Decatur which, no doubt, incited that group of armed zealots, impatient with slow justice and outside interference, to take the law into their own hands at Tuscaloosa. They will be slow to censure Alabama for the conduct of those few.

Having just returned from a vacation in the East, the writer feels sure of his ground. Alabama need not apologize for this incident. We should, however, ask the forgiveness of that great majority of Northerners whom we have wrongfully placed in a category with those Kike lawyers, who are excellent examples of the scum of humanity.

DURHAM, N. C.
SUN

AUG 15 1933

The Alternative

Another dark page has been added to Alabama judicial and social history. Two Negro murder suspects have been lynched. A third escaped, but the mob's intent in his case was also summary death.

Dissertations on mob justice are common enough to need no additional exposition here. Enough to say that North Carolina would not welcome like conditions in this state.

The North State has kept its lynch law record remarkably clear in this generation. Which prompts us to advance the theory that capital punishment may have a great deal to do with it. The answer will be that Alabama invokes the death penalty, but there have been complications, including the Scottsboro case. Then, too, what might the record not be in Alabama, were there not even the death curb?

It has been said that murderers often escape in Carolina. And some do. But a great many burn. At least, when an atrocious murder has been committed, of such calibre as to excite popular feeling, the potential mob is restrained by the assurance that the courts will deal properly with the case.

If North Carolina abandons the death penalty, we wonder if it will not invite worse

NASHVILLE, TENN
EVE. TENNESSEAN

AUG 17 1933

Alabama's Lynching.

Despite the spirited charge of the presiding judge declaring that "lynching by a mob is murder" it will be surprising if the present grand jury hearing in Tuscaloosa results in the indictment of any who participated in the recent lynching of three negroes. And this despite the fact that one of the intended victims miraculously escaped with his life and was able to testify as to what actually happened.

It is to the credit of the Alabama courts, however that some kind of attempt is being made to learn the identity of the mobsters. Judge Foster, at least, has minced no words in condemning the evil and calling for prosecution of the guilty parties.

The excuse that this lynching was caused by interference of International Labor Defense attorneys would be more convincing had not the court refused to permit the services of these "foreigners," and had not the three negro defendants specifically refused I. L. D. aid, preferring to put their case in the hands of Alabama counsel.

Alabama undoubtedly has been plagued by the influence of outside forces of questionable motives in stirring up racial trouble, but the situation will not be helped by interfering with the due processes of the law.

Ocala, Fla., Banner
August 18, 1933

A RECORD SPOILED

Alabama's three-year record in regard to lynchings has been spoiled by the recent double lynching at Tuscaloosa, and once again thunder from the notorious Scottsboro case is heard. Not since 1930, when a white man and several negroes were killed in a disturbance caused by argument over a small bill, have there been any lynchings in Alabama.

But in the meantime occurred the Scottsboro case, with all the wrangling occasioned in large part by the activities of outside organizations, and it is quite evident that the Tuscaloosa affair can be traced to that.

In Tuscaloosa three negroes were up for trial, and the International Labor Defense, which was active in defending the Scottsboro case negroes, sent lawyers to aid them. The people of that section would not have been human if they had not resented it. They did. The resulting trouble could be blamed on the entrance of the I. L. D. lawyers in the case, they are imperiling not only the lives of other negroes, but the racial relations in the south. It will not be surprising if Alabama, seeing its system of justice blocked, resorts to other acts of violence.

White Press, Southern.

4014

Lynchings-1933
Discussions

Birmingham, Ala., News
September 13, 1933

Why We Still Have Lynchings In The South

The Birmingham News prints herewith a letter which it is very loath to publish. The writer of the letter not only condones the barbarous crime of lynching, but upholds it, approves it, and even, in effect, demands its practice. We publish the letter only in order to reply to it, first apologizing to readers for offending their sensibilities by the injection of so abhorrent a viewpoint and such intemperate and inflammatory language into these columns.

To The News it is a shocking and an utterly deplorable thing that this could have been written by any Alabamian, much less by an educated man who has standing and is respected in his community:

To the Editor The News:

The persistent attempts of The News, through its editorial columns, to arouse sympathy for the vile black rapist by picturing his mental sufferings in dreading summary punishment at the hands of outraged white men (dubbed "the mob"), and the studied indifference to the shame and sufferings of his white-woman victim, calls for the severest condemnation of white men who deem protection of virtuous women worthy of all effort. While The News devotes columns, almost daily, to excoriation of white men who would bring swift and exemplary punishment upon the black beast that commits this intolerable crime against those whom white men hold dearest, there is entire absence of sympathy for the white victims of the brutal Negro's lust and savagery. Nowhere is there to be found a line of regret for the horrible crime, or sympathy for the unfortunate victim and her relatives; nor a single word of warning to the roving black beasts that lie in wait (unrestrained by law) to prey upon weak and defenseless women with an outrage worse than death itself!

Instead, we find a coddling commiseration for the black beast that despoils white womanhood; a rejoicing when safety for him is found behind prison bars, and bitter denunciation for white men who would put a stop to such crimes by removing the cause—promptly putting to death the vile black beast that, alone of all races, is prone to commit such outrages against white women. This particular crime is without provocation that may attend uncontrollable anger, and is inexcusable in the sight of God! Borrow a Bible and find out what God Almighty says about dealing with this particular crime, when committed by one of the woman's own race—how much more severely He would condemn the black beast who violates a white woman! Turn to the twenty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, and read that God decrees the rapist shall be "stoned to death by the people" (not the elders or judges, corresponding to our courts of law)—"the mob," as the mulatto-minded press of Alabama so scathingly describes those avengers, acting under the will of God, to rid the land of the vilest form of pollution possible to imagine!

If the press of Alabama, and other Southern states, will use half of the editorial space now devoted to sympathy for the Negro rapist to condemnation of that particular crime which incites white men to lynching (as God directs), and the other half to warning the Negro that he must keep hands off the white women of the South, there will be more done to stop lynching than all the hysteria over punishment (miscalled "vengeance") meted out where the law is impotent to protect the weak. Respect between the citizens of a state and its laws should be mutual, reciprocal, and respect should not be demanded for a law which fails to protect the white women of Alabama against the roving black beast that the law is impotent to control. Yes, lynching must stop; but the way to stop it is to remove the cause!

When the skulking Indian savage slew white women and children, their men-folks wrought sure and terrible punishment—approved by history. Why should not similar action prevail against the skulking savage Negro beast who imposes worse-than-death upon innocent, defenseless white women? When the law restrains these black beasts from roving at will and lying in wait to despoil white women, then it will be time for this law to demand respect from white men. Until the law proves able to protect our white women against attacks from the black beast, it is certain that such cases will continue to be handled in the God-ordained court of Judge Lynch—interracial organizations and a mulatto-minded press to the contrary notwithstanding.

DEMPS A. ODEN.

Childersburg, Ala.
(Copy to Gov. Miller.)

Here we have the reason, in the last analysis, why lynchings still take place in the South. It is because such men as Mr. Demps A. Oden give lynching their sanction. It is because such men as Mr. Oden, occupying positions of influence and respectability in the lives of their communities, condone what should be condemned.

Men like Mr. Oden would hardly be found participating in a lynching mob themselves. But the knowledge that such men approve of this brutal and hideous practice spurs the actual lynchers on, and at the same time inevitably lessens the effectiveness of law in the effort to prevent this crime or to bring the guilty ones to justice after a lynching has been committed; for public opinion must stand solidly behind a law if it is to be observed and enforced.

There are many men in Alabama like Mr. Oden—and that is why The News believes that some good may come from exposing his viewpoint, as unpleasant as it is to do so, and meeting it with a reasoned appeal to intelligence and civilized decency. It is true that men like Mr. Oden are greatly in the minority in Alabama and in other Southern states; but numerically they are many, and their influence is felt. If it were not for the fact that a small body of public opinion supports them in their slinking, dastardly acts, mobs would not dare to defy the law and commit their crimes against society.

Mr. Oden defends the **right** to lynch. That is an astounding thing. Yet it is because some men hold that it is **right** to lynch, even though they would not stoop to it themselves, that others, more ignorant and more bestial, believing them, go forth and kill.

What **right** has any group of men to lynch any man, in a civilized society governed by laws? Most people will readily deny that there is any **right** to lynch, and will require no proof. But let us examine the question from several standpoints.

If lynching were **right**, could we not expect, on a question so simple and clear-cut, to find a majority public opinion supporting that view? Yet all the evidence will show that the majority opinion holds that lynching is wrong. For example, in all the states, legislatures representative of the popular will have enacted laws proclaiming lynching a crime and providing for its punishment. Grand juries, likewise representative of the public, act whenever they can to bring lynchers to justice, and strongly condemn the practice in any case. No legislature or no grand jury could be found a majority of whose members would uphold lynching. Again, the press, reflecting public opinion, is practically a unit in denouncing lynchings, wherever they occur. There can be no doubt that the majority public opinion everywhere in this country opposes lynching; it is only a small minority opinion that upholds it, and a still smaller minority that practices it.

What **right** has any mob to take the law into its own hands, and act as prosecutor, jury, judge and executioner all in one? There could be no impartial fairness in such a proceeding, and what is unfair cannot be right. We have laws and courts to administer justice, and they are reasonably efficient. There is no necessity for so-called mob "law."

Mr. Oden says the "court of Judge Lynch" is "God-ordained." He quotes from the Bible to show that it is **right** in the sight of God to lynch a rapist. The Bible also sanctions the burning of witches, but we daresay that even Mr. Oden does not believe in witch-burning. "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," says Exodus 22:18, and as a consequence of that command accredited to God, but long since discredited by common sense and human feeling, many thousands of innocent, helpless unfortunates were burned to death during some of the dark centuries in the world's history. No more should common sense and human feeling tolerate lynching on Biblical grounds.

Mr. Oden believes also that because the early white men in this country "wrought sure and terrible punishment" on the savage Indians, we Southerners are justified in lynching Negroes. But there is no comparison between taking men from the hands of the law to lynch them, and fighting Indians in a pioneer region where there was no organized society and no law worthy of the name. At least, the Indians had an opportunity to fight back.

The slanders about the "studied indifference" of The News to the suffering of a rapist's victim and the "mulatto-minded press of Alabama" hardly deserve notice. The sensitivity of any person to such an outrage requires no stressing; in any tragedy of that kind sympathy is taken for granted. And as for the attitude of the Alabama press toward lynching, it is to the eternal credit of the influential newspapers of this state, and of the South, that they have not merely stood virtually united against the practice, but that they have so vigorously championed the cause of law and order and opposed all forms of mob violence.

Lynching has never yet curbed any sort of crime. In the nature of things it cannot, because, being a criminal act itself, it only tends to break down all law and order. Lynching is anarchy in action. At one time there were as many as 24 lynchings in Alabama in a single year—in fact, that number in two successive years, 1891 and 1892. Does anyone believe that conditions were improved by those lynchings? Does anyone believe that there was less of crime and outrage in Alabama then than there was, for example, during the 10-year period ending with 1932, when six of the 10 years were free of lynchings, and there was only one lynching in each of the other four?

Let all who may be inclined to believe as Mr. Oden believes remember that white men as well as Negroes are lynched; there were, in fact, many years in this country's history when more white men by far were lynched than Negroes. Let them remember that far more lynchings are committed for other crimes than for rape. And let them remember it has been definitely ascertained that sometimes innocent persons have been the victims of mob violence. When this form of anarchy prevails, it does not matter what may be a man's race or color, what the nature of the crime of which he is suspected, or whether he is guilty or innocent. If the viewpoint of Mr. Oden were generally held, no man could count himself safe; we would have a repetition of the injustice and cruelty of the witch-burning era, when the identity of the next victim depended on nothing more than the whim of the mob.

As long as people upheld the right to burn witches, thousands of innocent men and women were tortured to death each year—and the grand total of victims was a frightful number.

It is only a few years since Alabama was outraged by a series of brutal floggings. Then there were those who upheld the right to flog. Public opinion arose in indignation, and the right to flog ceased to be a question. Then the flogging evil disappeared.

As long as there are men like Mr. Oden who uphold the right to lynch, there will be lynchings. We will have no more lynchings in the South when there is no appreciable body of public opinion left which defends the right to lynch

Greenville, Miss., Times
September 7, 1933

20

THE CAUSE OF MOBS

An attack was made o nthe mother of seven children near Birmingham on August 24th. A negro was identified by the woman as having been the criminal. A jury and judge and spectators heard the evidence. A verdict of guilty was returned by the jury. The judge sentenced the negro to be electrocuted. All of this was done in an orderly manner.

Then the defense played the usual trick-delay. The ace always in the hole is the appeal. The evidence is seldom all in for the first trial, or there was a technicality that makes another trial possible.

The Democrat-Times has never appealed for the life of any person. We never expect to. But, we are thinking about the fact that 99 cases out of every hundred that come into the courts are delayed—usually by technicalities. There is a diversion of justice. The loved ones and a sympathetic people of the person that has been outraged, become skeptical of the courts. They have a right to be. The courts are often backed by maudlin sentiment which makes the delay less painful. Then the people take the law in their own hands. The mob spirit becomes aroused and law and order is again cast aside.

Speedy trials with the presentation of all the evidence in one trial, will have a great influence toward ending mob violence and the commission of horrible crimes, which come to our attention through the press every day.

Scooba, Miss., Herald
August 24, 1933

Misguided Protection Causes Lynching

T2-8

Recently two negroes in Alabama were lynched and a third was made to disappear, all of whom were accused of killing a white woman. The negroes were being transferred to another prison by county officials. The authorities were doing their best to protect the alledged criminals from Judge lynch, but the tide of public indignation became so great that it could not be resisted. Lawyers had been appointed and sent in from other sections of the country by the International Labor Defense for the purpose of saving these black men. It is usually the custom of the latter organization to assume the innocence of its colored clients. The more sober judicial authorities of Alabama believe that the Defense League does the colored people more harm than good in the manner of its defense. It is the opinion of many that the state authorities would have been able to protect these prisoners if it had not been for the excessive irritation resultant from alien forces known to be prejudiced against the local machinery of justice.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
September 9, 1933

A letter defending lynch law for Negroes guilty of criminal assault upon white women has been addressed to The New Republic, The Nation, The New York Times and several Alabama newspapers by Mrs. E. Singleton Cook, of Montgomery. Easy as it is for any Southerner to appreciate the history and the present problems which dictate this letter and to credit the earnest convictions which actuate its writer, we cannot believe it represents either a right or a possible solution of the situation. Under modern circumstances lynching is not only a disgrace but also a defeat of the very ends sought to be served. It is a play into the hands of the enemies of the South.

* * *

The letter makes one point, however, which is well worth making. It stresses the duty of the respectable majorities of the Negro race to take measures of their own against the crime for which lynching is most often done. The Negro who commits rape against a white woman is as much the enemy of his own race as he is the sure and deserving objective of the white man's hate. To apprehend him, to convict him, and to put him to immediate death at the law's hands is a public task in which the Negro race has easily as much at stake as the white race. This is something for every decent Negro to remember, no matter how sorely the two present foes of Southern civilization—the lyncher and the I. L. D. agitator—confuse with their actions the plain face of the thing.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
September 28, 1933

Retract News Editorial, deGraffenried Demands

Solicitor Claims Record Good As Any, Objects To Inference He Is Not Capable, Not Diligent, Lacks Respect

Declaring that his record will "compare favorably" with any in the state, Edward deGraffenried, solicitor of the Sixth Judicial Circuit, demanded in a letter to The Tuscaloosa News today that it retract publicly statements made in a front-page editorial on crime conditions Wednesday.

The solicitor, whose letter was delivered to The News office by a messenger, asked that the statement be published in the Voice of the People column, but The News takes the liberty of printing it on Page 1, giving it equal prominence with the editorial to which he objected.

The letter in full follows:

Sept. 28, 1933.

"The Tuscaloosa Newspaper Publishing Company,

"Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

"Dear Sirs:

"On the 27th of September, 1933, you published an editorial in regard to the recent lynchings in Tuscaloosa County and the causes therefor. In this article you plainly inferred that as the Solicitor or Prosecutor of the Sixth Judicial Circuit of Alabama I am not capable, am not diligent, and do not hold the confidence and respect of the juries to whom I appeal for convictions and that my record does not inspire confidence in the eyes of a jury. You further plainly infer that I am responsible for the lynchings due to the above.

"I do hereby demand that you make a public retraction of the matter published in as prominent and public a place or manner as the charge or matter published occupied and I demand that said retraction shall be fair and full. I do this under Section 7361 of the Code of Alabama.

"You started out in your recent editorial campaign excusing and justifying the lynchings and laying the cause at the doors of the ILD. You now condemn the lynchers and say that they are caused by my record as Solicitor inferring that the juries have not convicted and that because criminals are going free is the reason for the lynchings.

"May I not call your attention to the fact that my record of convictions will compare favorably with that of any Solicitor in the State.

"I ask that you pubish this letter in the Voice of the People column.

"Yours very truly,

(signed) "Edward deGraffenried,
"Solicitor of Sixth Judicial Circuit."

Editor's Note:

The solicitor refers to The News as "excusing" and "justifying" lynching. That statement is untrue. This newspaper deplored and condemned the Pippen - Harden lynching from the first, but The News did and does insist that the I. L. D. was responsible for the state of mind which brought it about.

An Inquiry Which Would Serve No Purpose

Age-Herald

For a matter of five or six weeks Alabamians interested in interracial cooperation have known that a visit from a delegation representing the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners was impending. The ostensible reason for this visit was a proposed investigation in connection with what has come to be called the Tuscaloosa lynchings. Heroic efforts have been made to make those responsible for this movement understand that the enterprise was likely to make an unhappy impression without doing any perceptible good. That advice was not taken. The delegation is on its way.

11-5-33

But the announcement of its coming was coincident with the publication of a report following a survey made under the auspices of the Southern Commission for the Study of Lynching, of which George Fort Milton, Chattanooga publisher, is chairman, and which is composed exclusively of Southerners to the manner born. This report deals in a forthright and revealing fashion with the causes and the aftermath of the Tuscaloosa lynchings. In effect, it makes any other investigation unnecessary, because it fixes responsibility and presents an inescapable challenge to the conscience and courage of the community which has suffered so much from this upsurge of mob violence.

Birmingham Ala.

In the circumstances, there is nothing left for the New York delegation to do except to retrace ground already covered. That is not worth the time and effort which would have to be spent in the job of checking up. It would not be worth the ill-feeling which such an endeavor might generate. At the risk of seeming to be inhospitable, let it be said that the visitors should be guided by the logic of events and return to their homes, assured that such work as they contemplated doing is already finished.

To make this suggestion, and to make it urgently, is not to argue for any lack of courtesy to the members of this party of investigators. Under no conditions must they be dealt with as entitled to less than the consideration which is due to strangers as well as to natives in a civilized community. It is much to be regretted that they are here on a wild goose chase. It is to be hoped that they will realize the fact by abstaining from a task of supererogation.

Lynchings-1933
6
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4015

Lynching Of Three In Tuscaloosa Is Blamed To Fear Of Communism

Advertiser 11-4-33
Montgomery, Ala.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., Nov. 3—(AP)—A "consuming fear of communism" today was reported by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching as one reason for the lynchings of three negroes recently in the vicinity of Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Including a fourth negro who was wounded but survived the commission said one was "undoubtedly, two others probably, and the fourth possibly, innocent."

The commission's investigating staff, headed by Dr. Arthur Raper, made its report at the request of Dr. W. W. Alexander, executive director of the commission on interracial cooperation. George Fort Milton, editor of The Chattanooga News, is chairman of the Commission on Study of Lynching.

The report said "peace officers of Tuscaloosa County have not performed their duty in safeguarding these prisoners," and "in spite of the vigorous charges which the circuit judge made to two grand juries x x law enforcing agencies have taken no effective steps to punish the lynchers."

The commission said "extreme community hysteria was the result of the super-addition to the ever present latent, white groupphobia against the black [illegible] man—a phobia in large part traceable to the group insistence upon the right to economic exploitation—the newer but equally consuming fear of communism injected by the attempt of the International Labor Defense to force its way into the case."

A "careful search" did not reveal any "insurgent spirit" among the negroes, the report said "and even had there been some basis for these rumors that would afford no justification for the intimidation and murder."

"Immediate responsibility for this situation," the commission said, "and probably for the lynchings themselves rests upon a local secret organization x x x with an elaborate system of espionage and intimidation."

The report said it was hoped the investigation would be renewed locally, but "if local authorities fail the commission feels the best hope for justice rests upon the Supreme Court of Alabama, which is empowered to impeach officers x x x and in the Governor of the State who has authority to remove officers so impeached."

Advertiser
11-4-33

Richmond County's Record Unmarred While Lynchings Increase in Other States

RALEIGH, N. C. OCT 24 1933
NEWS OBSERVER

Augusta Has Not Had Fatality From Mob Outburst Since Alex Whitney's Slayer Was Lynched in 1901; Speedy Trials Reason, Says Sheriff

Lynchings which have occurred in increasing numbers in various states and counties of the United States this year have failed to mar Richmond county's unblemished record of more than 30 years, according to information gathered from Sheriff M. Gary Whittle and other county officials and citizens yesterday.

In not one instance since the spring of 1901 have citizens of this county taken the law in their own hands to inludge in lynching.

Statistics on lynching compiled by the International Labor Defense league reveals a marked increase in lynchings this year. The league reports a total of 31 deaths at the hands of mobs during the first nine months of the year, as compared with only six for the entire year of 1932. The number this year is also considerably greater than in years prior to 1932, since the figures reveal 13 lynchings in 1931; 21 in 1930 and 10 in 1929.

Last Lynching Here

The last lynching in Richmond county was that of the negro who shot Alex Whitney to death following an altercation on a street car on Thirteenth street in the spring of 1901. The negro was arrested after the slaying of Whitney, who was a prominent Augusta man, and placed in jail here. When rumors to the effect that a mob planned an attempt to get the negro were heard by county officers, the negro was spirited away from the jail and placed on a night train for Atlanta. In some way, citizens, aroused by the slaying, learned that the negro had been secreted in the rear of a sleeping coach. They boarded the train at Belair, seized the negro and lynched him near the 8-mile post on the highway between Augusta and that little city.

With that lynching, mob slayings in the county suddenly stopped, and Sheriff Whittle attributes the county's unspotted record since that time largely to the efficiency of the courts in swiftly meting out justice to criminals who have committed crimes of the nature that are most likely to incite the mob spirit. He pointed out yesterday that shortly after the lynching of Whitney's slayer, there were several executions in the county, including one negro who was convicted and hanged for rape in 23 days after the crime was committed.

No Escapes in County

In addition to the clean lynching record, the county jail has a record of more than a half century unmarred by an escape, or by a prisoner having been taken from the jail by a mob. Joe Beasley, former employe of the sheriff's office, said yesterday that to his knowledge no prisoner has made his escape from the county jail here in the past 50 years.

Sheriff Whittle said he is convinced that the fidelity of the present and former jail employes to their duties is responsible for the record of keeping prisoners. He said that while the jail is a good one, there are some discrepancies which are offset by human ingenuity and watchfulness.

It is also considered a record that no prisoner has ever been taken from the jail by a mob in the memory of those now in charge, though in days gone by, at least two mobs have visited the prison for that purpose. The first was a number of years ago, when a group of men went to the jail to seize Bob Ramsey, negro, who had shot Bob Harris, police officer here, to death. After several shots had been exchanged, Boykin Wright, then the solicitor general of the court circuit, pleaded with the crowd to abandon their attempt and promised swift justice would be meted out to the slayer, which ended the affair, so far as the mob was concerned.

Fox-Gappin Case

Later, a group of South Carolina men came to Augusta in an effort to get two men named Fox and Gappin from the jail. They were accused of having murdered a taxi driver and stolen his car. Warned of the coming of the group, Sheriff J. T. Plunkett removed the men before the South Carolinians arrived. They were allowed, through a committee they named, to search the jail, and when they found the criminals gone, departed peacefully.

Sheriff Whittle said yesterday that with the efficiency of the courts of justice, there is no excuse for any attempts on the part of citizens to take the law in their own hands in order to punish criminals, and that Richmond county's record should, if people will realize that fact, remain unblemished by any such occurrence. He said he and his officers will continue their duties as they have in the past, and will exert every effort and means possible to apprehend those who commit all kinds of crimes. He added that all criminals, however, regardless of the heinousness of their offense, are entitled to a fair trial and he will exert the same effort to see that they get justice, both as to their rights in court and their punishment.

"MARYLAND, MY MARYLAND!"

Maryland's fair name has been besmirched and humanity has been outraged by a particularly brutal lynching at Princess Anne. The victim was a Negro, accused of attacking an 81-year-old white woman. 10-20-33

The crime is all the more abhorrent to those who believe in law and order because it seems to have been largely a community affair, rather than the work of a few masked hotheads. The victim was dragged from the county jail "by a mob of more than 1,000 men, women and children," to use the words of the Associated Press.

A rope was placed around the Negro's neck and attached to an automobile, which pulled him, partly stripped, through the town, while members of the mob attacked him. Just outside the town the victim, probably already dead, was swung from a tree, after which his body was cut down and burned.

These details are recited, not because of their gruesomeness, but to show how easily and how quickly people, even in a cultured State like Maryland, may revert temporarily to barbarism. If the Negro committed the crime with which he was charged, the provocation was great. But that provocation did not justify the lack of restraint and the resulting outrage against constituted authority and humanity.

What the country now waits to see is whether Maryland authorities take constituted authority, law, order and human life seriously enough to bring the active members of the mob to the bar of justice and mete out to them punishment in keeping with the crime they committed.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Times
October 20, 1933

"MARYLAND, MY MARYLAND!"

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NORFOLK, VA.
LEDGER-DISPATCH
OCT 21 1933

Maryland's Law Paralysis

Paralysis of a state's law enforcement machinery has never been shown more disastrously than in the lynching of the Negro assailant of an 81-year-old white woman in Somerset County, Maryland, Wednesday night, when a mob overpowered state police, the sheriff and his deputies, took the prisoner from the jail at Princess Anne, dragged him through the streets, hanged him and later burned the body.

Local officials had refused to remove the prisoner to Baltimore for safe-keeping even after a mob had formed. Governor Ritchie had offered to send military to protect the man, but was told troops were not needed not only by the prosecuting attorney and circuit judge, but by a captain of State Police in charge of a detail at the jail. The judge, whose experience on previous occasions had taught him a lesson, was howled down when he pleaded to let the law take its course, promising an immediate trial.

The Eastern Shoremen, with other crimes of a similar nature in recent years inflaming their passions, disregarded all pleas, and the officers at the jail made no more than a gesture toward combatting the mob. The defenders at the jail assert they did not recognize any of the individuals in the mob and from the time they brushed the sheriff aside with a tap on the head and blow on the chest, there was no further interference with their tragic performance.

From Baltimore come reports that under the Maryland law, the state is powerless to prosecute the perpetrators of the lynchers, the case being wholly in the hands of the local authorities, and from the attitude of the county officials at the time of the occurrence, it is difficult to vision anything more than a perfunctory investigation.

The breakdown of a state's law enforcement machinery whatever may be the occasion and interference by mob rule with the orderly processes of the law even with the perpetrator of a particularly brutal crime is not only a reflection on Maryland—and on any other state where lynching is permitted—but it gives ground for further agitation of congressional action in the direction of a law giving the Federal courts jurisdiction over participants where a state fails or refuses to afford protection.

Birmingham, Ala., News
October 19, 1933

BLAME IN LYNCHING LAID ON OFFICERS

Governor Of Maryland Says Two Assured Safety For Accused Uegro

PRINCESS ANNE, Md.—(AP)—Responsibility for the lynching of George Armwood, Negro, who was dragged from the jail here Wednesday night and hanged from a tree near the town limits, was placed Thursday by Gov. Ritchie squarely on the shoulders of Judge Duer and State's Atttorney Robins, of Princess Anne.

Gov. Ritchie directed Judge Duer, a member of the bench of the First Judicial District, and State's Attorney Robins "to take immediate action to set in motion the necessary legal machinery for the apprehension of those who were responsible for or who participated in the lynching."

Armwood, brought back here from Baltimore less than 17 hours earlier to face accusations of attacking an aged woman, was wrenched from the protection of 25 state policemen Wednesday night and his body was finally left in a gasoline-soaked pyre on the main business corner.

The mob of more than a thousand men, women and youths, stopped temporarily by a tear gas attack from the state police, stormed the jail, battered down the heavy steel doors and after ripping most of the clothes from his body and fastening a rope around his neck, dragged the Negro out into the street.

Eight defenders of the jail fell during the attack, cut by flying stones and bricks. Among them was Capt. Johnson, head of the state police, who was knocked unconscious. Several members of the mob were seen being carried away but their number and injuries were not revealed.

Armwood was captured Monday night near Pocomoke City as the Negro who earlier in the day grabbed Mrs. Mary Denston, 81-year-old wife of a Somerest farmer, as she was walking home after spending the night with her daughter.

State police rushed the Negro to Baltimore for safekeeping when mobs began to collect in Eastern Shore communities. Early Wednesday, over protests of the state police, he was returned to Princess Anne in preparation for the convening of the Grand Jury next week.

State police said Armwood had signed a confession in Baltimore admitting the attack on the woman.

Despite assurance of Judge Duer and State's Attorney Robins to the governor "that there would be no trouble," a mob began collecting early Wednesday night outside the jail. When it became threatening additional state policemen and national guardsmen from Pocomoke City and Crisfield were ordered to the scene.

Judge Duer, interrupting his dinner to drive to the scene, made a personal plea to the mob to let the Negro remain in jail, promising a speedy trial for the prisoner.

But his plea was answered from the group by cries of "How about Euel Lee?" "We ain't gonna have no Euel Lee in Somerset County."

They referred to the Negro now under sentence to be hanged for the murder two years ago of Green K. Davis, a farmer of an adjoining county. The case has been carried through the state courts and only last week the United States Supreme Court refused to review the evidence.

Dr. George W. Jarman, Princess Anne physician who accompanied Judge Duer, also spoke informally to the mob, but he, also, was received with jeers mingled with friendly jibes.

Shortly after their departure, the mob, apparently without any leaders but with the single purpose of getting the Negro, began pressing the police lines around the jail. The officers retreated to the jail door and then tossed tear gas bombs at the attackers.

Doors Battered Down

Pausing only a few minutes, the mob got two large pieces of timber from a nearby lumber yard and rushed toward the outer steel doors battering them down. The second jail doors were opened from the inside.

Deputy Sheriff Dryden, warden of the jail, said some men took the keys out of his pocket, adding, "I was just scared they were going to get the wrong man."

Sheriff Daugherty appeared on the scene and tried to persuade the invaders to leave, but they pressed on to the second floor and soon returned with the Negro. He was gashed on the head and chest, but made no outcry.

Partly pulling him on a run and partly dragging him in the road, the mob led him out the main street to the home of Judge Duer. There was no large tree there, so they threw the rope over a limb of an oak tree on the adjoining lawn.

Armwood was limp when the mob reached the tree and apparently was dead.

After the men failed in an attempt to set fire to what remained of his trousers, the Negro was dropped to the ground and dragged to the main intersection where the body was saturated with gasoline and set fire. The rope was cut into short pieces and distributed as souvenirs.

Body In Street

The body lay in the street several hours as local undertakers refused to touch it. Finally state police put it in a truck and took it away.

Gov. Ritchie, in Annapolis, offered the services of the state police and other state agencies to assist in the investigation and asked Charles D. Gaither, police commissioner of Baltimore, to send several of the city's detectives to "render all the assistance they could."

In a statement issued after the lynching Wednesday night, Gov. Ritchie said:

"The responsibility for the Negro Armwood being in Princess Anne Wednesday night rests upon Judge Duer and State's Atty. Robins."

Further, in reviewing his attempts to ascertain if the Negro would be safe in Princess Anne, the governor said:

"I told him (State's Atty. Robins) that if the Negro was left at Princess Anne and molested, the responsibility would erst on him. He repeated the conviction that there would be no trouble."

The governor said that at 6 p.m., Wednesday, Judge Duer, "said he had personally investigated the conditions, not only at Princess Anne, but in other adjacent localities, and assured me that he was convinced there would be no trouble of any kind and that it was perfectly safe to leave Armwood in Princess Anne."

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
NEWS
OCT 22 1933

Two Dispatches From Maryland

It happened that two very significant news articles came to Birmingham from Maryland last Thursday. One was about the inauguration of a college president, and the other was about a lynching. The reasons why the two dispatches were of special interest in Birmingham were that the new college president is Gilbert W. Mead, formerly dean at Birmingham-Southern College, and that the Maryland lynching, while much more brutal, was strikingly similar in many respects to one of our more recent killings in Alabama.

Nothing more than the merest coincidence, of course, was responsible for the fact that these two news stories came from the same state on the same day to a city greatly interested in them both. And it was the merest coincidence that two extremes in human nature—the best and the worst—were represented in the two articles. Yet, it would be possible to make a little sermon on the point that the future course of civilization depends upon which of the motives represented in the two news stories shall be allowed to flourish at the expense of the other.

The picture drawn of Washington College, which is 151 years old, is a fine and inspiring thing. It is pleasant for Birmingham people to know that President Roosevelt and his party from Washington attended the inaugural ceremonies of which Mr. Mead was the central figure. There is inspiration in the fact that a small college devoted to the cultivation of the human spirit has been able to survive for a century and a half—that such an institution has lived on, without doing anything very remarkable in the way of advancing what we call progress in tangible things, and without any great endowments from rich alumni.

Yet, it is a hideous thought that, not far from the ennobling influences of the cultural institution, there should also have lived the brute instincts of man—instincts which are much, much older than the desire for culture and decency in life. Even Alabamians—even the very men who are at this moment walking around with the memory and the responsibility connected with the recent deaths of three Negroes in this state—must shudder at the terrible details connected with the crazed savagery of the Maryland mob.

There isn't very much that Alabamians can do about the situation in Maryland. No matter how much the civilized people of our state may hope that, as life goes on, the kind of thing represented by Dr. Mead will triumph over the bestial instincts of the race, there is little that Alabamians can do about what happens in Maryland. But Alabamians could do a lot about what happens in Alabama. ...

Aside from a few vigorous sermons, a number of resolutions, some newspaper editorials and a $400 reward offered by the governor, it cannot be said that our state has shown itself to be greatly on the side of civilization with reference to the current antagonism between decency and savagery.

To all intents and purposes, we have confessed the futility of attempting to combat the poisoned exudations which now and then rise to suffocate the faint perfume of human nobility. Just in a general way, it will be more or less interesting for us to watch and see whether Maryland can do any better with the similar problem which ...

Lynchings-1933

Discussions

White Press, Southern.

4016

Clearwater, Fla. Sun
November 28, 1933

A California Lynching

SAN JOSE is a California city of fifty-seven thousand population. Sunday night six thousand of that population looked on and cheered while a group stormed the jail, seized two confessed murderers, took them to a near-by park and lynched them.

The two had kidnaped and killed Brooke Hart, a popular young man of San Jose. After the killing the murderers had sought to collect ransom from Hart's father. The crimes were of such heinousness that it is little wonder the city of San Jose should be aroused.

In that crowd of six thousand there must have been many mild and patient men. What moved them to applaud a lynching? Was it alone a desire for revenge? Or was there at the bottom of each man's mind a distrust of the processes of the law, the fear that by technicality and delay the two criminals might escape proper punishment?

Even the governor of California, James Rolph, Jr. joined in the chorus of approval when he learned of the lynching.

"They will learn that they cannot kidnap in this state," he said. "If any one is arrested for the good job I will pardon them all."

Without question most lynchings strike back to that distrust of the law and the frequent failure of justice. A proof of this will be seen by a glance at the records of England and Canada, where punishment for crime is swift and sure. In those countries lynchings are practically unknown.

Here in Clearwater in the Jeffcoat case not so long ago we had opportunity to observe at close range the falterings and stumblings of the legal process. A man killed his wife, who was about to become a mother, for no other reason than that he coveted another woman. He was arrested, confessed, was indicted, convicted, sentenced—all without delay.

The delay started before sentence could be executed. Technicality succeeded technicality and for two and a half years the case dragged along from one court to another. In the end Jeffcoat paid with his life for his crime, and to that extent the case is almost unique, as the common experience has been in the direction of commutation of sentence if not indeed the actual freeing of the criminal.

No doubt California has had its full quota of justice-cheating cases and those men of San Jose were determined that the Hart case should not be one of them.

Lynchings will disappear from the land only when the operation of the law can convince the public that they are unnecessary, that orderly punishment for at least major crimes will be meted out swiftly and with certainty.

Mobile, Ala., Register
November 30, 1933

MOBS

While there may be a not unreasonable explanation of the attitude assumed by Governor Rolph, of California, toward the lynching of two kidnapers who had confessed their guilt, and after the body of their victim had been recovered and identified, at the same time the evil effects of the governor's attitude are distressingly apparent in similar acts of violence in Maryland and Missouri where mobs stepped in to interfere with the quiet and orderly processes of the law.

If Governor Rolph had been a wise and tactful leader of public thought in California, he would have remained silent on the subject of the San Jose lynching regardless of what he may have thought of the justification of the mob. Governors occupy high positions. They are paid and sworn to uphold the dignity of the law. They cannot afford, in any of these states, to condone mob violence. If governors condone mob violence, what can we expect of citizens not wearing the heavy official responsibilities that governors wear?

This newspaper is not now concerned with the merits of the California case, insofar as the guilt of offenders may be involved, or with the merits of the Maryland case, or the Missouri case; it is concerned only in the evil effects of the position assumed by the governor of California. Unintentionally, but in circumstances of great provocation, the governor of California has encouraged the mob spirit in this country, and that is dangerous, particularly dangerous in these times when legal and moral obligations hang rather loosely on many citizens on account of distresses brought upon the nation by unhappy economic conditions.

When we encourage the mob spirit in this country, in any community, or for any reason, we encourage anarchy in all of its forms, and that, in these times, is something to think about.

Mob violence is never a safe substitute for the orderly processes of the law. Justice cannot be secure in any community where mobs are allowed to usurp the functions and duties of the law. The law is ample. Or if is not ample it can be so without recourse to violence, and without offering encouragement to the unrestrained evils of mob violence. While very just criticism may at times be made of the law on account of its delays, and its uncertainties, at the same time the security of life and property in this country, the preservation of an orderly society, and the stability, and dignity, and power of institutions of government depend upon the law and its orderly processes.

Mobs do not reason. They are controlled by passion, by sudden impulses, by the urges of prejudice and emotional factors that tragically too often lead to shocking injustices, and if encouraged may throw us on the raw edges of social and civic choas and the horrors of unbridled anarchy.

No public official can afford to condone mobs or mob violence, for to condone in these cases is to encourage, and to invite a saturnalia of sickening social evils that may easily shake the foundations of our institutional integrity.

Selma, Ala. Times
November 27, 1933

ET TU CALIFORNIA!

Those caustic critics like H. L. Mencken who have so long delighted in branding the South as "the lynching belt" will now in the interest of truth and accuracy have to expand the geographical limits of their burning stigma, and give it wider application as they read the news from the Golden West. Sunny California and recently beautiful Maryland have knocked for admission to the lynching belt and asked that their names be included on the role of dishonor. It all goes to show that no matter how much we may preach and like the Publican of old thank our stars that "we are not like other men," we all

belong to homo sapiens and are alike in our moods and tenses and passions and savage instincts.

The people's capacity to stand the horror of the kidnaping and brutal murder of the young man at Los Angeles broke under the strain and o'erbore "the shores of their mortality." They had to find an outlet for their pent-up passions and that outlet meant vengeance no matter how diabolical on the demons in human form who had provoked their wrath by this fiendish crime. And Governor Rolph gave this uprising of the mob his gracious blessings and annointed the ring leaders with the oil of his approval. All of which in its wider aspects simply attests that we are brothers under the skin and human nature differs little anywhere in the round world.

Johnson City, Tenn., Staff News
November 29, 1933

An Appeal To Reason

Governor James Rolph established a dangerous precedent Sunday night when he refused to intercede in mob activity, consummated by lawless execution of two men. And when he further violated his oath and duty by sanctioning mob law. In so many words, he set the seal of the great state of California to an epoch of lawlessness.

The full cost of this deplorable error cannot be reckoned in a day. More than the lives of Thomas Thurmond and John M. Holmes were at stake. Their death warrants were written in blood drawn by a mob, itself bent on murder. And out of the case in point tragedy has struck again —and will continue to strike.

It is not a pretty picture, visualizing America turned overnight into a bedlam of shrieking, maddened killers. Justice recoils from even the thought of that. Reason, without which there can be no such thing as balance, has nothing in common with passion which knows no control.

It was pointed out in these columns, after the California episode, that Rolph's sentiment would sweep as an ungovernable tide—inviting every type of violence, and ignoring law. That has happened.

In Missouri in the early hours today a mob seized a negro and strung him up to a tree. It was proudly traced to Rolph's much-quoted statements. The negro was roasted to death by flames which consumed him as they killed him.

The crowd cheered his cries of agony. To their eyes, as to their ears, his torture was an exquisite thing. Standing back a little distance, the better to watch development of their handiwork, they haw him writhe and twist in misery which no similar group of a barbaric past could duplicate.

And in Maryland state troopers fought a desperate battle with more than a thousand men, determined to release four prisoners, accused of lynching another negro. These, too, had as their excuse the Rolph precedent. Only the troopers' willingness to obey orders and "shoot to kill" prevented the seizure.

It is reasonable to believe that officers, willing as a last resort to shoot into a mob, would see the mob melt before them. Few frenzied leaders would want their quarry badly enough to risk their own lives. Usually, they know that nothing stronger than tear gas will be used against them. This knowledge gives them courage.

This occurred Tuesday—only twenty-four hours after word was circulated that California had justified its mob. What may happen Wednesday, or Thursday—or within a week or a year, as a result of these occurrences, is speculative.

Civilized standards of Society, which has graduated from primitive and barbaric things, cannot survive too much of these blighting offenses. It is an insult to reason and shocks the heart, to conceive of Human Beings exulting in torture of another Human Being.

It can serve no possible end, save the undesirable one of destroying all human consideration. Rob an individual or a group of this, and the principle of orderly justice and the structure of civilization is dangerously near the point of total eclipse.

Manassas, Va., Journal
November 30, 1933

LYNCH LAW

The topic of the week, not only in America, but throughout the world, is the often-debated subject of "Lynch Law." Last Sunday an infuriated mob in California brought summary justice to two kidnappers who had murdered their victim in cold blood as a mere matter of convenience in carrying on negotiations for his ransom. The Governor of California openly endorsed the lynching and stated that he would immediately pardon anyone arrested for participation.

On Tuesday, in contrast, the Governor of Maryland sent armed troopers to the eastern shore of his state to arrest men suspected of participation in a recent lynching and whom local authorities had refused to arrest. A struggle of considerable magnitude followed and the officers had great difficulty in preventing rescue of their prisoners.

Many cultured and law-respecting citizens approve mob violence in circumstances where the ordinary processes of law seem inadequate either as a punishment or a deterrent of similar crimes. Mob action may have been a safeguard to society in pioneer days on the outposts of civilization, but it is a sad commentary upon our judicial system, if Lynch Law is a necessary procedure in this highly-organized country today. If kidnapping is actually becoming unmanageable, such a remedy might be defended, but even then, the degrading effect of these ghastly orgies cannot be discounted.

It is said that an Irishman named James Lynch Fitz-Stephens, in 1526, originated the term Lynch Law by un-officially executing his own son, convicted of murder, to prevent his rescue by a mob. If so, he must have lived under a cloud the remainder of his life, as do most of those who have before them the indelible recollection of having helped to take human life.

Fayetteville, Ga., Enterprise
December 1, 1933

-:- EDITORIAL NOTES -:-

Governor Rolph of California promises immediate pardon to any person indicted for lynching Thurmond and Holmes, the kidnapers and murderers of young Brooke Hart, San Jose heir. The governor thus puts the stamp of his executive approval upon the summary justice dealt out to these two outlaws.

The governor's action brings a storm of condemnation from inter-racial committees and newspapers. From other sources, it brings a chorus of approval. He defends his utterance by saying the people had reached the end of their patience, and matters had come to the point where drastic action was necessary.

Perhaps the lynchings of Thurmond and Holmes will have a wholesome effect. It will at least teach gangsters that California is not a pleasant place for their kind. It may also teach anti-lynching societies that the South has no monopoly upon hot blood. Given sufficient provocation, the people of any section will wreak vengeance upon the perpetrators of outrageous and diabolical crimes.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions

White Press, Southern.

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Eufaula, Ala. Tribune
November 29, 1933

WEST COAST LYNCHING

While we "can't be as sorry as we ought" over the lynching of the kidnapers of young Hart, it was mob law and should be condemned. And what of Governor Rolph, who announces that he will pardon anyone arrested for the crime? "It was a fine lesson to the whole nation," shouts the California executive.

A press dispatch gives the governor's side:

Governor James Rolph, jr., said lynching in San Jose of Thomas Thurmond and John Holmes, confessed kidnapers and slayers of Brooke Hart, should result in fewer kidnapings throughout the country, and that he would pardon any one arrested for the lynchings.

"That was a fine lesson to the whole nation," Governor Rolph said. "There will be less kidnaping in the country now. They made a good job of it.

"If anyone is arrested for the good job I'll pardon them all. I hope this lesson will serve in every state of the union."

The governor postponed his trip to Boise, Idaho, to attend a governors' conference, not for the purpose of being on hand to call out troops but to prevent it.

"If I had gone away someone would have called out the troops on me," the governor said, "and I promised in Los Angeles I would not do that. Why should I call out troops to protect those two fellows?

"The people make the laws, don't they?" he asked. "Well, if the people have confidence that troops will not be called out to mow them down when they seek to protect themselves against kidnapers there is liable to be swifter justice and fewer kidnapings."

"I don't think they will arrest anyone for the lynchings," the governor continued.

"With all the sorrows we have had why should we add the sorrows of kidnaping? It is about time the people should have comfort in their homes. This kidnaping business has become so bad that mothers and fathers are afraid to let their children out of their homes.

"Look at the Lindbergh case. Kidnapers have taken little children, killed them and then jockied for huge sums of money. Now they have taken to kidnaping men and women for the purpose of extracting money from distracted relatives."

Columbia, S. C. Record
November 29, 1933

THE CALIFORNIA LESSON.

Brooke L. Hart, 22-year-old son of a wealthy San Jose (California) department store owner, went to a parking lot on November 9 to get his roadster. He was never seen again. For a week following his disappearance his father received telephone calls and letters demanding $40,000 ransom for the return of his son alive. On November 16 two men, Thomas H. Thurmond and Jack Holmes, were arrested as the kidnapers. Both confessed, admitting that they had abducted young Hart and the[...]led him because they did not want to trouble themselves watching over him while they were conducting the ransom negotiations. The body, they said, had been thrown into San Francisco bay.

Sunday, ten days after the arrest of the two assailants, the battered body was found and identified. That night a mob broke into the county jail to seize the two kidnapers and carry them out to death. Members of the mob selected a tall tree, looped a rope about the unconscious Thurmond's neck—he had been beaten into insensibility—and hauled him up while the crowd of men, women and children cheered. Somebody tore the clothing from the lower part of the body and it hung there half clad while the mob went about the business of killing Holmes, who, a powerful man, fought to the last for his life. Twice he wrenched his hands free and twisted the noose off his head, but the lynchers succeeded in their third try and he was jerked into the air, still kicking.

The lynching, like all lynchings, was brutal and brutalizing. It was unnecessary, accomplishing nothing. Thurmond and Holmes were guilty and the evidence against them was conclusive. This week they were to have been arraigned and on their own confessions they would have been convicted of murder and executed. They are no deader now than they would have been. The difference is merely that California now has 100 murderers going about business as usual in San Jose, safe and unmolested, instead of having merely two who were to die for their crime. It's women and children have enjoyed the experience of seeing two men killed. Its citizens have been educated to the knowledge that the law of California can be broken by men who call themselves good citizens.

And like most, if not all, lynchings, it could have been prevented. The sheriff and his deputies, charged with the defense of the two prisoners, attempted to hold back the mob with tear gas but, as one deputy phrased it, "that mob seemed to be crazy, the tear gas never fazed them." The only shots fired—and this is significant—were the two shots fired by leaders of the mob as a signal to begin the advance upon the jail. And a sufficient display of force would have driven the mob back. Governor James Rolph, Jr., warned of what was going on, might have called out the militia and saved California the "honor" it has achieved. He rejected the proposal.

"What," he said, "call out the troops to protect those two guys? That's the sheriff's job."

He had, he explained, called off an engagement to attend a governors' conference at Boise, Idaho, to guarantee that there would be no troops sent.

"If I had gone away," he explained, "some one would have called out the troops on me and I promised in Los Angeles that I would not do that."

For the lynchers, after the fact, he had only praise and a blanket promise of clemency.

"That was a fine lesson to the whole nation," he declared. "There will be less kidnaping in the country now. They made a good job of it.

"If anyone if arrested for the good job I'll pardon them all. I hope this lesson will serve in every state of the Union."

And it was, of course, a lesson to the whole nation, though hardly the lesson that Governor Rolph expects it to be. The lynching was the first lynching in California in 13 years and Governor Rolph does not know much about lynching. Such thinking as he may have done about the problem has been obviously cursory and superficial thinking. For lynching does not prevent crime, but breeds it. There have been murders in California in the last 13 years despite the lynching of three San Francisco gangsters for murder on December 10, 1920. What deters crime is the certainty of punishment and certainty of punishment is dependent upon the maintenance of that very respect for law that lynchings undermine. It was the San Jose sheriff, knocked senseless by the lynchers in their fight to enter the jail, who made the punishment of Brooke Hart's murderers certain when he arrested them and

Chattanooga, Tenn.
TIMES
NOV 6 1933

"In Bad Company."

(Brooklyn Eagle.)

Three Negroes have been lynched within the past two weeks, one in South Carolina, one in Louisiana, and one in Maryland. In no case was the traditional "unprintable crime" charged. The South Carolina victim had merely quarreled with some young white men. The Louisiana victim was not technically accused of anything, merely "held for questioning." Maryland is in bad company. Her honor demands at least substantial punishment for the ringleaders of Princess Anne. We hope and believe that Gov. Ritchie, who has the respect of Americans generally all through the United States, will do his duty in the premises.

secured their confessions and except for his work the lynchers would have had nobody to lynch. The problem in discouraging kidnaping is the discovery and arrest of the kidnapers and mobs are not detectives. California's governor and Californians have yet their lesson to learn. They have yet to know as Governor Albert C. Ritchie, of Maryland, knows that it is more important that the state maintain control over law enforcement than that two murderers and kidnapers should die a few weeks before they would have.

For Ritchie knows something about lynchings. He knows that one unpunished lynching will not bring "swifter justice and fewer kidnapings" but merely other lynchings.

Mobile, Ala., Register
November 29, 1933

CALIFORNIA AND THE VIGILANTE

The lynching of two kidnapers in California and the apparent justification of it by the governor of the state, not unnaturally has developed a storm of criticism from various groups in all parts of the country. Governor James Rolph, Jr., is being severely criticized for his statement that it was a "good job." Of course it is unfair to Governor Rolph to assume that he believes the mob should supercede the law in California, though something may be said, and ought to be said in behalf of the California sentiment that is responsible for these outbreaks of mob violence in that state.

The spirit of the vigilante is institutional in California, and has been institutional since 1849 when a gold rush forced many problems upon the attention of the people of that state three-quarters of a century ago. Bancroft's history of California, little known to readers of these flippant and indifferent times, may throw much light on this spirit, its development and its continuance in the life of that great state of the Pacific Coast. The vigilante was needed in the earlier history of the state; it was needed to administer raw justice to land grabbers, gold grabbers, horse thieves and other thieves of the period when the "forty-niners," of all types, rushed into a community not at the time well enough organized to uphold the dignity and power of organized government, and to afford that degree of protection honest citizens had a right to expect and demand. The result, inevitably, was the organization of community vigilantes to supplement the law, and to do, in disorderly fashion, and rawly, what the law was incapable of doing with sufficient promptness to meet community needs.

There are a lot of Native Sons of California who have quite naturally inherited these predispositions; at least they have not outgrown the notion that there are times when the law is too slow, too uncertain, from their point of view at least, and it is possible that the lynching of these kidnapers was due, very largely, to this traditional sentiment.

There is no intention here to defend these acts of lawlessness; they are as wrong in California as they are elsewhere in this country; offenders against the law should be left to the law, to men and tribunals charged with the grave responsibility of enforcing and upholding the law; but, as we unhappily have found in the South, it is not always possible to do that, with the result that we have such tragedies as California has just experienced. These tragedies are deplorable; but sometimes they can be explained in a way that will leave the citizenship, and the officials of a commonwealth, unimpeached; and we think that probably is true of California, of Governor Rolph and other public officials who may seem to be at fault in connection with the lynching of kidnapers.

Anderson, S. C., Record
December 1, 1933

NEED SPEEDIER JUSTICE.

The epidemic of lynchings throughout the country is the source of considerable concern to those law-abiding citizens who cannot condone mob violence and who look upon these incidents in widespread sections of the nation as a serious blow to law and order.

It is regretable when citizens take the law into their own hands and do violence to those who have committed crimes, no matter how horrible they may be. Sometimes law-abiding citizens may feel a sympathy with the mob, as was the case in some instances in connection with the lynching of two young men in California recently. But down in the hearts of the law-abiding citziens is that feeling that causes one to shrink from the crime of lynching.

At times the long delays by the courts may try the patience of our better citizens, but such delays are no excuse for the mob to take the law into its hands. A little speedier justice for criminals guilty in kidnaping and murder cases might serve to stamp out these incidents. It might be worth trying at any rate.

Tallahassee, Fla. Democrat
November 29, 1933

"I Heard a Number Of Women Laugh"

Deputy Sheriff John Moore, eyewitness to the double lynching in California the other night said, "I heard a number of women laugh." Deputy Sheriff John Moore is not a close student of human nature or he would not have expressed surprise or shock.

It is customary to think of laughter as the expression of amusement, but it is only necessary to think a little bit to realize that a laugh expresses many emotions.

Persons laugh when they are nervous, when they are self-conscious, when they are afraid and when they are on the point of tears. There is sardonic laughter, ironic laughter, neurotic laughter and the laughter of madness. But most common of all, next to the laughter of amusement is the laughter of sadness.

One who attends a heart rending play or motion picture may observe the phenomenon. As the son going out into the world to make his own way tears himself from his mother's arms, or as the little child slowly dies with her parents sobbing out their hearts at the bedside, one may hear laughter throughout the theater. But it is not the laughter of amusement, it is the strained laughter of persons who are ashamed to cry.

Such laughter is a nervous reflex. It is necessary to give expression in some manner to the feelings and if tears are suppressed there is nothing to do but laugh.

Do not be too quick, therefore, to judge others by appearances. The man you think is a calloused and unfeeling wretch, because he laughs at a death bed scene, may be just another "softy" trying to keep from sobbing in public.

The women laughed at San Jose. They were too shocked to cry.

Miami, Fla. Herald
November 29, 1933

IN TODAY'S NEWS

PEACEFUL, civilized, educated America. Mob of more than 1,000 stormed the state armory at Salisbury, Md., yesterday in unsuccessful effort to free four men accused of participating in last month's lynching of negro at Princess Anne. Beaten back by gas and bayonets. Then the state troopers departed for Baltimore with their prisoners. "Lynch Ritchie," cried the crowd. It was the natural consequence of the mob spirit that has no respect for law and order, that defies the highest authorities. It resorts to violence to punish violence of the individual. Lawlessness of the mass is more threatening to the existence of society than that of the criminal. It can seldom be condoned. Yet the law is largely to blame because of its failure to penalize the guilty. Disgusted with court justice the crowd takes the reins. Warning judges and juries they must mend their ways.

DIVIDED opinion expressed on the stand of Governor Rolph of California in approving the lynching of the two kidnaper-killers. The cases of Maryland and California are not alike. In Maryland the cause was racial, the victim was accused of an assault. In California the two lynched had confessed a most brutal crime. Their fate was deservedly death. Rather than wait for the slow and doubtful processes of the law, society acted directly.

Anderson, S. C. Mail
November 29, 1933

"I am not surprised at this outbreak of lynchings in the country," an Andersonian remarked this morning. "My opinion is that when the law fails to mete out right kind of punishment to law-breakers, it is time for the people to take it in their hands. Altho I am far from favoring lynch law, I believe mobs will continue to form wherever criminal outbursts such as have been apparent recently occur."

Lynchings - 1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

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Atmore, Ala. Advance
Dec 21-1933

HOOVER AND ROLPH

Out in California former President Hoover and Governor Rolph are taking verbal cracks at one another.

In criticizing the Governor's attitude towards those who conducted a lynching recently, Mr. Hoover said: "The Governor has been advocating lynch law. It is a subversion of the very spirit of organized society."

The Governor hit back, reminding his folks about the time when the Hoover administration used soldiers against the veterans in Washington, saying: "I deplore the use of troops against our own people. Look at the mess we got into when troops were called out in Washington against the bonus marchers."

Governor Rolph said he refused to call out troops "because one can never be certain what the outcome of such action will be. Hot-headed young men armed with bayonets, rifles and bombs are liable to kill good citizens needlessly. It is up to local peace officials to maintain order."

Ex-President Hoover said: "One trouble with Governor Rolph's statement is his gross ignorance of the facts. Not a single shot was fired, not a single person was injured by the troops called out in Washington in response to the appeal of local authorities. The troops ended the bloodshed which was then in progress through conflicts with rioters and police."

Governor Rolph has been more generally condemned than upheld. Citizens generally agree that good government will not be helped by the head of a state publicly approving such a lawless lynching of prisoners after assaulting and injuring police officials who were trying to protect the prisoner and uphold the orderly procedure of the law.

Chattanooga, Tenn. Times
December 17, 1933

BLOODY WORK IN THIS STATE.

Tennessee was last week added to the list of States whose names have been blackened in a series of lynchings which began with the California outrages. Except as to the facts of brutality and mob execution there was little or nothing in common between the lynching of the young Negro at Columbia, Tenn., and the lynching of the California kidnapers. Yet the two crimes, studied together, indicate very clearly the direction in which the practice of lynching tends to develop.

In the California case, there was reasonable certainty of the guilt of the two men charged with kidnaping and murder. They had confessed, and in all probability they had told the truth in their confessions. In the Columbia case there was no confession. Cord Cheek, 20-year-old Negro victim, had been charged by an 11-year-old white girl with attempting to attack her, but a grand jury of white Tennesseans declined to indict on the basis of the evidence obtainable, and the Negro was ordered released, whereupon he was taken in hand by a mob and lynched.

It is thus that the spirit of mob execution grows and expresses itself. At first, only those known to be guilty, or about whose guilt there is little doubt, are taken. Then comes a time when the pointing of the finger of suspicion is excuse enough for the mob. By and by, the mere fact that one is accused by somebody becomes an excuse for lynching. And if the insanity of mob executions is allowed to run its course, the time may come when, a crime having been committed, a citizen may be seized for any reason whatsoever, or for no reason at all, and be shot, strung up and burned by the mob by way of satisfying its desire for vengeance and slaking its thirst for blood.

It is gratifying that, insofar as is known, no responsible citizen has voiced approval of the Columbia lynching. But refraining from voicing approval is not enough. Nor would mere condemnation, official and otherwise, be enough. The Columbia crime requires that the perpetrators of it be brought into court and punished. Sheriff Godwin's statement indicating that the lynchers left no trace is not a sufficient alibi.

If it were a case of bank robbery, a clue would be found; if it were a Federal case, doubtless agents of the Department of Justice would ferret out the guilty. Let there be action in this case. Tennessee can make little pretense to being a State of law and order, in which human life is safe from the hands of mobs, if the time has come when a citizen, even after it has not been possible to bring about his indictment, can be taken out, strung up and shot and nobody punished for the taking of his life.

B. Y. P. U. DELEGATES TO STUDY LYNCHINGS

Constitution

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Dec. 26.—(AP)—The conference sessions of the south-wide Baptist Young People's Union, starting tomorrow and continuing through Friday, will include discussions of lynching in a general study of racial problems and a discussion of leisure time resulting from operation of the NRA.

Andrew D. Tanner, chairman of the Nashville general committee for the conference, said that current problems generally will be considered and that attention will be given to modern moral standards. "Young people are as much concerned with these problems as are adults and there is no reason why they, too, should not meet and discuss them," he said.

Adoption of resolutions is not contemplated, Mr. Tanner said, explaining that the purpose of the conference is "to lay plans for gaining inspiration and for the more efficient accomplishment of work through local organizations in the south."

He said 18 southern states will be represented at the meeting by approximately 3,000 delegates. A membership of 600,000 is enrolled in the union. Registration for the meeting began today.

The theme of the conference is "Christ Our Authority," and addresses, conference meetings and musical presentations have been arranged in relation to this topic.

Presiding at the morning session tomorrow, J. E. Lambdin, secretary and editor of the B. Y. P. U. will outline the organization's program for 1934. Dr. Harold W. Tribble of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, is the principal speaker on the morning program and two talks relating to liquor will be heard in the afternoon.

Among those who will address the B. Y. P. U. conferences is Dr. George W. Truett, of Dallas, past president of the Southern Baptist Convention. On Thursday night a dinner will be given in honor of Dr. I. J. Van Ness, executive secretary of the Baptist Sunday school, commemorating his 34 years of service.

Atlanta and Waco, Texas, are seeking the next biennial conference meeting.

Defends Lynching

In the letter column of this issue appears a communication from J. M. Bronson of Macon, in which he takes The Telegraph to task for its contributions to lawlessness and crime. He arrives at this accusation through The Telegraph's arguments against lynching and like crimes. This is not the first time The Telegraph has been accused of getting things done by being against them.

Mr. Bronson condemns the newspaper that gives to its readers only the opinion of the editor in editorials, and does not cover both sides of a question. How he expects an editor to have two opinions is not clear. A newspaper should print the news honestly and fairly, and give both sides in the news columns. With this practice the reader has the same information as the editor, and is supposed to agree or disagree with the editorial position as he thinks best. The Telegraph not only endeavors to live up to this standard, but it conducts a letter column so that others who have editorial opinions may present their views in contrast.

As to mobs being cowardly, all mob violence done to an individual is by two or more attackers, unless it is done from ambush or without warning. That is cowardly practice as applied to an individual who is not suspected of crime, and we can see no difference if one is suspected of crime. The editor of The Telegraph has seen more than one mob in action, and has read of others, as in the California lynching, when the mob was reported as having been made up from speakeasy loafers and drunks. We have yet to see a so-called responsible citizen in a mob—one who does his work in the daylight and is not afraid of taking the law into his own hands without the presence of his buddies. What is the record as to Ku Klux operations in the hey-day of that organization?

The complaint as to shyster lawyers deferring execution of sentences, whatever is done is done under Mr. Bronson's laws—they are as much his as those of anybody else—and whatever is wrong ought to be fixed by the people whose government is supposed to operate this country, so that shyster lawyers cannot juggle the people's laws. Are we to admit that the shyster lawyer and the gangster are superior to the majesty of the law, of the people?

As to injection of the racial question, The Telegraph has appealed for justice for all people, and has not singled out the Negro. Others have read this into what we have written, because of the possible consciousness of the injustice that he may suffer. What The Telegraph has said in behalf of the Negro has applied as well to the poor white people with whom the Negro competes, and whose level the white people must accept as their own lot from an economical standpoint. The less for-

As to the Chicago case of lynching the two men, and thus securing a cessation of crime until the fear of mob violence waned—why has all kinds of crime increased all over the country despite lynchings? No person who ever committed a crime expected to be detected or caught. The punishment promised only serves to make the criminal more careful to cover up. Did any member of a mob ever expect to be apprehended or punished for the mass murder in which he joins?

tunate of humankind can be developed into an asset instead of a liability, and it is from this angle that this newspaper has argued. We are as much opposed to lynching a white man as we are opposed to lynching a Negro. To lynch a Negro only makes it that much easier for the mob to select a white man as the next victim.

We are opposed to crime, and favor changing the laws so as to punish crime and make the punishment more swift and certain. We are not in favor of abandoning the use of locks because some burglar or sneak-thief picks one now and then.

Charleston, S. C., News & Courier
December 29, 1933

If Not Courts, What?

The Nation, New York, "believes that the decline in the number of lynchings in the South" is largely attributable to the indignation and moral censure brought upon the South by other parts of the country." That appears to The News and Courier as ridiculous.

The "moral indignation" of other parts of the country has retarded the suppression of lynching in the South. If the rest of the country had left the South in peace after the abolition of slavery there would have been little lynching and it would have been suppressed long ago.

The News and Courier has opposed lynching sixty years, often members of its staff have been exposed to insult and peril of their lives in this campaign—but The News and Courier has no respect whatsoever for the opinion of The Nation on this subject. It is densely and impenetrably ignorant. Yet it is a publication that in general we respect highly, despite many of its notions.

At this moment The Nation denounces the approval of lynching uttered by the governor of California. So does The News and Courier. The Nation is not less violent in denouncing the court that convicted Tom Mooney—but The News and Courier does not denounce the courts of states. The Nation is placing the governor of California and the court in Alabama that convicted the Scottsboro culprit in the same class.

The only substitute for lynching is courts, law, but California's executive turns against the courts, the laws, of his state. When we review The Nation's treatment of the Mooney case, the Sacco and Vanzetti case, the Scottsboro case and the Santa Barbara case, is not the inference just that The Nation is for legal procedure only in cases that it runs in agreement with itself?

The courts of Alabama, Massachusetts, California may be unworthy of confidence but one can think of nothing with which to replace them without the obliteration of those states. We assume that they are as respectable as other courts are. The News and Courier cannot try cases in Massachusetts, and would not if it could.

CHAMPIONS LYNCHING

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

Just a few lines to straighten out W. T. Anderson on lynching.

You would be surprisingly alarmed to know what effect your recent editorials have had on the good women of this and surrounding counties. Women as a rule are busy with their domestic duties and are not in actual contact with conditions outside, and do not realize the dangers to their families. It is a pity that many of them should be swayed by the editorials of a newspaper giving only the opinion of the editor—thus they side with you on the lynching question.

It seems you think mobs or their sympathizers are the low whites and are criminals themselves. A great many people resent this.

W. T. Anderson referred to them several days ago as cowards who would not dare to attack single-handed the man to be lynched. Would you try to apprehend single-handed a dangerous murderer? The police do not. I do not think you are a coward or W. T. Anderson, either; and I think he made that statement before thinking twice. I think 90 per cent of the honorable and upright men of this county are in favor of some way to curtail crime. I admit it would be best to let courts handle matters if speedy justice could be had. But justice does not mean pardoning a criminal found guilty of murder or rape or similar crimes. My idea of justice would be to get rid of loopholes and pardons. We have too manay technicalities favoring the prisoner, and our governors have too many political aspirations. Only three per cent of the nation's criminals tried for straightout murder are put to death, and that is after wrangling before the governor and prison commissions, all at the expense of the taxpayer.

The only hope is to show the dangerous criminal that the good honest citizens of the state will not stand for their crimes, even if it is necessary to get justice outside of the courts.

In Chicago several years ago, a drive to stop crime resulted in having two men convicted of crime and sentenced to death, and the sentences were promptly executed. Crime decreased considerably, until the fear of the death penalty waned. The only thing that will make our wives and children and ourselves safe is prompt penalty, which cannot be obtained through the courts.

I regret the racial question should have been brought up by you. Such issues only make the Negroes feel they are imposed on by the whites. In many instances you take advantage of anything that happens to a Negro, and print things that breed dissatisfaction among them, when probably they would not have given the matter a thought. They seem to be as satisfied as anybody else under the depression. When will you stop agitating the race question? You are only stirring the fire.

If you do not want this kind of justice meted to Machine Gun Kelley, Al Capone and other kidnapers and murderers lay off the lynching question, and try to make this world safe for our good people by obtaining the right kind of justice through the courts. Without this it seems to me crime will sweep us off the earth unless we continue with lynching.

Macon, R. F. D. — J. M. BRONSON.

WHO COMPOSE MOBS?

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

I take up the cudgels with Mr. J. M. Bronson on behalf of the intelligent rural women of Middle Georgia, holding myself competent to do so as I am a woman—a fairly intelligent woman.

Judging from your letter to The Telegraph, Mr. Bronson, you are either insulting the intelligence of the rural women of the state, or you are painfully ignorant of the intellectual status of the rural woman. I take it to be the latter, which is kinder of you. Hadn't you observed that we have discarded crinolines? Though we are, and always will be kitchen-minded as to food, the kitchen no longer limits our interest. Quite a large majority of us have been graduated from college—the university at that. Didn't you know that? Why, we even vote, Mr. Bronson. Has your head been in the sand these fifteen years past?

Our reading isn't limited to the editorials of The Telegraph. Mr. Bronson, impartial and concise as they are, we also read the news stories. Why, some of us even have access to magazines and a few of us have radios. Does that surprise you?

We really believe we are wise and competent enough to form our own opinions upon matters of current, common interest, be the matter under discussion of domestic, state, national or even international import. Dear, dear, the day has long since gone by when we accepted the ponderous, prejudiced male opinion as gospel straight from above; unfortunately for protectors of the home like yourself, Mr. Bronson.

We are hardly swayed by the editorial comment in The Telegraph, or any other paper; but we are glad to know that the opinions of this editor are practically identical with ours, concerning lynching and the question of race.

Only those white people unaccustomed to servants, unaccustomed to knowing and dealing constantly with Negroes, are unfair, unjust and cruel to them; such white people lack understanding and vision. Lacking the ability to advance themselves they retard the advance of the entire community. Of such are mobs made.

Macon. — E. K. BROWN.

Avon Park, Fla., Times
December 1, 1933

A great many people will commend the attitude of Governor Rolph, of California, who refused to call out troops to protect two alleged kidnapers, and then commended the mob that lynched them. That course will appeal to the thoughtless; to the element representing those criminally inclined but who are too cowardly to gratify that inclination unless there is opportunity under protection of the pack to vent their savagery upon a helpless victim; perhaps to a large number of well-intentioned people whose mental processes do not go far beyond their animal impulses. But to those who believe that the law should be supreme, and who know that every time the mob usurps the functions of the courts anarchy is encouraged and the security of every individual is weakened; to those who consider that the paramount duty of the chief executive of any state is the preservation of law and order; to those who recognize the eternal truth that two wrongs do not make a right, but only produce a more monstrous iniquity—the Governor's position is indefensible. He is not only to blame for the violent deaths of these wretches, whose adequate punishment under the orderly processes of law was assured, but responsibility will in large part rest upon him for other acts of law-contemptuous mobs which will be given far-reaching encouragement by his attitude. Nothing herein should be construed as expressing sympathy for the two men who were lynched. They deserved their fate—but it should have been meted out to them by process of law and not by a law-defying mob.

Front Royal, Va. Sentinel
December 14, 1933

ANOTHER MOB SCENE

Richmond Times Dispatch

The governor of California can take "credit" for another demonstration of mob violence, this time in Texas.

A Negro, arrested with five others on a charge of killing a white woman, escaped from jail and was shot to death by pursuing officers in performance of their duty.

But the mob was not satisfied. It seized the body, chained it to an automobile and dragged it through the Negro district, not once, but many times. Thirty-five minutes was devoted to demonstrating to the Negro the superiority of the white race. The crazed crowd had lighted a bonfire to serve as a funeral pyre, but they became so entranced by their disgusting exhibition of sadism, that they permitted the fire to burn out. So they were forced to content themselves with cutting out the victim's heart.

Yes, Rolph can take "credit" for this nauseating spectacle. He can also take "credit" for any harm which may befall the other Negroes still in jail. By condoning lynching, he has provoked another demonstration in the inflammable South—or Southwest.

Texas—or rather a small band of Texans—have flouted the President's words on mob law. True, there was no lynching—only because the victim already had been killed by officers of the law. But the spirit which Mr. Roosevelt had decried exhibited itself as still fully alive.

This ghoulish scene took place in a country which spends millions to convert the savages of the Cannibal Islands. Those misionaries have plenty of work right at home.

White Press, Southern

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Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel
November 28, 1933

THE SAN JOSE LYNCHING

THE SAN JOSE double lynching is widely condoned. Governor Rolph, the chief law officer of California, announces that he will pardon the lynchers if any attempt is made to punish them. Rolph speaks, of course, not as a responsible public official but as a particularly low order of politician. He senses that his appeal to the mob spirit is popular.

There is no denying that Rolph's attitude is representative of a rather large block of public opinion not only in San Jose but elsewhere in the nation. Even many persons who usually abhor the crime of lynching are saying now, "They had it coming to them."

Why?

Obviously kidnaping provokes a blind public rage greater than almost any other crime. And when the kidnaping turns into fiendish murder, the brutality of the criminal fires the mob brutality. Tho there was no reason to fear that these criminals would escape legal punishment, the kidnaping terror thruout the country has inspired a terrorist mood on the part of the public which demands vengeance.

Until very recently the law was not catching and punishing kidnapers. Our legal system was too inefficient or corrupt, or both. That is now being remedied, especially by the federal government. But we are still paying in mob spirit for the old break-down of justice.

So it is easy enough to explain, in one way and another, the tendency of many persons to condone the San Jose lynching. But this newspaper cannot condone it.

The reasons against lynching go much deeper than the conventional arguments against barbarity.

This is a time of vast unrest. Otherwise law-abiding citizens are taking law into their own hands. Farmers are using violence against officers and judges. Strikers are being shot down. The country is on edge. For many months whole communities and classes have been under nervous tension almost to the point of breaking. And now we enter another winter of mass suffering.

In such an explosive situation for Governor Rolph or any other sworn officer of the law to feed the mob spirit is worse than criminal. The mob is madness. The mob is no respecter of persons or institutions. Those who raise up the mob must be prepared for the destruction of the nation.

Fortunately the federal government and most state governments today are more intelligent than Governor Rolph.

Opelika, Ala. News
November 29, 1933

GOVERNOR GOES HAY-WIRE

In not only condoning lynching but promising absolute immunity to any who might be charged with the crime, Governor James Rolph, of California, crashes into print with a unique card, to be sure, and one which while probably insuring a temporary political advantage in his state, promises to bring reverberations from all corners of the continent. Such a position cannot withstand the acid test. It is wholly un-American, and unjustifiable.

Governor Rolph, like practically all Californians, was horrified at the kidnaping and brutal murder of Brooke L. Hart. And he could not restrain himself in the end when his official position demanded restraint. Therefore, he plunged headlong into confusion, and on emerging declared those who stormed the jail and lynched the murders "did a good job", meaning they did just right and ought to be praised.

The California Executive went further. He promised to pardon any and all connected with the lynching, and still under the spell of the awful picture of the kidnaping and murder, the Governor threatened to parole all imprisoned kidnapers in the state penitentiaries to the custody of the lynching party that they too might receive summary attention at a lynching bee.

On matured reflection, Governor Rolph may regret his hasty declarations. Perhaps not today, or tomorrow, but in the future. If his position was not so very far off the course, there might be real cause for apprehension. But generations will probably come and go before the country will be treated to another such official parade. It can be explained only by reference to the probable demoralizing effect the gruesome crime of kidnaping and murder had on his unguarded nerves.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
December 1, 1933

Chief Means of Combating Mob Spirit Lies in Proper Training of Youth

By Julia Collier Harris.
(For The Constitution.)

Just three years ago this month a particularly bestial lynching took place in Darien, Ga., and the circumstances surrounding it and the inertia of the then governor of Georgia in the face of it placed this state in a position similar to that of California today. At the time mentioned a representative group of Georgia women met in Atlanta and publicly denounced the Darien orgy, declaring that "lynching represents the complete breakdown of government and the triumph of anarchy," and stating that "lynching is not alone the crime of ignorant and irresponsible mobs, but every citizen who condones it, even by his silence, must accept a share of its guilt."

Also, The Constitution, which has always stood for law and order, which fought the Klan and the Black Shirts and all forms of mob rule, at the time of the Darien lynching published an editorial which contained the following paragraph:

"No governor with a backbone stronger than an eel's and a heart with more courage than a rabbit's, should let his constituents believe for a minute that he will allow lynchers to escape detection and prosecution to the last limit of a sovereign state's law."

I feel sure that if anyone had suggested to the protesting body of Georgia women or to the editor of The Constitution that the day was near at hand when an American governor not only would condone a double lynching, but would actually make a statement for the press defending the mob and promising its leaders protection, neither women of Georgia nor editor would have believed such a prediction possible of fulfillment.

Indeed, we had reason until lately to maintain that in the three years since the Darien outrage public sentiment among the educated element in the United States had steadily turned away from the sanction of mob rule. The press has almost universally condemned lynching; many clergymen have preached against it; civic leaders and clubs have denounced it and a body of 16,000 southern women in 13 states has met at stated intervals to consider ways and means of combating this manifestation of savagery. This same group, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, on Tuesday of the past week, sent a strong message of protest and disapproval of his course to Governor Rolph.

Record of Past Six Months.

Yet, in spite of all these hopeful indications, the past six months have witnessed more lynchings in the United States than at any previous time for many years, a governor has publicly defended lynchers and, today in Maryland, that state which has always prided itself on its defense of civil liberty, we have the unbelievable spectacle of a mob of more than a thousand men violently defying troops sent out by the governor to remove prisoners, and leaders of that mob shouting "Lynch Ritchie!" and overturning an automobile in which the attorney-general was supposed to be.

Various reasons have been advanced for the sinister breakdown of law observance in our country. I am not a sociologist or criminologist and shall not attempt to assay these suggestions. But I am a life-long student of education and of the home. I have been the mother of two children and the legal guardian, over a period of 15 years, of five brothers and sisters, and I have always had a large circle of friends amongst young people. Out of the knowledge which these relations have brought to me I do most earnestly affirm that the chief means of combating the mob spirit which seems to have infected every part of this land is through the enlightened, loving, patient efforts of parents in the home and teachers in the schools.

During my stay of three months in Germany, in 1931, I made many friends among educators, social workers, and men and women in government positions. I have kept in touch with a number of these and have letters from them at frequent intervals. While their utterance is necessarily guarded, since the advent of the Hitler regime, all, with one accord, whether approving or disapproving, state the present movement in Germany to be a "youth movement." A careful reading of matter coming out of Germany gives the strongest possible impression that many of the violent mass acts which have shocked the world have been carried out by fanatical, inspired youths whose outlook has been distorted and deliberately poisoned by demagoguges. It would seem that Hitler has raised up a Frankenstein which has frequently run amuck and gone even further than the despot himself intended.

Morale of Youth Undermined.

The morale of American youth has also been severely undermined in recent years by the glorification of gangsteers, bootleggers and harlots who figure so largely in contemporary fiction and filmdom. Is it to be still further broken down by the spectacle of frequent lynching and the tacit approval of lynching when the victim is suspected of kidnaping?

Among the expressions sent to Governor Rolph have been a few of enthusiastic approval of his course. One of these was from a noted clergyman, another from a prominent woman, a leader in social and artistic life. Have these approvers of mob rule stopped to picture to themselves the awful effects upon immature minds of the bestial orgies of lynching mobs? Have they stopped to think that a mob never reasons and that in many cases perfectly innocent people have been its victims? As a matter of fact, young newspapermen and photographers were threatened by the Maryland mob and a group of them had to be hid away in a hotel whence they barely escaped with their lives.

One of the most horrifying accompaniments of the California outrage was the published story of a youthful participant who boasted of the revolting part which he played in the torturing of the prisoners. When his story appeared in print another youth came forward and greedily claimed that he, too, was a leader. In other words, boys in their teens quarreled for the distinction of leadership in the diabolically lawless deeds. Yet mothers and clergymen come to the defense of lynchers!

I repeat, everything else failing, the mothers and fathers of the land have a heavy obligation, if they wish to avert a state of Hitlerism in America. Our boys and girls are of the same racial stock as the youth of Germany, they are no better and no worse than these. Unless they are trained to respect civil liberties and law observance, as well as in the principles of humanity and chivalry, both in the home and in the school, they may easily be turned into paths of anarchy and callous sadism by outside influences.

If this occurs, God help America, for in this vast area of assorted races and numberless sects and traditions, such a swarm of racial, religious and class hatreds would break loose as to completely devour the liberties and safeguards for which our fathers fought, bled and died.

JULIA COLLIER HARRIS.
Atlanta, Nov. 30, 1933.

Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel
November 29, 1933

SHERIFF EMIG

THE SHAME which Gov. James Rolph Jr. and the lynchers whose savagery he praises have brought upon California is partially offset by the courageous resistance offered to the San Jose mob by Sheriff William Emig.

Sheriff Emig was seriously injured when struck by a member of the mob as he protected from it a prisoner who was in no way connected with the kidnaping and murdering of Brooke Hart.

The state can thank the brave sheriff alone that the mob does not have innocent blood on its hands, in addition to the stain of unnecessary brutality in lynching the two confessed criminals.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
December 2, 1933

KNOWS NO STATE LINE.

The outstanding lesson of the unfortunate mob violences during the past week in California, Missouri and Maryland is that lynch law knows no state lines.

That being the case, the south, which has in the past borne the brunt of so much adverse criticism because of its lynching record, should now set the standard for the nation in law observance and willingness to leave to the courts the meting out of justice.

There should be no further attempts in Georgia by the people of any community to take the law into their own hands. During the past year there have been several instances demonstrating that the courts of the state are determined that quick and sure justice shall be meted out in cases where public opinion has been outraged.

Governor Talmadge has made it clear that he will leave no steps untaken to preserve law and order, as evidenced by his calling out the militia on several occasions to assure the orderly trial of accused men.

That the people of the state are willing to co-operate with the courts and the governor to this end is illustrated by the promptness with which steps were taken at Milledgeville to prevent possible violence when rumors became current that an effort would be made to lynch a convicted murderer now being held at the state prison camp.

Apprised of these reports, the governor instructed the prison officials over long distance telephone to use every precaution. In addition, the local company of the state militia, although they had not been called out, assembled at their armory in order that they might instantly respond if their services became necessary.

Fortunately it developed that there were no foundations for the rumored attempt to lynch the negro in question, but even had such an effort been made, the promptness with which the state and its citizens moved was a guaranty that the sanctity of the law would have been upheld.

Every community in the state and in the south should stand for law enforcement and against mob law.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
November 29, 1933

No Surrender!

A MAN'S body lay smouldering in a bonfire in a public square of St. Joseph, Mo., today, even as the words of Gov. Rolph, of California, in defense of lynching, were re-echoing up and down the country. A Negro was lynched by a howling mob of thousands of St. Joseph citizens, after confessing a fiendish crime.

In Maryland, a thousand citizens battled troops who were making arrests for a lynching which occurred weeks ago.

These are the latest chapters in the great surrender—the surrender to mob law.

Is humanity cracking up under the wearing-down effects of the economic plague?

Four years ago, the twilight of the kings had spread across the world. Man had grown strong, had thrust aside monarchs and despots, and strutted out to give freedom and democracy to all the world. But the depression has changed all that. Man weakened quickly, and now any despot with nerve and with ability to hood-wink the masses can rise to power. We have not kings, but dictators—kings without crowns, and in some cases without background. The pendulum has swung back. The people have surrendered under incessant strain, and bad leaders have taken power.

As the mass has weakened, so has the individual. Seventeen per cent of the insurance claims, we are told, are of suicides. The high moral standards which have marked the period of greatness of each nation which was ever great, and whose deterioration has marked its decline, have weakened in America, and the sky is the limit in movies, in private life, in public life. The individual has sought the opiate of dissipation and selfish gratification.

But the great surrender has been the surrender of rights of man. The golden age of all history, the Age of Pericles, when the glory that was Greece was at its pinnacle, was marked by a sacred regard for personal rights, as personal rights were recognized at that time. Dying, Pericles heard friends gathered around his couch extolling the beauty of the capital as built by the expiring leader. As his life ebbed, Pericles said: "What you praise in my life belongs partly to good fortune, and is, at best, common to me with many other generals. But the peculiarity of which I am most proud, you have not noticed: no Athenian has ever put on mourning through any act of mine."

Men were condemned in Pericles' courts, but it was justice which condemned them, not dictatorships or mobs.

None of the prevailing signs of surrender are so shocking as the spectacle of a lynching wave, sweeping from Chesapeake Bay to the Golden Gate. And the Governor of a great State is applauded by millions when he surrenders the precious right which mankind suffered and bled through the ages to attain—the right of every man to be convicted only by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. That is the greatest surrender.

Perhaps it is not within the power of the average citizen to stem the tide of surrender and to check the strutting demagogues who have seized power.

But every reader of The News, every individual in this country has power to help check the surrender toward violence.

Let every man demand that the majesty of the law be held inviolate.

Let us punish those who lynch the hard-earned rights of mankind, won on a thousand bloody fields where Liberty was in the balance.

The lives of two hardened brutes who kidnaped Brooke Hart, or of one Negro who committed a fiendish crime in Missouri are not of any consequence to the world.

But the thousands of lives saved from the oppression of tyranny and from the blood-lust of mobs by those very principles which we, in our weakness, are now so supinely surrendering are of precious importance.

And the blood of the martyrs who died that those principles might be wrested from tyrants and written into our laws is sacred to all true citizens of this, or any other civilized land.

Homer, Ga., Journal
December 1, 1933

When infuriated California citizens lynched two murderers Sunday night they knew what were doing and why. They got good results from lynchings in the years gone by and decided to try it again on kidnapers and murderers. They, no doubt will again get good results. When San Francisco was in its infantry the gambler, thieves and murderers overrun the town, and as the good people could get little protection with crooked, scheming lawyers at work, they decided to take the law into their own hands which they did. The best element of the town banded themselves together for protection, and was known as "vigilantes." The vigilantes hung thieves and murderers by the dozens and soon had the town quiet enough for decent people to live in. Then, after one year they turned the town over to the "law." But the "law" failed again, so the vigilantes took it over again and began disposing of the bad element. Then after two or three years they turned it back to the "law" which has been doing fairly well since. The vigilantes have started in on kidnappers and say the ones in the penitentry are not safe.

The National Labor Defence outfit is doing great harm to society and little if any good for criminals. They collect money from people, who know nothing of crimes committed, and use it to protect criminals. That inflames the passions of the people who live where the crimes are committed and the more hatred engendered against the criminal the less their chances are of escaping.

We print elsewhere in the Journal today an article that appeared in a daily paper about a mob being formed in north Georgia to get the negro Mack James. There was no foundation for these rumors. The people here, where the crime was committed, expected James to be electrocuted today. No mob has been formed to get him. Never has there been any talk of mob violence. Just how such false tales were carried to the officials in Atlanta is a mystery.

Dothan, Ala. Eagle
December 1, 1933

MORE OF ROLPH'S LOGIC

Within 24 hours after Governor Rolph of California publicly endorsed the lynching of two kidnapers and added that he would pardon any member of the mob arrested, a mob of 7,000 broke into the St. Joseph, Mo., jail, dragged forth a Negro who had confessed to assaulting a white woman, and hanged him across the street from the courthouse.

When the reporters asked Governor Rolph to comment on the lynching of the Negro, he replied: "The cases are not parallel. Kidnaping was not involved 'n the St. Joseph lynching."

In the light of this statement, the following questions are pertinent:

Is it a worse crime to murder a man, or for a beast tc rape a woman? Most white women, we venture, would rather die than suffer such an experience. Several things, after all, are worse than death.

If it is just and proper to lynch a prisoner for one criminal act, why isn't it equally just to lynch a prisoner for a crime fully as horrible?

On what logic does the California demagogue base his reasoning?

Answer: On no logic whatever.

Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4020

Palmetto, Fla., News
December 1, 1933

That lynching in California should probably be laid at the door of our courts. If verdicts were determined upon justice instead of technicalities, lynchings, we believe, would cease. If a person is known to be guilty of a crime, he should be handled, regardless of the drawing of the true bill or whether a "t" is crossed or an "i" dotted. We have about lost respect for our supreme courts on account of some of what we consider their foolish decisions, which were not based on justice, but on some technicality.

Demopolis, Ala., Times
December 6, 1933

CALIFORNIA'S LYNCH GOVERNOR

California has the distinction of being the first state to produce a governor who openly approves of lynching. Governor Rolph stands flatfootedly to his position that the recent sensational lynching in his state was all right and as it should be and that no lynchers would be punished with his approval. This places lynch law well to the front in California. Even our own Tuscaloosa case takes second place in the matter of such approval. In the Tuscaloosa case, it appears to have been only the officials and the people of the county that are willing to let the lynchers get by unpunished, but in California it is the highest official in the state who assumes part of the guilt in that horrible mob murder. In spirit then, it was Governor Rolph who assumed that a high crime had been committed, and the right parties apprehended; it was governor Rolph who decided that the courts of his state were inadequate to administer the deserved punishment; it was governor Rolph who decided to take the law into his hands; it was governor Rolph who formed the mob to storm the jail; it was governor Rolph who was prepared to put to death the sheriff and all of his deputies had they presumed to try to interfere with intentions of that mob, for such conduct would have been resistance to Judge Lynch, now selected to try such cases in California; and lastly, it was governor Rolph who tied the ropes tround the necks of the victims, led them out to their fate, hung them up, and soaked their bodies in inflammable stuff and set fire to them, bringing the whole scene its climax in a howling orgy of fury. Though not at the scene in person. California's governor becomes one of the mob and guilty of all of its acts, when he sets his seal of approval upon them. In thus joining himself to an act of public disgrace, Mr. Rolph may have pleased the people who actually committed the crime, and perhaps many others in California, but it is hard to believe the great body of Californians are behind him. Maybe we are too far away to claim to be interested, but that California governor has offended every citizen of the United States, and we are not going to be among those who pat him on the back. It is to be hoped no other governor will follow his example. It is too dangerous. Even, it is asserted by some that our Tuscaloosa mobs put some innocent men to death, but they got no bouquets from our governor.

Sebring, Fla., American
December 14, 1933

MOB RULE

When the Press first learned of the lynching of the two kidnaping fiends in California there were a great many editorials which, while not actually commending, impliantly sanctioned this orgy of mob rule. Other editorials quickly decried such an exhibition, and recent retractions by those who condoned the proceeding, all tend toward the establishment of the fact that the lynching and the other exhibition of mob rule which followed in its wake was a return to savagery and had no place in America.

Those who have never seen mob rule at its worst, know little of the unreasonable impulse which drives the spirit of the mob. When we were quite a small lad in the southeastern part of Virginia, a negro had assaulted and robbed the country postmaster and grocer. Word of the assault quickly spread over the neighborhood and farmers began to drift into the circle around the postoffice. A heated discussion of the event simply aroused the anger of the crowd. One versed in analyzing the emotions of a crowd could have probably seen the quick change from reasoning normal human beings to irrational subjects of their own frenzy. Two groups were quickly formed and divided, one group following one road over which the negro was supposed to have escaped and the second group following another road. Half scared to death, we hung around the postoffice. But after awhile we saw in the distance the returning mob over one of the roads. Someone at the postoffice shouted, "They have got the negro with them." We ran behind the postoffice and peeked around. The crowd came up, but they had not caught the victim. Common sense and reason had departed, anger, hand in hand with prejudice, had leaped out of bounds. Revenge was in the saddle. If the negro had been caught he would, undoubtedly, have been lynched. Fear controlled us for we were too young to fully understand the psychology of a lynching or else we would have probably been one of the mob. The negro was never caught, and the storekeeper recovered from a bad head wound.

There is no doubt that such a display of unreasonable force mars the progress of civilization. The rational mind is hemmed in with reason and caution, sympathy, understanding and judgement. When this protecting wall is allowed to disintegrate by fostering ideas of revenge and retaliation, the savagery of primeval man leaps through the gap, like a bursting dam becomes a waterfall. Therefore, a lynching or even a contemplation of a lynching, destroys that equilibrium which should be the controlling force in every enlightened human being.

Chester, S. C., News
December 15, 1933

TWO TO ONE

It is two to one in the record of state executives on lynching. Governor Rolph is one governor, sad to relate, who openly endorses lynching. But he is offset by two other executives, all honor to them, who demand that the law prevail over mob rule. Governor Ritchie took action to bring Maryland lynchers to trial and Governor Park of Missouri condemns mob rule in his state and calls for an investigation into the lynching at St. Joseph, Mo., this week.

Congratulations to these two fearless executives. It is such men that make government by organized society worth while. Governor Rolph's attitude promotes anarchism.—Exchange.

Rocky Mount, N. C., Telegram
December 18, 1933

The Need For An Example

If any state moves in a determined fashion to bring a band of lynchers to justice, the example will do much to forestall repetitions of crimes that are becoming alarmingly commonplace. But states, as a rule, go about apprehending mob killers with such a lack of resolution that mobs commit crimes with little fear of summary action on the part of sworn officers of the law. The whole machinery of the law appears to be paralyzed when it confronts one of the greatest threats to the very existence of the machinery. This point is brought out clearly in the statement of the Rev. King D. Beach pastor of the First Methodist church in Baltimore, writing in The Sun. He says:

"Our ship of state is not sailing in smooth waters. If we choose far seeing officers and follow them intelligently and loyally, we have reason to trust that the good ship will outride the tempest.

"But if we are to yield to passions of the moment; if we are to give full rein to elemental brutal urges; if we are to be a frenzied crew full of hatred and suspicion of each other; if we are to have a mob on the captain's bridge when the typhoon rages, what hope if there for our country or our civilization?

"Mobs, as such, hold out no hopes for any form of social or political order, not even for revolutions. They promise only disaster for republics or democracies in whatever form they may take."

The danger of mobs is not exaggerated in this case. We cannot conceive of responsible men, normally law-abiding citizens, forgetting their obligation to society to the point that they would take a hand in the murder of a person suspected of a crime. We cannot conceive of a responsible citizen's forgetting the fundamental right of every man to defend himself against accusations according to the customary practice of the time, regardless of the repellent nature of the crime. In fact, the nature of the crime does not in the least justify the urge of mobs to take the processes of the courts into their own hands. No sane property owner would stand idly by while a mob destroyed his property; nor would be hesitate to seek redress. Yet, the property owner, the responsible citizen, is willing to stand aside while a mob takes the life of an accused man without raising his hand. It simply does not occur that if the mob spirit spreads, mobs will not necessarily confine their activities to the destruction of lives.

We possess no illusions about the morality of the mob or the ideals of members of society who condone the spilling of blood or an outrage against a woman by spilling more blood. The same urge that leads a man to attack a woman or take the life of another impels a group of men to hang or burn an individual. The principle is similar, and if we awaken some fine morning to find that a mob, educated in the art of killing, suddenly enlarges its scope of activities by plundering, we shall have our attitude of indifference to the mob threat to blame for the unpleasant predicament.

The lynching of a Negro in Tennessee for an alleged attempt to attack a white woman, when a grand jury found insufficient evidence available on which to indict him, is the logical development of uncurbed mob vengeance. If lynchings of guilty people can be accomplished with impunity, the next step is the lynching of innocent men against whom the mob may be incensed. Then comes the attack on property. We shall cry indignantly for the courts to come to our rescue, but the courts that were ignored when they might have checked mob outrages will be impotent. Let's not beguile ourselves into believing that we can wink at some crimes without weakening our whole defense against crime. One rotten apple is sufficient to destroy a barrel.

There is no permanent remedy for the prevention of lynchings but education. Time is required, years, generations. But there remain stronger measures to protect against the spread of mob violence. If, for example, counties were required to pay substantial sums, say of five or ten thousand dollars, to the immediate family of a victim for every lynching that occurs within the borders of a county, taxpayers could be expected to take more than a passing interest in the prevention of violence. It is not a difficult matter to reach the interest of people through their pocketbooks. Under such law Duplin county would be required to pay to the heirs of Dock Rogers a large sum of money, to be collected from the pocketbooks of tax payers. Edgecombe county would have paid for the lynching that occurred just inside the Wilson county line about two years ago. Once lynchings become highly expensive the enthusiasm of responsible men and women for closing their eyes to them would be considerably lessened. That would help.

Milton, Fla., Gazette
December 14, 1933

THE CAUSE OF LYNCHINGS

The increasing number of lynchings throughout the United States is being "viewed with alarm" by the press of various sections of the country notably in the north, as well as by various and sundry social organizations. While holding no brief for those who deal out summary justice by the mob-law route, we do want to say that possibly the "people" are less to blame for the increasing frequencies of lynching, than is the judicial system of the nation.

A judicial system that permits men guilty of the most henious crimes to be tried over and over again, as in the case of the seven negroes convicted of assault on two white women in a neighboring state, who have been tried, convicted and sentenced to death twice, and are now being tried a third time, some three years after the crime was committed, can hardly expect to inspire confidence of the people.

Again when it takes the government years and years to bring to justice such men as Chicago's most notorious gangsters, and then to convict them on the trivial charge of avoiding the payment of their income tax, the courts do not inspire any fear of the law in the hearts of would-be criminals, nor confidence in the minds of the people that they are being protected by the laws of the land. Lynchings are deplorable, but there is little use of hoping to prevent them until the judiciary of the nation gives the masses of the people assurance, by actual practice that the laws of the land will be enforced by legal methods.

Haleyville, Ala., Spotlight
December 13, 1933

Governor James Rolph, of California received 222 telegrams of commendation as compared with 43 censoring his utterance regarding the San Jose lynching.

Sanford, Fla. Herald
December 14, 1933

We agree with Governor Murray that lynchings wouldn't take place if the public had faith in the courts. We would rather see crime combated with crime than to see crime run rampant. But what we will have to do to discourage lynching is to horsewhip some of the criminal lawyers and perhaps some of the juries and judges.—Bowling Green Exponent

Stuart, Va., Enterprise
December 7, 1933

CALIFORNIA LYNCHING

The lynching of two alleged kidnapers in California gives rise to a variety of thoughts. First, there is the obvious theoretical comment that the lynching was wrong, even though the entire countryside may have participated in it, and that the regular administration of criminal law must be respected, conformed to, and upheld. There is, however, another, and practical side to the situation. With the two kidnapers dead, and with the body of one of them reduced to a cinder, the vicinity of San Jose will be noted carefully by criminals of the kidnaper type as a poor place in which to carry on their operations, and San Jose probably will enjoy a degree of peace not known to other parts of the country. California laid the basis of its civilization and order on the operation of vigilance committees, who took things into their own hands, and left evil-doers dangling at the end of a rope in short order. The success of the western civilization, founded on that procedure, is not to be questioned, and perhaps the whole matter profitably may be laid aside with the observation that what has been done cannot be undone.

Lynchings—1933

~~Discussions~~

White Press, Southern

4021

Rocky Mount, N. C., Telegram
December 8, 1933

The Temper Of The Times

Texas takes a place with other states in the lynching spotlight. Only in Texas the victim was dead before he was seized by a mob, before his body was mutilated and dragged through the streets of a Negro section of Kountze, Texas. It was a pretty horrible thing. The crime with which the Negro ex-convict was charged was bad enough, without the additional outrage.

The American people are not normal now. Much must be considered in connection with the series of lynchings. The depression has left deep scars. People resent their experience. It was not due to their manipulations. The farmer worked as hard as ever; the laborer stood as long in lines looking for work and was then forced into the bread line for bare essentials. Both the farmer and the laborer knew that the stores of the country were bulging with automobiles and radios and countless things they wanted and were willing to work for. They knew, also, that these things were beyond their reach. Now pent up impatience is being released, here and there, in mob demonstrations.

The lynchings are not confined to any one section, but are general, east, west, north and south. That fact has a definite meaning.

Miami, Fla. Herald
December 9, 1933

TEXAS, which recently deplored California lynching, has an affair of its own. Negro ex-convict shot to death by posse, then the body was burned by mob. Charged with killing white woman. Lynching bees of various types are becoming fashionable.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
HERALD POST
NOV 29 1933

A GOVERNOR WITH COURAGE.

THE world today is being treated to the spectacle of fearless enforcement of the law on the part of Gov. Albert Ritchie of Maryland. Probably never before in history has the chief executive of any state taken such drastic action. It is a welcome relief to find a governor with such courage.

The state of Maryland has every reason to be proud of Albert C. Ritchie. It would have been very easy for him to have taken the same course as that of Governor Rolph of California. Governor Ritchie saw his duty and did it. Governor Rolph took the easy way out.

Taken from his cell in a Maryland county jail by a mob of 5,000, a man accused of attacking an aged woman was shot, dragged through the streets and then burned on a pyre erected on the public square. He had not been convicted, nor had he confessed. He merely was accused of the crime. All this in a civilized country.

Authorities declared that they could not identify any of the leaders of the mob. When the state's attorney and the circuit court refused to act, Governor Ritchie ordered state troopers to make the arrests and sent National Guardsmen to accompany them. The ensuing rioting brought no credit to the citizens of Maryland.

Governor Ritchie is being condemned today by a certain fanatical group in his home state who feel that mob rule and lynch law should be allowed to flourish in Maryland. The rest of the nation will applaud the courage of Albert Ritchie in doing his duty.

Greeneville, Tenn. Democrat-Sun
December 5, 1933

At a New York meeting called to deprecrate lynching in general and the San Jose lynching in particular, a speaker gave some good advice as follows:

This lynching is "a challenge to greater swiftness, certainty and common sense in our administration of the criminal law.

Despite recent judicial reforms, he said, no permanent advance can be made in the war on crime "until we take our public prosecutors, like our judges, out of politics; unttil the political allies and protectors of organized crime are brought to the bar of justice, and until our legal procedure has been made more flexible and relieved of outworn festishes."

That is the nub of the issue, restoration of confidence in justice as administered by the courts.

Birmingham, Ala., News
December 8, 1933

President Roosevelt's Denunciation Of Lynching

The president of the United States took occasion, in his address Wednesday night, to denounce "that vile form of collective murder—lynch law" —which has broken out anew in our country. "We know," said Mr. Roosevelt, "that it is murder, and a deliberate and definite disobedience of the commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill.' We do not excuse those in high places or in low who condone lynch law."

That is a pointed rebuke, carrying all the force of the high office of the president of the United States, to Gov. Rolph, of California, who not only condoned but boasted about the double lynching in his state. It is a rebuke quite as pointed to all who have either engaged in or condoned this worst of all forms of mob violence.

A thinking America, Mr. Roosevelt continued, goes further than preaching against lynch law. "It seeks a new government of its own that will be sufficiently strong to protect the prisoner and at the same time to crystallize a public opinion so clear that government of all kinds will be compelled to practice a more certain justice. The judicial function of government is the protection of the individual and of the community through quick and certain justice. That function in many places has fallen into a state of disrepair. It must be a part of our program to reestablish it."

A part of that program to restore the majesty of the law must be to bring lynchers to justice where "that vile form of collective murder" has been perpetrated. Mr. Roosevelt's utterance on the subject is a call from the president of our country to the people and to the law-enforcement agencies to uphold the law. It is a call which should be particularly heeded just now in California, in Maryland, in Missouri and in Alabama.

Tallahassee, Fla. Democrat
December 5, 1933

The present wave of lynchings reminds the St. Petersburg Times that the assassination of Mayor Cermak in Miami was among the most revolting crimes of recent years, yet "to the everlasting credit of Florida" the police, prosecutors and courts handled the case with such vigor and promptness that there was little temptation to enraged mobs. It begins to look as if Florida and the "Deep South" were learning a lesson in preserving respect for law just as certain other states are un-learning it.—Miami Daily News.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
NEWS
DEC 1 1933

Lawless Americans

To The News and Courier:

Want to thank you for your condemnation of the ...

... lynching in Greenville county. As General Pershing said, in an article in the American magazine, some months ago, we are now at war with an insidious enemy within our borders; the scofflaw and the outlaw. But the remedy is not lynching; that is but adding fuel to the flame and making otherwise good citizens outlaws themselves.

What is patriotism? Is it only manifested when a foreign foe lands on our shore and the war trumpets sound a fanfare of martial music? Only when many others are shouldering arms?

What is our country coming to, when the electorate choose such men for governor as Ferguson, Long, Rolph and Blease? When federal judges take the law in their own hands and refuse to try cases because of personal feelings in regard to certain laws? When a wearer of the ermine, after weeks of trial, at heavy expense to the government, virtually instructs the jury to acquit the defendants because a certain law was "put on the books when many of us were in France"?

When South Carolina's governor gives vacation, from prison toil, to murderers? When California's chief executive not only condones mob murder but praises lynching participants? (Yet is chicken hearted in the matter of capital punishment —here's an anomaly for you!) When members of the legal profession, sworn to uphold the constitution of their country, aid and abet criminals, gangsters, kidnapers, bootleggers and murderers? When our otherwise great and courageous president ignores both the law of God and man by holding political conferences on the Sabbath and broadcasting matters political at a church hour for the west and middle west? The financial ox is admittedly in the ditch, but God will not approve this method of getting it out.

We are the most lawless country on earth; crime costing us thirteen billion dollars annually. Is there no hope? Thank God there is. We should not forget that He is still on His throne and that He is making the wrath of man to praise Him."

As Alvin York declared recently at Columbia, the hope of the world is Jesus Christ! We need a great spiritual revival—and noted business men of the country are saying so, too. And while we are rendering unto God the things that are God's, we must not forget the things that are Caesar's. As Tolstoy's son averred some months ago, real patriotism takes in not only our own little baliwick but the nations of the whole world. Patriotism, yes! A willingness to die for one's country—but also to live for it, as well. To serve well as jurymen, to vote intelligently and conscientiously, to occupy positions of trust and responsibility. And to protest against lawlessness in high places and in low.

Tallahassee, Fla. Democrat - Dec. 7 - 1933

Reviving the Dyer Law

Three lynchings, occurring within a few days of each other in three widely separated states, have aroused national attention, and, as a result, there will be repercussions in congress when it meets in January.

It is now announced that a federal lynching law will be introduced at an early day in congress and, with the present temper of the poeple, will probably find ample support in that body.

More than 10 years ago Representative Dyer of Missouri introduced a drastic bill in congress, which was passed by the house of representatives but was filibustered to death in the senate.

That bill provided, among other things, that a county in which a lynching occurs shall be mulcted in damages to an extent not to exceed $10,000, the money derived from the judgment to go to the families of the persons illegally executed.

Naturally, there was much public opposition to that particular provision of the Dyer bill. It would punish a large population for a crime in which they did not participate and which they would have prevented if they had been aware that a lynching was in prospect.

Aside from the question of the constitutionality of a federal law which, beyond a doubt, invades the police powers of the state, there is the question of absolute right, if the bill now in prospect incorporates the Dyer idea as to damages.

Edmund Burke said that he could not prepare an indictment for a whole people. This measure, if the Dyer proposition forms a part of it, would not only indict a whole county for the unlawful acts of a very few, but would convict all the inhabitants and impose damages upon them.

In spite of the recent failures of the three states to prevent lynching the invasion of the constitutional rights of the states would have more far-reaching consequences than does the occasional failure of justice in an individual state.—Miami Herald.

Greeneville, Tenn. Democrat-Sun
December 4, 1933

Comments on the San Jose affair have some noitceable peculiarities. In this case, two white men kidnaped and killed a white man and demanded ransom although the poor child was dead. There was no so-called "race" antagonism about it. The boy was a Jew, so far as their names indicate, his murderers were not.

Those newspaper and columnist comments might be a means of dividing the sheep from the goats, ,communists from anti communists. Both equally foam at the mouth and condemn and damn the lynching. The communistically inclined can seldom leave it there, they must conclude by denouncing capital punishment be it legal or illegal. These gentle souls are not able to envision the victim nor his family. When "Society" inflicts the death penalty then society is the guilty.

On the other hand, the non-communist comment is always concluded by admonitions to the courts to inflict punishment sure and swift, that that is the only way to end lynching. The first part of these editorials is supposedly written in the interest of the public "welfare," the conclusion a betrayal of the real opinions of the writer.

York, S. C. Enquirer
December 1, 1933

There have been 21 lynchings in the United States this year, with four of the victims white men. A total of 488 persons, including 44 whites and six women, have been lynched in the United States since 1919, according to statistics compiled by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Bishopville, S. C. Messenger
December 7, 1933

The scene of lynchings seems to have been moved from the South to other sections. Recently California, Maryland and Missouri have had lynching bees. Well when certain conditions exist and there are certain crimes you may expect lynchings irrespective of geographical lines.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
December 10, 1933

Roosevelt Lauded By Men of Justice For Lynching Stand

A telegram congratulating President Roosevelt on the stand he took on lynching was sent Friday night to the White House by the Men of Justice, a local civic organization.

The wire, sent in the form of a night letter, also informed the President that this organization has sent invitations to all judges and prosecuting attorneys in Georgia to attend a meeting of this organization Tuesday night, and asking them that they "expedite trials in order that dangerous delays may be entirely eliminated."

Judge E. E. Pomeroy will speak at the coming meeting Tuesday evening at 7:45 o'clock in the organization's assembly rooms, 1212-14 Mortgage Guarantee Building, when all members have been urged to be present and bring their friends, according to R. D. McDowell, secretary.

Selma, Ala. Times
December 4, 1933

Lynch law is execrable villainy, without a vestige of justification. Neither of the stock arguments adduced in behalf of the mob—that the courts are cumbersome and slow and that atrocious crimes must be treated with atrocious remedies, will hold water. They are fantastic and utterly untenable and if conformed to on a wide scale would soon bring the breakdown of civilization.

Reduced to its final terms lynch law if a good thing in one case, becomes a good thing in all cases, where an inflamed mob invokes it and when that happens on a wide scale, law and the courts and the police are not sovereign but are contemptible and are kicked about and spat upon by every unruly rabble that goes on the warpath against organized society. Then we revert to the conditions that obtained in the Middle Ages when it was a case of "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." The law of the jungle everywhere obtains. An open advocate and justifier of lynch law in any case logically advocates burning down the court-houses and jails, abolishing the police depatrments and stripping the books of all penal law, written and unwritten. There are just two horns to the dilemma—the mob or civilized society. It is a hollow plea to talk about reforming the courts. It is a condition and not a theory that confronts the country.

Bamberg, S. C., Herald
December 7, 1933

The Bamberg Herald does not condone lynching anywhere of whites or blacks, but we can't help but thinking if that California lynching had occurred in the south and the victims had been black some of the same ones lauding Governor Rolf would be pouring vitriol on the barbarous white people of Dixie.

Sanford, Fla. Herald
December 2, 1933

The chief objection to "justifiable" lynchings is that they spread like wildfire to other lynchings which are not so justifiable. The San Jose hanging, which most people condoned, was quickly followed by a similar outburst in Missouri in which the victim's guilt had not been so thoroughly established. Whatever may be said in favor of lynching a man who has done a horrible crime, it is a frightful thing to lynch an innocent man.

Bessemer, Ala., Advertiser
December 8, 1933

LYNCHINGS MOVING TO OTHER SECTIONS OF THE NATION

California, Mssiouri, Maryland so far this year have eclipsed the record of the South for lynchings. Heretofore, Judge Lynch was regarded as a permanent resident of the South, where he has held sway for many generations.

But that noteworthy lynchings have occured in many other sections of the country this year, and furthermore have been more or less condoned, cannot fail to soothe our feelings over what we have considered unjust criticism. Lynchings here, as elsewhere, are a protest against delay in carrying out justice.

Anderson, S. C. Mail
December 8, 1933

ANOTHER VICTIM.

ANOTHER lynching, this time in Texas, has occurred and right or wrong, the blame will likely be laid at the door of Governor James Rolph of California. In this case unusual brutality was shown by the frenzied mob, which carved out the heart and other organs before tossing the remains on a pyre. Is lynching not only increasing but growing in unbridled ferocity and savagery? Should this be labelled an especially "good job?"

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4022

Tallahassee, Fla. Democrat
December 19, 1933

Lynching Pictures Not Widely Printed

Commenting on the pictures serviced to newspapers all over the country by feature and news services, the Lakeland Ledger and Star-Telegram refers to a discussion of the question in the newspaperman's own magazine:

"Marlen Pew in Editor and Publisher says 'Those San Jose lynching pictures were the most offensive exhibits I have ever seen in the press of the country.' He quotes a friend to the effect that a newspaper editor who would print them is 'himself a near-lyncher.' Mr. Pew suggested that instruction be given some editors in 'tastes in news pictures.' News services, as a matter of course, sent out the nude pictures of the San Jose lynching. They came to this office, were carefully scrutinized and consigned to the scrap heap. The Emporia Gazette, William Allen White's Kansas paper, printed only a simple statement of the lynching. There is often a question of taste, if not public morals, involved in the selection of pictures, and an editor usually selects those which he thinks will suit his readers best."

The pictures referred to were received by the Daily Democrat. They were not printed. Good taste, on the one hand, as pointed out by the Lakeland editor, militated against their use, but there was some consideration given to the idea that publication might provide a graphic object lesson to illustrate the point that lynchings are not to be condoned. This idea did not prevail and the pictures have long since gone to the city dump.

But, it is worthy of note that the city of San Jose has had the lynching tree dug up by the roots. If lynching were honorable or to be commended the tree would be marked with a bronze plaque and preserved for posterity as an historical landmark. That it is being cut down and hauled away is proof that San Jose is not so proud of its lynching as is Governor Rolph.

Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel
December 19, 1933

MAKING A CASE

THE states this year are building up a fine case for the enactment by Congress next year of a federal anti-lynching law.

To the gruesome record of recent lynch horrors, Tennessee last week added another. A negro, accused of attacking a white girl, was found hanging from a cedar tree near Columbia, his dead body riddled with bullets. The appalling brutality of this lynching lay in the fact that this mob victim had been arrested and then freed by action of the grand jury who found no evidence against him!

How many innocent men and women are lynched may be judged from a report of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching. The report found that out of 21 persons lynched in 1930 two "certainly" were innocent, 11 others "possibly" were. Mobs were not deterred by questions of sex, color or locality. They were not deferred by the innocence of their victims.

Tennessee's latest lynching, the third in this state this year, runs the national total for 1933 to 27. Of these, four were whites. California, Maryland and Missouri this year have joined the lynch states. Tennessee officials have done nothing toward the solution of the lynching of the first two victims here.

Some believe that the federal government, under present laws, can intervene to punish lynchers in states where the law breaks down. In a brief just filed with the Attorney-General, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People cites a Congressional act of 1870 making it a misdemeanor for an officer of the law to permit an inhabitant of any state to be deprived of the right to person or property. The citation was in justification for a plea for the federal government to punish the sheriff of Tuscaloosa County, Alabama, for failure to prevent a double lynching last August. The brief says:

"A government which can invade a sovereign foreign state to protect the lives of its citizens and exact reparation for a deprivation of their rights abroad, yet cannot, or will not, thru lack of official courage to enforce the written law, protect its own citizens within its borders, abdicates to the mob."

Regardless of conflicting interpretations of existing law, the fact that the federal government has not felt free to act hitherto is sufficient evidence of the need for a federal anti-lynching law.

Murphreesboro, Tenn. News-Jnl.
December 7, 1933

Dispassionate Consideration Of The Lynching Evil.

The Texas Weekly, a state-wide magazine, published in Dallas, Texas, is one of the strongest publications, editorially, in the country.

One of its able editors, Dale Miller, has the following to say in his "Judge For Yourself" columns appearing therein:

In The Texas Weekly of September 9th, "Judge For Yourself" took occasion to analyze the social conditions of the country that caused the president of the American Bar Association to remark that "candor compels the admission that America is a crime-breeding and crime-protecting nation." It was pointed out then that "there is a situation extant in American life today of such magnitude as to challenge the courage and ingenuity of all our people". The situation to which the editorial referred was the manner in which thousands of criminals escaped justice through loop-holes in the law. **"From the moment a crime is committed," the editorial read, "the effectiveness of the law gradually diminishes. . . . The criminal's detection is difficult, his apprehension is more so, his conviction is much more so, and his detention to the fulfilment of his debt to society is more so still."** It was shown how technicalities in the law were manipulated by shrewd lawyers, how the pardoning power of executives was often exercised with too little care, how other loop-holes were constantly present to make the criminal's escape from justice the rule rather than the exception.

But it was pointed out also that noteworthy strides had been taken in recent months to correct the deplorable conditions. The prompt execution of Zangara, the death sentence meted out to a Kansas City kidnaper, the announcement of the Administration's great war against crime—all these factors were discussed as indicative of a growing consciousness among the people of the necessity of demanding and obtaining proper respect for the nation's laws. And since that time perhaps the most important step of all has been taken in that direction. The Government's striking victory over gangdom in the famous Urschel trial in Oklahoma City harbingered a rising tide of patriotism and confidence that soon engulfed the nation. The courage of a people theretofore prostrate before crime began to be restored. A new era of freedom, of security before the aw, seemed to be born.

It is therefore apparent that an incident in which the chief executive of a State praised the transfer of criminals from the halls of justice to the hands of a mob certainly moves in grotesque contravention with the efforts of an inspired people to strengthen the jurisprudence of the nation and restore respect for law. The horrible nature of the crime for which the two murderers were lynched might explain, if not justify, the action of those fellow-townsmen of the murdered youth who comprised the lynching mob; but the position of the Governor, whose oath of office revolves about the solemn vow to supprt the laws of the State, is impossible to reconcile with the picture of a proper chief executive

No perspicacious insight is required to divine the motivating force behind the San Jose lynching. Fundamentally, of course, it can be attributed to that barbaric strain never entirely erasable from the character of man; but it is doubtless true that this latent impulse, omnipresent in human nature in varying degrees, could not in itself have possessed the power to dominate the mob. What is immediately provocative of all efforts to circumvent the normal procedure of law is the knowledge that the law itself is impotent, vacillating, procrastinating, and weak. Perhaps it is true that the friends of young Brooke Hart did not care to contemplate the laborious resumption of the legal cycle, with trials enmeshed in technicalities, postponements, intimidation of witnesses and juries, inadequate sentences, and possible executive clemency when the years had obscured the crime. Whether or not they rationally analyzed the impotency of American court procedure in justifying their taking the law into their own hands is not so important; it

is only true, that the incompetence of American forces of law and order breeds into the people an apathy toward crimes that are remote and an open revolt against those which strike directly home.

But the divination of the motive can in no wise justify the action of the mob. Respect for American institutions, which include law enforcement in all its ramifications, should be the cardinal insignia of good citizenship. One has occasion to detect a curious contrast in the attitude of the people in the Urschel case, on the one hand and the Hart case on the other. Supported by a militant public opinion expressed in convincing testimony, the Government won a signal victory in the Oklahoma trial over the worst elements of the underworld. But in California the agencies of government were defied, and human bodies dangling in the park, naked and beaten, bore mute testimony to a civilization ravaged by barbaric passion. Which constitutes, Governor, the "fine lesson" to the nation?

DALE MILLER.

Jacksonville, Fla., Times-Union
December 21, 1933

Church Aiding In Efforts to Halt Lynching

Bishop Juhan Tells Stand Taken By Episcopal Women of South.

Declaring that lynching is essentially a white problem, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching has embarked upon a vigorous campaign of education against lynching and its far-reaching evils.

Organized in nine Southern States including Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee, the campaign represents the pronouncement of thousands of Episcopal women.

Bishop Frank A. Juhan, of the Florida Diocese of the Episcopal Church, yesterday made public a part of the findings of an inter-racial program arranged by the Province of Sewanee of the church.

Pledge Is Signed.

In part the report says:

"Foremost in the educational campaign of the association is the signing of the following declaration and pledge:

" 'We declare lynching is an indefensible crime destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved. Though lynchings are not confined to any one section of the United States, we are aroused by the record which discloses our heavy responsibility for the presence of this crime in our country. We believe that this record has been achieved because public opinion has accepted too easily the claim of lynchers and mobsters that they are acting solely in the defense of womanhood. In the light of facts, we dare not longer permit this claim to pass unchallenged, nor allow those bent on personal revenge and savagery to commit acts of violence and lawlessness in the name of woman. We solemnly pledge ourselves to create a new public opinion in the South which will not condone for any reason whatever acts of mobs or lynchers. We shall teach our children at home, at school, and at church, a new interpretation of law and religion; we will assist all officials to uphold their oath of office; and finally we will join every minister, editor, school teacher, and patriotic citizen in a program of education to eradicate lynching and mobs forever from our land.'

Many Endorse Pledge.

"Over 12,000 women in the South have already signed this pledge. Women of many Christian communions in the South have given it their wholehearted support. We are anxious to see our own church women identified with it. Dr. Will Alexander, director of the Commission on Interracial Co-Operation, says that the influence of the Episcopal Church is out of all proportion to its numbers. If this be true, then our responsibility is all the greater. Let us do our part to stamp out this crime of lynching, which is not only a disgrace at home, but is also hindering and impeding the work of our missionaries in foreign lands. The program of the association has been endorsed by our national executive board.

"We therefore ask:

"1. That Episcopal women engage in a 'word-of-mouth' campaign; namely, that the aim and purpose of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching be placed before church and civic groups wherever possible, and their endorsement assured.

"2. That signatures to the declaration and pledge be secured with addresses attached, and that the same be forwarded to Miss Nannie Hite Winston, 1028 Cherokee Road, Louisville, Ky., chairman of the Inter-Racial Committee of the National Executive Board of the Woman's Auxiliary to the National Council.

"3. That we shall endeavor to so mould public opinion that our sheriffs may stand 100 per cent committed against lynching to the ultimate and speedy attainment of our goal: 'No lynchings in the South'."

Columbia, S. C. State
December 7, 1933

Looming Prospect.

Last Sunday the churches of New York, of all creeds, were in accord. The California lynching and Governor Rolph were universally denounced.

In the afternoon Protestants, Catholics and Jews, clerics and laymen, met fifteen hundred strong in the hall of City College, and with Bishop Manning taking a leading part, speeches were made and resolutions adopted.

There was at this meeting but one discordant note. A young woman, unidentified, and "white with rage," strode down the aisle, and standing before the speaker's desk demanded to know why New Yorkers did not wash their own dirty linen before meddling with conditions in other states. A Mr. Tuttle, who at the moment was presiding, she designated as "you filthy thing."

These resolutions, sponsored by the Greater New York Federation of Churches, were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that the recent lynchings and the laudation thereof by Governor Rolph of California are a reproach to our nation, treason to our institutions, a blow at the principles of our Christian and Jewish faiths and an encouragement to crime and the criminal elements through stimulating the spirit of lawlessness; and it is further

Resolved, that this meeting expresses its complete sympathy with the efforts of citizens of California to force the resignation or removal of Governor Rolph; and it is further

Charlotte, N. C., News
December 17, 1933

Another.

The South has had another lynching, this time in Tennessee. A young Negro whom the Maury county grand jury had not found cause to indict on the charge of attacking a 11-year-old girl was taken upon his release from prison and strung up to a tree.

It may be thought that this case, where there is no certainty of the dead man's guilt, is unusual. It is anything but unusual, in support of which we adduce testimony from the Southern Commission on Lynching that of the 21 mob-victims in 1930 only eight were certainly guilty of the crimes for which they were destroyed. Reports for later years have not been compiled, but doubtless they would show the same indifference by mobs to the detail of guilt or innocence.

In any event we all may agree, independent of our views upon the possible justification for occasional lynchings, that grand juries are more likely to act upon the facts of a case than a collection of blood-lusting individuals each striving to outdo the other in after-dark boldness.

Spartanburg, S. C., Herald
December 21, 1933

Mobs and Anarchy

The governor of Tennessee and the judge of the court in which the lynching of Cord Cheek took place, after the grand jury had refused to indict him have denounced the work of the mob. Judge Hart, in a special charge to the grand jury said: Mob violence or lynching strikes at the very root of orderly government and should not be, under any circumstances, tolerated or connived at. If, for a moment, mob rule is substituted for the orderly processes of law, we are bordering on anarchy."

That is true whether the vengeance of the mob turns upon a criminal or upon an industry or upon the officers of the court. The principle holds good in the South or in any other section of the United States.

It has not been many months since a mob in Iowa took a judge from his bench and a sheriff from his office with threats of violence. The incident brought the country face to face with a situation more dangerous, perhaps than those that caused the mob murders in California, Texas, Tennessee, Maryland and Missouri about which so much has been written of late. The Iowa brand of mob law was a direct threat to all government.

Let those who these days are so much concerned about money, inflation, deflation and all the other "ions" remember that the policies of this administration have been formed to prevent a repetition of the Iowa outrages and restore the people of the United States to normal ways of thinking.

Atmore, Ala., Advance
Dec. 7-1933

LYNCH LAW OUT WEST

The kidnaping and murder of Brooke Hart in California was a particularly vicious and cruel crime. The kidnapers seized the young man, carried him away, heartlessly knocked him in the head and threw his body into the waters—then negotiated with his relatives for money to return him safely. The crime quite naturally shocked and infuriated the people of California.

Finally two men were arrested, charged with the crime. While waiting in prison a mob seized them and proceeded to lynch them without any ceremony or hesitation. Governor James Rolph, Jr., in a public statement approved the action of the mob and announced that he would pardon any member of the lawless group convicted for his part in the murder. The Governor's public attitude brought condemnation from many sources and approval from others.

The Governor of California, in giving his approval to mob law, overlooks several factors which make it necessary to discountenance such illegal mass action. In the first place, the mob may have killed innocent men, the courts and juries are constituted to prevent such injustice. In the second place, Governor Rolph, in praising the mob, is indirectly condemning the sheriff and his officers who tried to uphold the dignity of the law and who were severely injured in the performance of their duty. In the third place, the protection of society is in government and orderly procedure and the encouragement of mob law is a direct attack upon the safety and security of every citizen because there is no telling at what minute some aggrieved group may take it in mind to punish somebody that they dislike or suspect.

Sharply contrasted to the action of Governor Rolph has been said that of Governor Ritchie of Maryland, who, when local officers refused to prosecute members of a mob which had killed a prisoner he sent state officials with troops to make the arrest. When another mob sought to free the citizens who were under arrest Governor Ritchie ordered the soldiers to uphold the authority of the law and retain the custody of the officers. This action coming so quickly after the California experience presented a sharp contrast with it.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4023

Spartanburg, S. C., Herald
August 19, 1933

A Comparison

Americans are shocked by the reports of mob murder in the streets of Havana and other Cuban cities.

They are shocking and yet the same spirit that actuated them exists in the Untied States to a considerable extent. The gangsters in our large cities have far less reason to commit their crimes than the Cuban mobs had. There is less excuse for the lynchings that now and then take place in some of our states. The homicide rate in some of our cities is far greater than that in Cuba in normal times, greater than that in any country on the globe. The crimes in Cuba were committed in the name of liberty. Most of ours are committed as the result of greed, anger and prejudice.

While we are condemning the Cuban mob it may be well to take stock of our own misdeeds. We speak of the volatile temperament of the Latins that foments rebellion and bloodshed. What about the temperament of our mixed population? Does it not yield to anger, hatred and selfishness?

It is but a few months since mobs of angry farmers blocked the highways in several states because of resentment over low prices for their produce. In Iowa they resented the foreclosure of mortgages and invaded the courthouse, took a judge from the bench, placed a rope around his neck and threatened him with death.

The action of that Iowa mob proves that under provocation the people of the United States may not be trusted to preserve order and observe law more than our Latin-American neighbors. The Iowa incident may be taken as a warning of what might happen on a large scale even in our own country. The administration at Washington is endeavoring to make such scenes as those in Iowa impossible. It is trying to counteract the efforts of Communism to gain a foothold in this country. If the recovery movement should fail who can predict the outcome of that failure?

Savannah, Ga. Press
December 12, 1933

BISHOP DARST OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Bishop Darst of North Carolina, who lives in Wilmington, participated in the discussion of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

He is one of the ablest and most conservative of Southern churchmen. He told of the inter-racial work being done in the state of North Carolina, building up better understanding between the races.

A bishop of the African Episcopal Church of Kansas City insisted that every negro in America thanked God for President Roosevelt's condemnation of lynching as expressed before the Council Wednesday night. The policy of Governor Rolph of California was condemned and the consensus developed in the discussion seemed to be one of praise for Governor Ritchie, although one of the preachers at the meeting, from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, added his hope that judgment or praise be suspended until all the facts were known, whatever that was.

The point is that Bishop Darst, who represents the better element in North Carolina and who speaks in a conservative manner, points the way of the best people of the state in building up better understanding between the races.

GREENSBORO, N. C.
NEWS

NOV 27 1933

A SOUTH CAROLINA EXHIBIT.

In all the condemnation, the major portion of which the Daily News concedes to be justified, of the south for lynchings in its midst and failure of authorities who are sworn to uphold the majesty of the law to do anything about them, an exception, from the generally maligned state of South Carolina, qualifies for a more or less glorified place in the records.

Early last week a band of masked and robed men, exemplifying not only mob violence but an ignominous return to kluckerism, entered the home of George Green, negro tenant farmer near Greenville. When the negro attempted to resist their entry, he was shot down; perhaps after a fashion which some of the legal brethren who insist upon the niceties of technical argument may term murder but which, to the lay mind, approaches lynching closely enough to fall under the general category, particularly since investigating authorities assert that the invasion was to do "whatever was necessary" to force Green from the tenant house which he was occupying. Patently, the act was an attempt of private agencies to take the law into their own hands; an attempt in which death stalked for the victim.

But that is getting ahead of the story. Now, less than a week after the crime, call it what you please, six white men have been arrested with the seventh, whose identity is declared known to officers, sought and lodged in jail to face murder charges in connection with the slaying. Not only that, but Sheriff B. B. Smith, of Greenville county, who worked with W. Fred Newman, state constable on the case, claims to have signed confessions from five of the prisoners.

How the South Carolina officers pursued their investigation, meager dispatches do not state. The results, however, are sufficient to show an official will which refused to yield to the racial element, to raise the Palmetto investigators as an example of southern law triumphant for at least once in its life, and to elicit from this household publication the hope that Constable Newman and Sheriff Smith may be invited to become instructors in North Carolina's duly heralded school for local law enforcement agencies.

GREENSBORO, N. C.
NEWS

AUG 25 1933

MORE FROM ALABAMA.

It is with keen delight that the Daily News chronicles the more or less unusual circumstance of an Alabama sheriff who thwarted not one mob but two in their efforts to obtain a prisoner, an alleged negro attacker, who looked to him for that protection which the forces of law and order are supposed to accord.

Twice during the course of the same day armed groups appeared at the Huntsville jail and demanded Thomas Brown. As the Associated Press puts it, "The answer of Sheriff Ben Giles was a command that all his deputies stand guard and swing into action at the first sign of violence. The officers were armed with shotguns, pistols and tear gas bombs." There is likewise revelation that, as a precautionary measure, "national guardsmen were told to stand by."

Sheriff Giles' action, while winning the praise due any officer who performs his sworn duty, especially in Alabama and under the circumstances which obtain there, is further and more convincing evidence that mobs are as cowardly as they are bestial, that a show of resistance can generally be counted upon to deter their mobbery and that responsibility for safety of prisoners lies largely in the will of the officer to whose custody they are intrusted. Thwarting of these Huntsville mobs makes all the more odious conduct of fellow officers who less than a fortnight ago yielded two negro prisoners to two automobile loads of mobsters, obviously not over 10 or 12, who halted them near Tuscaloosa, without even so much as a single shot or a word of protest; that is, if dispatches from Tuscaloosa did justice to the minions of the law.

The congratulations to one Alabama sheriff rebound, on that basis, to bring more severe indictment of others who not only disregarded their oath of office and brought the law into disrepute but manifested a downright sympathetic attitude for acts and spirit of the mobsters themselves.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
August 22, 1933

RADICAL STUDENTS SEND THREAT TO PROF. COLE

Demonstration Against Educator. State Made in Lynching Case

Several radical-minded students at Columbia University in New York City, last week sent a threatening letter to Prof. Houston Cole, principal of Tuscaloosa County High school and mutilated the registry of the Alabama Student Society on the Columbia campus as a demonstration against the Pippen-Harden lynching, according to reports brought back to this community last night by Professor Cole. He and Mrs. Cole and their 6-year-old daughter, Beth, have returned to Northport after spending the summer in special study at Columbia.

The demonstration against Mr. Cole occurred after he had spoken, on invitation by the instructor to a class of 200 students in the History of Education. He was asked to speak on the question of social equality in the South and he pointed to the underlying troubles leading to the Pippen-Harden lynching, including the crime for which the negroes were indicted and the tactics of the I. L. D. in fomenting racial discord in this section.

Later two negro students in the class replied at length. A day afterwards it was discovered that the registry of Alabama students, situated under the Alabama Tree on the campus, had been cut into pieces and the sign "Lynch Tree" had been substituted for Alabama Tree. The class of 200 was composed of students from every state in the nation and the attitude expressed by the few out-spoken Communists and radicals was not representative, Mr. Cole said.

College authorities were notified of a letter Mr. Cole received, demanding that he apologize for his address in the classroom or suffer the consequences. It was signed with a triple-X.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
NEWS

AUG 22 1933

U. S. Should Battle Lynchers as Well as Kidnapers, He Thinks

Editor, The News:

UNDER the new regime, lynchers in the South have gotten off to a head start with little fear of molestation.

The Federal Government will override "states rights" in dealing with kidnapers and gangsters, but states will still have the right to allow their colored citizens to be lynched, without interference from the Federal Government, which is sworn to protect the constitutional rights of all Americans.

Why must Negroes, who have worked and suffered without compensation for hundreds of years to develop this nation; who have fought and died in all of our nation's wars, be treated this way?

We sympathize with the German Jew, but ought we not purge our nation of racial injustices before we can effectively protest Germany's sin against a minority group?

This is a national sin.

HAROLD D. JOHNSON.

RALEIGH, N. C.
NEWS OBSERVER

SEP 15 1933

ROGERS'. BODY. NOT DRAGGED ABOUT THE STREETS OF BURGAW.

To the Editor: Editors and reporters should be taught that the good name of a county or State is more important than a "scoop" that is overcharged with imagination. Another thing to be developed is a spirit of fairmindedness, and if wide publicity is given a story and it is found that the story is not true in whole or in part, the same publicity should be given in correcting the story.

Many papers published the story that the body of Dock Rogers was dragged about the streets of Burgaw and the courthouse square, and comments in regard to this were made editorially. The facts indicate that this story is absolutely false, however, newspapers have said very little in making the correction. There are published statements in regard to the testimony of witnesses at the recent hearing that are not in line with the testimony.

Some papers have made much of my statement that I did not know what to do after the Negro was taken from the truck and shots fired into him or his body. The whole affair was over in less than three minutes, it was dark, and I was about 60 yards away when I heard the shots. If I had had any idea such a thing would be attempted I WOULD HAVE KNOWN WHAT TO DO and would have done my best to prevent it. Certainly those who did it would not let me know of their plans, and probably got away in the darkness as soon as possible. When I reached the body it was all over, and I was so surprised and shocked that I did not know what to do so far as attempting an investigation in the darkness was concerned. There was nothing improper done to the body after this. The affair is to be regretted, and I have co-operated with the solicitor in attempting to find out who did it, and will continue to do so.

J. P. BROWN,
Sheriff of Pender County.

CHARLOTTE, N. C.
NEWS

AUG 14 1933

Two Crime Centers.

The lynching of two Negroes in Alabama is, heaven knows, a very horrible thing, and another reflection on a State whose shortcomings have been much in the public eye of late. Alabama is losing caste with considerable speed and consistency.

Yet lest it be thought that Alabama is alone in her benightedness we might point out that the lynching of two Negroes, dreadful as it may be, reduced Alabama's colored population at no faster rate than Charlotte Negroes last week reduced North Carolina's. Even if Alabama's third Negro prisoner is found riddled with bullets he and his erstwhile companions will be no deader than Willie McLain, Alfred Clark, and Oliver Nixon, all three of whom met violent death in this city last week within as many days.

It is perfectly true that a single lynching contains more news value than three private killings. Lynching is an offense not only against the victims but against the State. Simple nigger killings offend nobody very much, if we are entitled to judge by the apathetic manner in which the community receives such tidings and the willingness of the court to presume that all is fair in love and war and Brooklyn.

Perhaps that may go far toward explaining why it is that Mecklenburg, which is comprised mainly of Charlotte and environs, must try a criminal case every year for every 40 people within its borders. Maybe it explains, too, the readiness with which our Negroes haul off and kill one another with slight provocation or with none.

Lynchings-1933 & Discussions

White Press, Southern.

4024

ANNISTON, ALA.
STAR

AUG 30 1933

THE TUSCALOOSA LYNCHINGS AND THE CREDIT OF ALABAMA

The Alabama Journal takes issue with the Birmingham News in the latter's intimation that the recent lynchings in Alabama may have had something to do with the failure of Governor Miller to obtain financial aid for the state in New York. Most citizens of the state familiar with the situation, The Journal says, will take the position that The News was "going pretty far afield" when it hinted at a suggestion that the reason the New York bankers declined to finance the Alabama warrants was the killing of the Tuscaloosa negroes by a mob.

"A much more plausible reason is the campaign which The Birmingham News and those interests for which it speaks have made to undermine the state's credit and to prevent validation of the state's debts," The Journal asserts.

While the lynchings are greatly to be deplored and most of the newspapers of the state have been outspoken in their condemnation of the action of the mob and in demands that the guilty persons be punished, it does not seem that it would be logical to conclude that there is any material relation between this heinous crime and the credit of the state of Alabama.

It is a fact, however, that disregard of law and order has an effect on the investment of capital in communities where such a disregard is allowed to exist. Here in Calhoun County, for instance, we recall a case in point in the abandonment of the projected city of Patona, which was to have been located near where Piedmont now is established.

This city was to be founded by a company of New York capitalists several years after the War Between the States and was to be named in honor of a Mr. Patton, one of the projectors. It was believed that this site was rich in industrial deposits and had it gone forward it would have become one of the large cities of the state. It was to be a railroad center and comprehensive yards had been laid out there at the time of its abandonment.

The reason Patona had a still birth, it is said, was because of a lynching. A Canadian schoolmaster was attracted to the scene by the activities and the publicity it had received in New York newspapers. But because of his insistence on preaching social equality between the races his body was found one morning dangling from the limb of a hickory tree. Hence, the New York capitalists are said to have declared that they would not invest their money in any community where human life was not held safe, so, like the Arabs, they folded their tents and silently stole away, leaving Patona to become nothing but a memory.

RALEIGH, N. C.
NEWS OBSERVER

AUG 24 1933

POOR ALABAMA

In Alabama yesterday, the United Press reported, Negroes were fleeing to seclusion in the lowlands along the Tennessee River.

In spite of mob violence a week ago, Alabama had another case of rape to deal with yesterday, and despite the failure of last week's violence as a deterrent, violence again was threatened by mobs against the processes of orderly justice in the State.

White mobs gathered in frenzy, innocent Negroes fled in terror and decent citizens were impotent in the maelstrom of violence which seems to have succeeded civilization in Alabama.

The time has passed for condemnation. The time has come for pity both for the poor fleeing Negroes and the poor white men driven in irrational frenzy to destroy the very justice upon which both whites and Negroes must depend for safety and civilization.

RALEIGH, N. C.
NEWS OBSERVER

AUG 16 1933

A LOST CHANCE

Barbed-wire entanglements have been thrown around the courthouse in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, where a Negro who miraculously escaped the bullets of lynchers is kept while a grand jury investigates the brutal lynching of two other Negroes in the case on Sunday morning. A hundred and fifty armed militiamen guard the jail.

Once again Alabama through its judicial officers announces that justice will be done. A similar announcement two weeks ago was followed by the lynching of the Negroes for whom justice was promised. If Alabama wishes to secure any respect for its justice it must discover and punish to the limits of the law those men who defiled it. Until they are discovered and punished, the justice of Alabama is suspect. Having promised once and failed Alabama cannot hope for honor among civilized states if it now fails to avenge swiftly and sternly the assault made not upon the dead Negroes but upon the State of Alabama.

MONTGOMERY, ALA.
ADVERTISER

AUG 16 1933

OUTSIDE BLAME IS NOT ENOUGH

It is not enough that Alabamians should point to the blood on the beaks of the belled buzzards of the International Labor Defense League in trying to place the blame for the murder of the two Tuscaloosa Negroes.

It is not enough for Alabamians to shout "shame" and mutter of "outside interference," "blood thirsty agitators."

It is not enough for Alabamians to cry: "This never would have happened if the I. L. D. had not tried to besmirch our people and our courts with its unwanted interference and its lies."

It is not enough for Alabamians to point across the State line to the Cause of the murders.

It is true that the blood of the murdered boys does stain the beaks of the I. L. D. scavengers.

It is true that outside interference of conscienceless agitators was responsible for the lynchings.

It is true that the two murdered Negroes would be alive today if the I. L. D. had not tried to interfere in the case—even against the will of their victims.

It is true that the Cause of the deaths lies across the State line.

But this cannot wash the blood from the hands of Alabamians.

This does not exonerate the State in the eyes of the world and in the eyes of its own people.

We cannot escape our own shame by pointing an accusing finger at our partners-in-crime.

It matters not that the hot heads who seized the three Negroes and killed two of them were goaded by slaps in the face by self-appointed martyr makers.

Decent Alabamians, though their breasts may scorch with indignation at brutal crimes, cannot and will not condone lynchings.

Alabamians resented the interference of outside agencies in its courts because they wished to exercise the right to try and punish criminals as the people of this State believe they should be tried and punished—and that is the foundation of justice in these United States. Every other State reserves the right to conduct its own courts. Why should Alabama be made a trampling ground for those who wish to foment hate or fight against capital punishment?

But resentment cannot burn so deeply into the consciences of Alabamians as does shame, not the shame of persons or organizations outside the State—but shame which only Alabamians can suffer.

The third Negro taken from the officers in their flight to Birmingham has been found—alive.

The State of Alabama, the Sheriff of Tuscaloosa County and the people of Tuscaloosa are responsible for the life of this man.

Because this Negro escaped from a mob which riddled the bodies of his fellow prisoners with bullets every care should be exercised in safeguarding his life. No ordinary precautions should be taken to protect the Negro. For if harm should come to him after the lynching last week the explanation that ordinary precautions were taken merely would indict those responsible for the prisoner's life in the eyes of the world.

He should be under guard every second. He should be guarded by conscientious, courageous men every second.

Governor Miller has taken more than ordinary precautions. He has placed the prisoner under the care of National Guardsmen.

The State, for justice, for decency, for its own good name, must investigate thoroughly the lynching of the two Negroes and bring to justice the mobsmen who brought the shame which all Alabamians must share.

Race Relations

"As a Christian congregation, we denounce lawlessness, we denounce mob violence, we denounce lynching"—thus members of the Independent Presbyterian Church went on record Sunday in resolutions which praised Dr. Henry M. Edmonds for the stand he has taken against race prejudice and its woeful fruit. And thus again Presbyterians of this State raise an enlightened voice against the lynching evil.

The leadership of Dr. Edmonds has been one of the most hopeful aspects of the situation in this commonwealth. He has not only spoken for understanding and tolerance—he has worked for it in many ways, thereby contributing to the fundamental soundness of the thought of our people toward mob violence. He has rendered a constructive service by his activities in the interracial movement which is precious beyond our immediate appreciation.

Asserting that a strengthened judiciary will make for justice to all and for quick punishment of the guilty, Dr. Edmonds's parishioners make the point that "all who so believe should work to replace prejudice and anger with a calm investigation of facts, followed by swift and orderly action in accordance with law." This is a summons to which all good citizens must heed. It is a call which goes to the heart of the problem of establishing righteous and civilized relations between the races in the South.—Birmingham Age-Herald.

Roanoke, Ala., Leader
August 30, 1933

ALABAMA THREATENED BY AN INSIDIOUS EVIL

Since reference was made on this page last week to the lynching of two Negro prisoners near Tuscaloosa and the wounding of a third one, an attempt has been made by a mob from Morgan county to take from the jail in Huntsville a Negro charged with a heinous offense in the county of Morgan. In this case the attempt was thwarted by the firm stand of the officers in charge.

Too many of our people approach this matter through their emotions rather than through the medium of their intellects. Passion is too often substituted for reason, and criminal force for the orderly process of law and justice. Such motives and such procedure can but make bad matters worse.

Any balanced mind ought to be able to realize that one crime does not justify another; also that the blow directed by the mob not only strikes the alleged criminal but with greater force does it smite the law itself. And when the law is undermined civilized government totters to its fall.

It is the duty of the state to give every one accused of crime a fair and legal hearing. When the mob presumes to act for the state the entire public is outraged. That fair and speedy trials are not always provided is a matter to be regretted and to be remedied, but it does not justify the laying of unauthorized and violent hands on the one whom the law is designed to handle.

THE NEW REPUBLIC AND ALABAMA

Recently a contributor to The Advertiser, writing facetiously and ironically, referred to The Nation and The New Republic as "organs of Red Russia." It now comes to the attention of The Advertiser from The New Republic itself that the phrase may have been taken literally by some people.

Advertiser

The ironical correspondent did not desire to asperse The Nation and The New Republic, since he is a reader and admirer of those publications. Needless to say no informed person, however unfavorably he may regard the editorial policies of The Nation and The New Republic, suspects that either of them is an organ of Red Russia.

9-3-33

The next thought of the day is unrelated to the foregoing, but The Advertiser ventures nevertheless to suggest to the valued New Republic that as a responsible public journal it has been unfair and untruthful in its comments on the attitude of Alabama newspapers toward the evil of mob violence. The New Republic broadly implies in an article published recently that the lynchings in Tuscaloosa county were inspired and condoned by Alabama newspapers, including specifically The Advertiser.

Montgomery, Ala.

If The New Republic means to say that any responsible newpaper in Alabama condones mob violence, then it is better informed about the editorial opinions of Alabama newspapers than is The Advertiser, which is much closer to the scene.

If The New Republic means to imply that The Advertiser at any time in its long life, and most specifically this year, has inspired, encouraged or condoned mob action, then The New Republic is a far less responsible public journal than The Advertiser likes to think.

The Advertiser can point to a long and consistent record of hostility to mobs of all sorts. It has been instrumental in building up a sentiment among Alabamians against mobs; as for that matter, practically all other newspapers in Alabama have a record of hostility to mobs.

Recently, when a mob killed two men and wounded another in Alabama, The Advertiser denounced the action in as strong language as it could command. But at the same time The Advertiser ventured also to place the blame for the crime where it believed then and believes now the larger blame must rest—that is to say upon the belled buzzards of the IDL that have swarmed in this State since the Scottsboro tragedy.

It is because The Advertiser and The New Republic cannot agre in fixing the blame that The New Republic stigmatizes The Advertiser and a number of other newspapers as instigators of mob violence. This sort of journalism is indefensible.

RALEIGH, N. C.
NEWS OBSERVER
AUG 18 1933

THIS CIVILIZED WORLD

Yesterday in Alabama a grand jury continued its investigation of the lynching of two Negroes last Sunday morning.

Yesterday in Havana machine gun and rifle fire broke the calm which followed the revolution and the flight of Machado.

Yesterday in Toronto Jews and Gentiles fought in the streets as a result of the display there of the swastika of Hitler.

Yesterday Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald hurried back to London upon hearing the news that more than 600 Christian Assyrians had been killed by Irak soldiers and Kurdish irregulars on the Irak-Syria frontier.

Yesterday in Poona, India, Mahatma Gandhi began a new fast "to the death" as a final protest in his campaign against British rule over the millions of India.

This was one day in the world. But this one day indicates that whatever the economic advances may be, the world is a long way from a New Deal in the human heart.

NORFOLK, VA.
VIRGINIAN-PILOT
AUG 25 1933

Better News From Alabama

While Alabamians were still arguing that the lynching of two Negroes a few days ago was due to "outside interference"—meaning the activities of the Independent Labor lawyers—an Alabama sheriff, Ben Giles, of Madison County, has given a practical example of how to prevent a lynching.

Having in his possession a Negro prisoner charged with attacking a white woman, Sheriff Giles assumed that a mob would try to obtain the man and murder him. His assumption was correct. But when the mob came, the sheriff was ready; and the mob retired. Not content with that victory, the sheriff sought to head off a second mob hours later, and did succeed in detouring part of it at the county line. But when automobiles containing 30 men slipped through his blockade and reached the jail, even the warden had caught the spirit and was ready also. He refused admittance to the mob, although its members pretended to be bringing in prisoners, gave a fictitious address when they asked where the sheriff was, and then warned the sheriff. The latter met the 30 men, escorted them to the county line, advised them not to return, and went back to his jail to strengthen his forces and await the next attempt. It has not been made yet.

This is encouraging. It demonstrates the old truth that a courageous and resourceful sheriff—and no man ought to be sheriff unless he possesses both courage and resourcefulness—can nearly always get the better of a mob, or two mobs, except in the most unusual circumstances. Even then he can go down fighting, as he is in duty bound to do. It suggests something else. No voice has been raised in Alabama, so far as reported, to assert that these two gangs of avengers were inspired by "outside interference," because there was no "outside interference." But if "outside interference" caused the mob-murder of Dan Pippen and A. T. Harden a few days earlier, what caused these two efforts at mob-murder that would have been successful if Madison County had not been blessed by a bold and intelligent sheriff? If the successful lynching can be explained away, what about the unsuccessful one?

WORLD Telegram
DEC 7 1933

NEGROES' FIGHT ON 'OUTSIDERS' LAID TO WHITES

Maryland Lawyer Calls Drive Against 'Interference' Move by Mob Mouthpieces.

MISSOURI HEARING TODAY

Wrestler Accused in Lynching Denies Participating in Burning of Warner.

By the Associated Press.

BALTIMORE, Dec. 7. — A campaign, anonunced by three Salisbury Negro leaders, among "various gatherings of our people" for elimination of "outside interference" brought a reply today from Bernard Ades, Baltimore attorney, that a counter movement would be started.

Mr. Ades was described in a statement of the Salisbury Negroes as "entirely responsible for disturbances which have occurred on the Eastern Shore for the past two years."

"We pledge our efforts in the continued elimination of crime and also outside interference," said the statement which was signed by James F. Stewart, member of the Maryland Interracial Commission; J. M. Dickerson, pastor of one of the largest Salisbury Negro congregations, and James L. Johnson, retired public school teacher.

Calling the three signers "the mouthpieces of lynchers and white bosses," Mr. Ades said such a movement would be met by a campaign among the Negroes of the section.

Wrestler Denies Part in Lynching.

By the United Press.

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., Dec. 7.—John F. Zook, truck driver and amateur wrestler, was to be arraigned today on first degree murder charges in the lynching and burning of Lloyd Warner, Negro, last week.

The warrant against Zook, a former policeman, was issued last night. Zook denied that he participated in lynching Warner, who had confessed attacking a white woman. Officers said that he had been identified by witnesses as a mob leader.

New York Evening Journal
AUG 24 1933

Memorial Tonight To Lynch Victims

A memorial meeting for Dan Pippen, Jr., and A. T. Harden, Negroes lynched in Alabama, Aug. 13, is to be held tonight at the Community House, Mother Zion, A. M. E. Church, 151 W. 136th st.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4025

Clarkesville, Tenn., Chronicle
December 20, 1933

People Are To Blame For Mobs, Corruptness, Ross Says

Local Who is Studying in Spain Applies Plato

An interesting letter in which he comments on art and on lynchings has been received by Dr. ~~and Mrs.~~ John W. Ross from their son, Dan, who is a student in Madrid, Spain.

After commenting on various old masters of the canvass, young Ross expressed a partiality to Goya. "Goya is a painter that grows on me. Somebody told me that it was because he was more modern, and I could better understand him. Anyway, he is my favorite," he wrote. "He (Goya) depicts realism; human nature, leaving you with an impression of man's vanity and hypocricy. But it is all very subtle and veiled. In his later years Goya went crazy and painted what appeared to be fearful monstrosities of terrific ugliness. I have an idea that what happened was that he suddenly saw man in all his ugliness, his bestiality. He always saw man as he was and not as he wished to appear.

"And then suddenly he lost his sense of balance, no longer perceived man's retrieving features. It was then that he went off the deep end. If such is the case it must have been gradual. There are these frightful pictures of war scenes depicting man at his worst, but still a sane person could have conceived them. And after that came pictures, not horrible, but depicting man, grotesque and ugly. It is as if he is showing the Mr. Hyde in us, but has completely forgotten all about Dr. Jekyll. Such unbalanced people are crazy. So, I suppose, are those who can see only the Dr. Jekyll.

About Lynchings

"After reading about lynchings and governors approving lynchings it is not so hard to see Goya's point of view. Certainly Gov. Rolph isn't fit to govern a state. I note that the press of the nation has censored his action. However, that doesn't affect the people of Missouri, who now feel called upon to degrade themselves in a similar manner to the people of California. An evil precedent has been set.

"Governor Rolph's reasoning is very simple. In as much as the laws of the country have lost weight through corrupt manipulation, the people have the right to take it into their own hands. By so doing they throw the fear of God into would-be-criminals, and bring about a correction more effectively than could be accomplished in any other way.

"But in so doing they admit that democracy is a failure, that anarchy is a surer means to justice. They revert to the barbarian who trusted no man or government to settle his disputes, but must needs settle them himself.

"If the law of the land is ineffective because of the corruption of the wielders, the people must remember that they are the wielders. They are corrupt themselves. They make the laws, they judge the guilty, they prosecute him, they defend him, they sit on the jury that decides his fate. If they make poor laws who have they to condemn but themselves? If they make corrupt judges who is at fault? If as lawyers they take unfair advantage of the jury's weakness, who is to blame? If on the jury they are weak and sentimental, who can they cry out against save themselves? Finally, if as a great public they rejoice in the sensational front page murder, and follow its course avidly without care as to guilt or innocence, who can they thank but themselves when law goes wrong? They are too weak to condemn murder unless it strikes very close at home.

Alternatives

It is not for any of us to take the law into our hands. If we consider our country a failure we have one of these courses open to us. First, we can accept the situation for better or worse. Second, we can move to some other country that suits our tastes better. Third, we can do what lies within our power to improve our country. If we are all interested in making it a better place in which to live there could be no corruption, even if the officials we elected were inately corrupt. They are corrupt only in so far as they can get away with it. In short, they are corrupt only in so far as we are corrupt ourselves. If we were really as a public interested in the welfare of our country, we wouldn't tolerate corruptness; it couldn't live.

"Its the same principle if we were to go to war. I might not believe in war, in particular. I might not believe in that particular war. But as a citizen of this Democratic nation I would hold myself partly responsible for that war. Therefore I must go. Remember, no one requires any one except the boys up at Sing Sing to reside in the United States. If you do, you must take your share of what comes along. If you don't want that to come along you'd better do your best to make the people see the way you do.

Kershaw, S. C. Era
December 6, 1933

LYNCH LAW NOT JUSTIFIABLE

Lynch law cannot legally or morally be regarded as justifiable where government is instituted laws have been enacted for the protection of the citizens in their enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is for that specific purpose that government is organized and when one or more of the citizens in such a government arrogate to themselves the judicial authority and moral right to determine the guilt or innocence of a person, pronounce the adequate punishment to be meted out therefor and take it upon themselves to execute the penalty, all law and civic righteousness is immedately broken down and there could be no such security as is contemplated in the establishment of government. The infliction of punishment for any crime without due process of law reverts to the barbaric age and has no justification in civilization. If worth while government is to survive it can be secured only by respect for and obedience to it. The proper way to safeguard it and make it effective is to demand its rigid enforcement upon all alike. The way to escape its punishments is to refrain from its violation.

Chester, S. C., Reporter
December 11, 1933

LYNCHING.

President Roosevelt told the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America that lynching "is murder and a deliberate and definite disobedience of the commandment, 'thou shalt not kill.' We do not excuse those in high places or in low who condone lynching."

Lynching is murder. The President spoke to the point. Lynchers should be prosecuted as murderers ing to be said in defense of men who should be prosecuted. There is nothcondone lynching. They reveal themselves for what they are.—Charleston News and Courier.

Kissimmee, Fla., Gazette
December 15, 1933

Governor Rolph of California is being lambasted from all sides for the stand he took in that recent lynching of the two men charged with murder and kidnaping. Even ex-President Hoover handed him one. There are times when mob violence is justified and that instance was one of those very same times. Chances are ten to one both murderers would have escaped with mild prison sentences if brought to trial.

Opp, Ala., News
December 7, 1933

We haven't a great deal of patience with our anti-lynch brethren who are always ready to howl against the lynching of a rape brute with not much to say for the poor victim. More and more we are drifting to a disregard of womanhood. There is no more certain sign of our drifting away from civilization. Civilization has always defended its women whatever the means necessary to do it. We'd be just a little bit afraid to trust our women in the care of men who bewail the lynching of a rapiest but have so little to say in defense of the victim.

Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel
December 17, 1933

MURDER MOBS

WE TAKE the liberty of re-printing herewith the best editorial we have seen on lynching mobs. It is taken from Circuit Judge J. V. Gaddy's charge to the special grand jury in St. Joseph, Missouri:

"It is now necessary to punish the guilty members of that mob, if we are to protect ourselves against the danger of the mob.

"The man who pulled off the jail door, or any man who helped in any way to break into the jail is just as guilty of murder as the man who placed the rope around Warner's neck. . . .

"It wasn't a desire to administer justice or prevent a recurrence of Warner's crime which sent the mob against the jail. It was hate, the same passion that engenders any murder.

"When you find the real leaders of that mob you will find men of not much higher moral standards than the man they murdered. If you had been there that night, I doubt if you could have picked 12 men from that mob who would have had the courage to convict and hang Warner as members of a jury in a court of justice. Their action was murder in its most despicable form, and an assault on the institutions you pay for and charge to administer justice.

"Women are no safer in St. Joseph today by reason of that murder."

MOB RULE DENOUNCED IN TALK BY ANDERSON

Decrying mob rule and the lack of civil liberties for a portion of the population of the south, W. T. Anderson, [illegible] Macon Telegraph was the principal speaker Sunday afternoon before the Atlanta Forum Association at the Congregational Christian church.

The widely-known newspaperman criticized the south for curtailing liberties for negroes and recited the history of the struggle of the people of the new world for the civic privileges they now enjoy. He denounced mob rule and violence.

Mr. Anderson paid high tribute to President Roosevelt and the administration program. He especially praised the national industrial recovery act and pointed out that the NRA in no way interferes with the freedom of the press.

Constitution
12-27-33
Atlanta

Hartford, Ala., Herald
December [illegible] 1933

Orderly Process of Law.

"The more part knew not wherefoore they were come together." Acts 19:32.

Among other forms of lawlessness, there seems to have been a wave of lynchings in the United States recently. Outstanding cases are a matter of record in Alabama, New Jersey and Missouri where negroes were lynched, and in California where two white men, confessed kidnaper-murderers, were lynched a little more than a week ago. In all of these cases, official approval has been given only by Governor Rolph of California.

The announced statement of Governor Rolph that he would pardon any who were connected with the lynching of the two confessed kidnaper-murderers has brought forth widespread approval and disapproval.

Whatever the provocation, we desire to record our disapproval of lynching, or mob rule of any kind. We believe in the orderly process of the law.

The provocations which prompt lynchings could and ought to be reduced to a minimum by the judicial and executive officials. Among these provocations are the lack of adequate penalties, the manipulation of juries, perjury on the part of witnesses, tricks of attorneys who care more for the dollar than they do for justice, uncertainty that penalties will be enforced, etc. We admit that such things as these cause a lack of confidence on the part of the people and lead some to want to take the law into their own hands. But the only logical thing to do is to demand faithful performance of duty of all who are connected with the administration and enforcement of the law. Officials who openly violate their oath of office should be impeached. This is what Governor Rolph of California deserves. By condoning lynching he not only lays himself liable at the hands of a mob, but also every citizen of California, and encourages the mob spirit in other states.

Let the criminal know he must face an orderly process of the law. To do otherwise is to admit that government by law is impotent and a failure, and reverts to savagery and barbarism.

Lenoir City, Tenn. News
December 21, 1933

LYNCHING, RIOTS, PUBLIC IMPATIENCE

—x—

The wave of lynchings, riots, etc., is a page in the history of our nation that will bear a little thought. These days of financial stress and strain have worn down a great deal of the patience of the average citizen and made those things which seemed desperate and unheard of a few years ago, the law of the hour.

We do not defend lynchings and riots. Far from it. A lynching is an illegal murder just the same as it always has been. Riots and mob action are always regretable blots on the history of any community and are incapable of dealing out justice in any form. Yet we must ponder the cause of such if they are to be successfully eliminated.

In recent years the law has been shown time and again as a weak instrument which is warped and blended by slick, wealth criminals, shrewd lawyers and politically minded officials. The burden is placed upon the side of justice. Public sentiment fades quickly, criminals are freed after but a short time in the confines of prisons and sent out to ply their fiendish trades and fling terror into the hearts of law abiding citizens.

Lynchings are a painful warning thrust full in the face of a dilatory government and bear the hideous message to those who execute and enforce the laws, written in bold letters of blood, to CLEAN UP.

The warning should be heeded. Quick, sure punishment, difficult pardons and honest, justice-sure courts will eliminate the lynchings, besides performing an unestimateable service to the nation.

Brewton, Ala., Standard
December 14, 1933

Laws Should Be Revised

The epidemic of lynching which seems to slight no section of the Unied States is not a mere mob hysteria, in our judgment. It simply means that the American people are fed up with the technicalities of the criminal law. Look back into your memory of famous killings and other crimes and recount if you can the innumerable cases where ingenious defense, high priced lawyers and the tortuous course of alleged justice have resulted in some red-handed murderer or other grave offender escaping the just penalty for his crime.

Alleged insanity, which the man on the street knows is faked, gets many a man off. The technicalities of the law have gotten many more off. The delays in bringing criminals to trial eventually clear many more. Appeals to supreme court result in new trials or verdicts set aside.

This is age of change. The people are impatient—and more than impatient—with the resources afforded the criminal. The people are arising in their might and taking the law into their own hands, just as did the citizens in the days of vigilantes.

Every alleged criminal should have a fair trial, and the verdict should be reviewed only for glaring errors in admission of testimony. The trial should be had at the next term of court, in place of two to four years later, as is now sometimes the case.

Not until the laws are purged of technicalities and speedy justice is meted out will the people quiet down and quit lynching notorious or atrocious criminals.

Lynching is to be deplored, but the way to stop it is to speed up the courts and cut out this unreasonable delay and reversal on minor mistakes made by the trial judge.

People have seen entirely too many instances where, even with fairly speedy trials, the case has been appealed and monkey whenches thrown into the gears of the machinery.

It has come to the point where there is no more joke in the statement that crimes against property are more severely punished than crimes against the person.

Again, even if the criminal is convicted and finally lands in the death cell or the penitentiary, he is almost sure to get a commutation of sentence or to be released on parole. Eventually sometimes both.

There are many things in which we prefer American ways and customs over the English way, but we must confess with shame that in the administration of criminal law we must take our hats off to the Englishman.

Minor errors in indictments, mistakes in spelling the accused's name, continuances from term to term, reversal on technicalities, appeals to higher bodies, vagueness in wording the laws—all these should be corrected. Then, perhaps, we will see a surcease of lynching. We can scarcely hope to see it sooner.—Samson Ledger.

Birmingham, Ala., News
December 16, 1933

REFORMING THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

To the Editor The News:

It has been now full four months since I wrote an article for the "Voice of the People" on the subject of lynching. In that article I called upon the editor and his columnists to dedicate their literary genius to the overthrow of mob rule. I took the position then, as I do now, that mere denunciation will not bring the slightest relief in the matter of this anti-social act, as is illustrated by the fact lynchings have been practiced in several other sections of our great republic.

He who does not know that we are living in a scientific age simply has no awareness. I believe that the most progressive step, the most constructive forward movement that could be attempted in many years, would be an attempt to reform our judicial system. Many of us still believe that delay, technicality, postponement, appeal, outside interference, etc., are some of the aggravating causes for mob action. You do not have to be informed, sir, concerning many cases meant for adjudication which are still a long way from a final verdict. Such a legal procedure is entirely out of line and out of harmony with modern life and justice. Many have respected the injunction, "Let the law take its course," only to find themselves mocked. Medical science, long ago, has entered the field of prevention, in that it has attempted to remove the cause of the suffering. It is the honest conviction of this writer that much of the malpractice in the field of mob rule will be permanently prevented if the aggrieved will be given assurance that his claim before the law will be fairly, promptly and justly considered. Since your method has failed, please give my suggestion your thoughtful consideration.

W. G. HENRY.

Birmingham.

White Press, Southern.

Lynchings - 1933

Discussions.

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Methodists Deplore Increase in Lynchings

WASHINGTON, Nov. 11.—(AP) The board of temperance, prohibition and public morals of the Methodist Episcopal church today made public a resolution adopted by its board of managers in condemnation of lynching.

"In view of the fact that lynchings have recently increased in our country, and in [illegible] especially, of the [illegible] a young negro at Princess Anne, Md., this board wishes to express its horror for all such lawless events," the resolution stated.

11-17-33

Alabama Legion Posts Condemn Mob Violence

FLORENCE, ALA., Nov. 8.—(AP)—The American Legion in Alabama today was on record condemning lynching and other forms of mob violence in the state.

W. Arthur Abramson, State commander, announced yesterday that posts throughout the State had been unanimous in adoption of a resolution to condemn mob violence.

The resolution voted on says however "that it is our judgment that the courts of our State are competent to handle the situation without the introduction of foreign influence, and we deplore and condemn the practice of organizations from without the State, sending foreign lawyers into the courts of Alabama to assume control of the defense of such cases, without being employed or invited into the case by the parties concerned or their families."

Birmingham, Ala., News
November 4, 1933

Lynching As An Art

BY GERALD W. JOHNSON
(In The Baltimore Evening Sun)

He who believes that anything effective is going to be done about the Princess Anne lynching is an optimist indeed. The odds are 10 to 1 that this, like the Salisbury affair, will go unpunished.

Furthermore, failure to punish anyone has heretofore always meant another lynching. Those members of the community who have a taste for such affairs know now that there is no firm determination on the lower Eastern Shore to prevent lynchings. They know that the state police are much too polite to shoot a would-be lyncher. They know that the state administration has been proved completely impotent to deal with lynchers. Why, then, should they hesitate to stage another party of the same sort?

They will stage it. The people of Maryland are almost certainly in for a succession of outbreaks of this kind. It will be pretty rough on the whole state, and it will be especially rough on those Eastern Shoremen who are really civilized; but there is at present little prospect that it will be avoided.

For the whole history of lynching shows that, far from being a deterrent, a lynching is almost invariably followed by a succession of crimes comparable to the one that caused the first lynching. No doubt the reason is that such crimes are usually committed by half-wits; and the terrific excitement attending a lynching seems to throw all the surviving half-wits into a feverish excitement that leads them directly to similar crimes.

If we are destined, then, to witness a series of lynchings, it may be worth while to give some attention to the history and development of lynching in those sections that have practiced it most frequently and are presumably most expert at it.

* * *

It happens that the material is easily available. Only four years ago Walter White published a book "Rope and Faggot," with the subtitle, "A Biography of Judge Lynch," in which he examined with care the history of this phenomenon.

Two or three facts emerge clearly. One is that whenever even one member of a mob has been punished by the courts, lynching in that state has ceased suddenly for a long time. Another is that although the total number of lynchings has decreased markedly, the savagery of individual lynchings has increased since the beginning of the century. A third—and this is of high importance in Maryland—is that where a series of lynchings has occurred in one community the records show that invariably each succeeding lynching has been worse as far as brutality is concerned, than the last previous one.

This is conspicuously true as regards the Eastern Shore. The Salisbury mob was content with the execution of the victim. The Princess Anne mob did not stop with that. The victim was dragged while still alive until his clothes were ripped off and much of his skin with the clothes. Then, after he was dead, the mob demanded grisly souvenirs—the rope was cut in pieces and one young fellow was seen running around in wild excitement, waving an ear.

Obviously, Maryland lynchings are taking the usual course, in going from bad to worse. Would you know what is ahead? Then listen to some account of what lynching has come to in other places and see what is undoubtedly in store for the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

* * *

Consider, for instance, the lynching of Henry Lowry, in Arkansas, in 1921. The account is taken from a Memphis newspaper of Jan. 27, 1921:

"More than 500 persons stood by and looked on while the Negro was slowly burned to a crisp. A few women were scattered among the crowd."

Remember that at Princess Anne women paraded by the spot where the Negro's nude, charred body lay on the pavement. Maryland is already that far along the road. To resume the Arkansas tale:

"With the Negro chained to a log, members of the mob placed a small pile of leaves around his feet. Gasoline was then poured on the leaves and the carrying out of the death sentence was under way.

"Inch by inch the Negro fairly cooked to death. Every few minutes leaves were tossed on the funeral pyre until the blaze had passed the Negro's waist. . . . Even after flesh had dropped away from his legs and the flames were leaping toward his face, Lowry retained consciousness. . . . Once or twice he attempted to pick up the hot ashes in his hands and thrust them into his mouth in order to hasten death.

"Each time the ashes were kicked out of his reach by a member of the mob."

The Princess Anne mob cooked the Negro after he was dead. Perhaps the next mob will cook one alive. One wonders if they will also imitate the Arkansas mob in bringing the victim's wife and little daughter to the spot to see him burning.

* * *

Or perhaps we are destined to see something resembling the lynching of Mary Turner in Georgia. She was hanged head downward from a tree, gasoline and motor oil were thrown upon her clothing and she was set afire.

"The clothes burned from her crisply-toasted body in which, unfortunately, life still lingered, a man stepped toward the woman and, with his knife"—but the rest is really beyond the limits of what a newspaper should print. Your worst guess won't be too bad.

Princess Anne turned out only 2,000 people for the lynching of George Armwood. Waco, Tex., did better than that as early as 1916, when 15,000 people including the mayor, the chief of police and many women and school children, witnessed a burning. But give us time, give us time.

South Carolina, in 1925, staged an interesting variation when a crowd at Aiken took Bertha Lowman, her brother and her cousin out to a tourist camp where 2,000 people were gathered at 3 o'clock in the morning and told the three Negroes to run, then pumped a volley of bullets into their backs. The two boys were killed instantly, but Bertha was only wounded. In the half-light, as she squirmed over the ground, she furnished a tantalizing target. It took 50 shots to finish her.

Or, perhaps, the next lynching on the Eastern Shore will follow the course taken by the Mississippi mob that burned Luther Holbert and his wife together. Beforehand, though, according to The Vicksburg Evening Post, the victims were forced to hold out their hands while the fingers were chopped off, one by one, and distributed as souvenirs. Then their ears were cut out. One of Holbert's eyes was knocked out with a stick and "hung by a shred from the socket." A large corkscrew "was bored into the flesh of the man and woman, in the arms, legs and body, and then pulled out, the spirals tearing out big pieces of raw, quivering flesh every time it was withdrawn."

* * *

You say such horrors could not occur in Maryland? Then read again the accounts of what happened at Princess Anne. Oh, we are well on the way to duplicating just such things as these. Judge Lynch has already cooked a dead Negro. If he is undisturbed, presently he will cook one alive. A state that can't stop lynching is on the road to things that make cannibalism seem almost virtuous.

Dothan, Ala. Eagle
November 3, 1933

WHY NOT TRY IT?

The recent lynching of a Negro in Somerset County, Maryland—in which a mob of 2,000 battered down the jail door, dragged the victim through the streets and burned his body—has caused a furore of controversy in the Free State.

Governor Ritchie is toying with the idea of an anti-lynching law, but no less critic than the Rev. H. L. Mencken considers the play as just so much eyewash; the law would be futile because it would not work.

But Mencken does recommend how the Legislature may take the first step in dealing with the problem, and as an example of how the learned gentleman devastates opponents in an argument, we submit the following excerpt from his recent article in The Evening Sun of Baltimore:

If the statesmen of Maryland really want to clean out this forlorn area let them begin by trying to reduce its present astonishing and scandalous excess of power in the affairs of the state. Somerset county now has one delegate in the lower House of the Legislature for every 7,794 inhabitants; Baltimore has one for every 22,357. Somerset has one state senator for its 22,382 people; Baltimore has six for its 804,874, or one for every 134,145. Why should this difference be tolerated? Is it because the lynchers of Princess Anne are more intelligent, more patriotic, more virtuous than the people of Baltimore? Is it because they go to nobler lengths in defense of menaced womanhood, as their apologists are so fond of maintaining? Then how are we to account for the fact, set forth in the last annual report of the State Board of Health, that the illegitimacy rate in Somerset, for the year 1931, was 2.12 times that of Baltimore, and 1.85 times that of all the counties of the state taken together?

Somerset is densely populated for a rural county, but it is poor and has lost population since 1920. Its taxable basis was only $13,218,783 a couple of years ago, and is probably less now. In 1930 the state collected but $28,368.99 from it in taxes—1-135th of the amount paid by Baltimore. It used to pay more, but has been going downhill. Why this remote and backward county should have three times the representation in the House of Delegates, relatively speaking, that Baltimore has, and more than five times the representation in the State Senate—here is something that is hard to understand.

But the reapportionment move in Maryland will be difficult to put over, just as it has been impossible to put over in Alabama during the past dismal 30 years.

As to lynchings, The Eagle believes, and has repeatedly pointed out, that the only effective method of curbing them is to overhaul the cumbersome court proceedings and remove all the endless, inane and paralyzing technicalities which prevent a quick trial.

When potential criminals get into their heads that, if they commit a crime, they will be seized and promptly tried, this country will have far less crime.

Until this is done, we may expect crimes of all kinds to be committed as frequently as in the past—including lynchings.

The most depressing sight we see is the delinquent tax lists published in recent days by practically every paper that comes to our exchange desk.

Judging from what we have heard, and seen in the news reels, only one town in the United States had a more impressive NRA parade than Dothan. That was New York City.

Andalusia, Ala., Star
November 2, 1933

ANOTHER LYNCHING, AND WHY

Two years ago a Maryland Negro by the name of Euel Lee committed the unpardonable crime. Today his case is still undisposed of, and he loafs in jail at the expense of the taxpayers He has been shunted about by the courts which have been paralyzed by technicalities and red tape.

How did this effect the people of Maryland last week when another Negro attacked an aged white woman? Several thousand persons formed a mob, battered down the jail door and burned him.

The lynching, of course, is a disgrace to Maryland and no civilized persons will condone it. It seems to The Eagle that the explanation lies in the sluggish idiocy of the courts in handling such criminal cases. Alabama has had, and is having today, a sample of the slow process of court action, and there are three lynched Negroes as a result.

Montgomery recently gave an intelligent example of how to prevent lynchings. Two Negrose were arrested after some brilliant work of two detectives on a charge of attacking a white woman. She identified them, and in less than two weeks the Negroes had been tried and convicted. They are at this hour in Kilby prison awaiting execution.

Let our courts function quickly and surely and lynch law will decline and die.

—Dothan Eagle

SHREVEPORT, LA.
JOURNAL
NOV 2 1933

Lynching—With a New Angle.

Princess Anne county, Md., was the scene of a lynching a few days ago, when a negro, accused of attacking an 81-year-old white farm woman, was taken from jail and summarily put to death by a mob of 2,000 enraged citizens. Deplorable as these things are universally accepted as being, the Maryland case presents one angle that is entirely new—a demand for impeachment of the governor of the commonwealth in which it occurred. It comes from the Socialist party's executive committee, showing just how ignorant the leaders of such an organization can be, and how impractical they are, since the governor of the state could have done no more to prevent the outbreak than the Socialist party, itself.

But there is another and interesting point raised by the Cincinnati Enquirer in discussing the lynching, which, of course, it deplores and denounces. This newspaper brings out something about which the majority of citizens probably have not taken thought, when it says: "A community, large or small, when it descends to such a practice, for whatever motive, degrades itself in the eyes of the nation. Princess Anne, Md., assumes a quality of inferiority before public opinion of the country which it will not live down for a long time."

Identification of participants in a mob's activities is, of course, difficult at all times. It is almost impossible, also, to secure convictions in cases where such mob members have been apprehended. But the idea that such an occurrence is very bad advertising for the community in which it happens should serve to make persons stop and think more than once before they become party to such a crime.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
RECORD
NOV 2 1933

THE NATURE OF LYNCHING.

South Carolina, to its shame, has not been innocent of lynchings although its record in this particular field of lawlessness has been better in recent years than that of some other states.

And there are some South Carolinians, who even though they would not participate in a lynching may defend lynching and lynchers. There are communities in South Carolina the law-abiding citizens of which have been given the opportunity to purge themselves of the ignominy of a lynching and did nothing. They might have punished the lynchers, but they prefered to forget them. Forgetting was simpler.

But these folw who defend mob law or wink at it do not know what they do. They do not know what a lynching looks like.

At Princess Anne, in Maryland, a few days ago a negro was lynched. It was not the most gruesome of lynchings, but it was gruesome and degrading enough, as the eye-witness story of the orgy, told by an unidentified Baltimorean to the Baltimore Sun, reveals. And it demonstrates more clearly than any argument the fact that a lynching is a crime against the state first and the victim secondarily; it proves that there are always more victims than one to a lynching.

"I had read about lynchings," the witness tells, "and I had an idea that they were regular drunken brawls. That crowd at Princess Anne was sober. I saw only three men you could say were drunk in all that mob of 5,000. And they weren't the leaders. The men who pulled on the rope that dragged the negro through the streets were sober.

"I'd bet my shirt the men who actually broke into the jail hadn't had a drink. They seemed to save up and do their drinking after it was all over . . . There wasn't any laughing in that crowd. And, except for what little light there was from one pair of automobile headlamps, it was pitch dark all around the jail. Half the policemen don't know what or who hit 'em.

"I can't describe the kind of howllike noise that went up from the mob when the jail door gave way. I guess the best description would be—it was something like the noise in the cat house at a big zoo when the keepers begin passing out the day's meat.

"When they dragged the negro through the streets at the end of a rope, the crowd fell in alongside and behind, running along. I saw high school girls and their boy friends parading along with the rest of the crowd. I didn't see any young children. The boy who went around waving the negro's ear was in his twenties and kinda stupid-looking.

"The women in the mob didn't make much noise, not anywhere near so much noise as the women I've heard at wrestling matches in Baltimore.

"The men dragging on the rope were all in their thirties, I should say. They weren't young fellows. And they were all pretty well dressed. They weren't farm hands in overalls. As they ran and dragged, they kept whooping it up in a way I can't describe. It wasn't funny—I mean, it wasn't in fun.

"When they strung the negro to the tree they kept yanking the body up and down, up and down, letting it strike the ground, and then yanking it up again. Each time they yanked the howl would go up again and somebody'd yell, 'Is he dead yet?'

"I can't tell you how it made me feel, I know I looked up there and saw the negro hanging from the rope in the darkness and I said to myself, 'Are you living in the year 1933?'

"I don't ever want to see anything like it again.

"And, do you know, by midnight there wasn't a soul around. Everything was quiet like Sunday evening. The body was still lying in the middle of the state highway. For about three hours it had been lying there, and for most of that time I saw men and women walk up to it and kick it and step on it and walk away—a regular stream of 'em.

"The state police were pretty sore when they had to go get the body and hide it so the souvenir hunters wouldn't get at it. . . .

White Press, Southern.

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Telegraph 11-4-33

Macon Ga.

PROVOCATION WAS GREAT

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

I have lived in Richland four years and think I know the people here pretty well. Had you known all the facts in the case I am sure that you would not have written the editorial, Another Stigma on Georgia. You are no more strongly opposed to mob violence than I am, but your editorial does the people of Richland an injustice.

A fearless officer was off duty after his work of the night. He was called to a section of town inhabited by Negroes. Upon his arrival he found that a Negro girl had been attacked by an ex-convict. This Negro convict was on parole and under the supervision of the officer who had gone to arrest him. Knowing that his arrest meant the chain gang and a new sentence, he seized a piece of iron and made a savage attack upon the officer. Seven severe wounds were made on the head of the officer and he was left for dead. An alarm was sounded by the Negroes of the section and a capture made. Chief Marshall almost had to kill the Negro in making the arrest. However, he was overpowered and placed in the city jail.

After the Negro had been placed in jail, Chief Marshall went to see about his fellow-officer Bruce, who was thought to be fatally wounded. It was during this excitement that the Negro was taken by a crowd, severely beaten, and set free. When the sheriff arrived he found the Negro and took him to the county jail. He died later in the day.

No town in Georgia can boast a more efficient set of officers than Richland has. Officer Bruce is, I think, the best officer I ever knew, and I can easily see how such an attack under the circumstances could arouse a small town populace.

This is no attempt to justify the act of the men who took the Negro from jail. Had they wished to do so, they certainly could have killed him. That they molested him is to be deplored but there was greater provocation than was indicated in your editorial. That the Negro was taken from jail in broad open daylight is no reflection on our officers. Mr. Bruce was at the point of death. Chief Marshall had made the arrest, notified the sheriff, and was assisting with his fellow-officer. We are able to keep no large force of men for police duty and when occasions like this happen, it is just too bad. We regret them, but cannot prevent them.

I am writing to give you all the facts that I have, and to assure you that Richland is as anxious as you are to have a law respecting people. J. M. LANIER.

Richland.

TAMPA, FLA.
TRIBUNE

NOV 4 1933

Much Ado In Maryland

Maryland is having a veritable upheaval, the result of the lynching of a negro rapist. The negro criminally assaulted a white woman, 71 years old. Captured, he confessed, was beaten, hacked and burned to death by a mob which stormed the county jail, overpowered the guards and militia and well-nigh wrecked the jail. Governor Ritchie literally "read the riot act" to all the officers involved. Despite the savagery and brutality of the negro's crime, public sentiment appears to have been aroused by the action of the mob and the non-resistance of the constabulary, and the state press is outspoken in demanding identification and prosecution of the mob leaders and participants and removal of the officers. But that's a hard thing to do. It has been done in very rare instances, either in the South or North.

The mob shouted as added provocation for its execution of summary justice upon the rapist the case of Euel Lee, a negro murderer, whose punishment had been deferred more than two years by delays of the courts, through a fight for the negro conducted by the Communistic International Labor Denfense—the same organization which was active in the Scottsboro case. But Lee finally got his deserts and was hanged last Friday. Rioting was threatened at his burial, and Judge O'Dunne in issuing an injunction against interference with the burial, used this strong language:

> In view of the recent exhibition of the failure of the state constabulary, armed as they were, to understand the object of their creation and the purpose for which they are sent out for the enforcement of law and order against mob violence if interposed, I need hardly remind of the right of the Sheriff, in case of need, to summon the entire citizenship of the community as the posse comitatus and compel them to act for all intents and purposes as Deputy Sheriffs in case of need in the preservation of law and order, and that sidearms are made to shoot with and not intended as mere official ornament and decoration.

The Eastern Shore Marylanders who killed the rapist were aggravated both by the heinous nature of the crime and other cases of the law's delay in punishing criminals. But the circumstances of the case showed a notable lack of protection given the prisoner by officers—and that is mainly responsible for the indigination of the Maryland populace in general and the determination of the Governor not to permit the incident to go without official action.

PETERSBURG, VA.
PROGRESS-INDEX

NOV 4 1933

Anti-Lynching Laws

GOVERNOR RITCHIE announces that he will ask the Maryland legislature, which meets in special session in a few days, to consider the enactment of a statute providing for the punishment of lynchers. This action on Governor Ritchie's part is the result of the recent lynching in Maryland.

A great many States have enacted laws aimed at lynchings, but lynchings still occur in all such States. A dispassionate study leads to the conclusion that such legislation has little effect in so far as reducing the number of lynchings is concerned.

Punishment is seldom meted out for lynchings when the lynchers are supported by local public sentiment. No statesman has yet devised a law which has had the effect of changing this condition.

For years we have contended that the one certain cure for lynching was the elimination of delays in the processes of the courts. A few days after the recent Maryland lynching a Negro was hanged in that State after having been convicted many months ago. There seems to have been no kind of doubt of his guilt, yet his counsel succeeded in postponing execution of the sentence until the case almost had passed from memory. We never shall know just how far this delayed administration of justice influenced the mob to take justice in its own hands the other day in the case of the young Negro charged with criminal assault upon an aged woman.

GREENSBORO, N. C.
NEWS

OCT 11 1933

THE WILL AND THE WAY.

The Daily News hastens to make its manners to authorities of Greenwood county, South Carolina, for the vigor, alacrity and apparently the success, although there is no disposition to pre-judge anybody or to discount the difficulty of obtaining a conviction in a lynching case, with which they acted in the wake of the lynching, call it murder if you wish, of Bennie Thompson, youthful negro, who was taken from jail at Ninety-Six and beaten to death on the roadside.

Within less than 24 hours after discovery of the negro's mutilated body, Burley Leppard, textile worker, and one of the quartet whom he implicated, were in jail and officers, with the identity of the other two alleged slayers known, were reported to be hot on their trail. Authorities likewise announced that indictment of the Ninety-Six chief of police, charged by Leppard with having let the four into jail, where they seized the negro, will be asked as an accessory to the killing.

Leppard was arrested when blood was discovered on his automobile. Suspicion must have been strongly directed towards him from the beginning, however, as he was one of the members of a group with whom the negro was alleged to have had trouble at a cafe on the preceding night and who had sworn out the warrant which led to Thompson's arrest.

Developments in the Greenwood county lynching are all the more significant in view of the fact that it paralleled a similar South Carolina occurrence some months ago when a negro, arrested upon charges growing out of a disagreement and fight with a group of white men at a picnic, was taken from jail and murdered. At that time Governor Blackwood issued a

stereotyped statement, which must be stuck away in the offices of most southern governors awaiting issuance if and when a lynching occurs, deploring the crime and promising a thorough investigation. Press reports received in this neck of the woods have afforded no indication, however, that subsequent developments ever progressed beyond the investigational stage. If they had, the current entry might not have been available for the books.

The vigorous action taken in Greenwood county not only stands as additional evidence that law enforcement, in its highest sense, is determined largely by the will of individual officers but as a forcible reminder that it is going to take far more than superficial statements and blind-alley investigations to curb the lynching evil.

HOUSTON, TEX.
PRESS

NOV 4 1933

PROBLEMS OF NEGRO TAKEN UP

Lynchings and the Health of Race Discussed at Gathering

A discussion of lynchings and of various health problems was scheduled for the closing session of the Texas Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation Saturday. The commission is holding its meetings in the First Methodist Church.

The convention opened Friday afternoon. Robert E. Jones of New Orleans, negro bishop, was one of the speakers at a night session.

An address on Local Health Problems was to be delivered Saturday afternoon by Dr. A. E. Greer of Houston.

The commission also will act formally Saturday on the nomination of J. L. Clark of Huntsville for chairman of the commission to succeed R. M. Woods. Mr. Woods declined to stand for re-election.

Lynching Problem

The lynching discussion was begun Friday in the white men's group meeting.

"If we lived in a jungle where there was no law, there might be some excuse for men taking the law into their own hands," Dr. A. D. Wright of Virginia, administrator of two negro educational funds, said. "Otherwise, I can't see any."

"The commission takes the position that we can't settle any of our differences by fighting," Mr. Woods said. "We must have education and tolerance."

The white men and women of the South hold the answer to the problems of the negro, Jones told the commission Friday night.

Praise Patriotism

He praised the staunch patriotism of the American negro but warned his audience that communism is endangering the freedom and democracy of 12,000,000 negroes of this country.

Chairman Woods spoke at length on the need in Texas of a state-supported tuberculosis hospital for negroes.

The need of a state home for delinquent negro girls also was brought up at the meeting. The only thing authorities can do now with such cases is either to keep the girls in jail or turn them loose, there being no adequate facilities such as exist for handling of delinquent white children and negro boys.

The Inter-racial Co-operation Commission was founded in 1919 to promote social justice and a better understanding between the races. About 300 persons, many of them negroes, are in attendance.

ANNISTON, ALA.
STAR

NOV 5 1933

TUSCALOOSA LYNCHINGS CHARACTERIZED MURDER

It is fortunate that the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation, which is composed entirely of Southern men of outstanding character, got to Tuscaloosa and made their study into the causes of the recent lynchings near that city before the arrival of the delegation that has just gone to the Druid City from New York. The former commission is interested only in ascertaining the truth and in promoting the end of social justice. The New York crowd, on the other hand, may be regarded as interlopers and as being tinctured with a communistic hue. Especially is this true in view of the fact that the Southern commission has found that a hysterical fear of communism was one of the causes leading to the crimes that have given Tuscaloosa such a black eye.

Dr. Arthur Raper of Atlanta, an experienced sociologist and an author of note, who was at the head of the fact-finding body that visited Tuscaloosa, has found that most of the victims of the mob's frenzy very probably were innocent of the crime with which they were charged. Hence, he designates the offenses as unmitigated murder and his commission calls upon the Supreme Court and the Governor of Alabama to take action against the authorities that failed to bring the guilty persons to justice. In this respect, however, he exempts Judge Henry B. Foster from blame; for the facts undoubtedly prove that Judge Foster exercised extreme caution in his effort to prevent the lynchings and gave two vigorous charges to the grand jury that was empanelled to investigate the cases.

It was not fear of communism alone, however, that led to these crimes. They are the result of a secret society that feeds on race prejudice, it is said, and which seeks to deny the Negro economic justice. This, if true, is an unfortunate state of affairs; for just so long as the Negro is denied economic equality he becomes a burden to the white race as an unproductive citizen and retards the development of this section. Public sentiment should stand squarely behind such a commission as that which is headed by George Fort Milton of Chattanooga and directed by Dr. Raper, for racial discrimination that leads to persecution of the Negro can contribute to no good end. It was said many years ago when the Christians were being persecuted that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." That became true and every drop of Negro blood that is unjustly shed will lead to foreign intermeddling in our affairs and become the seed of communism in the South.

Baltimore Conference Will Launch Fight to End Lynching, Says Moore

Facts on Terror to Be Presented at Public Hearing in Baltimore

New York

BALTIMORE, Nov. 14.—The New Albert Auditorium at 1224 Pennsylvania Ave., has been secured for the Public Hearing and Anti-Lynching Conference in this city on Nov. 18 and 19.

Out-of-town delegates are requested to register with the Arrangements Committee at 418 Druid Hill, Ave.

11-16-33

By HELEN KAY

Daily Worker

NEW YORK.—"We'll put a stop to lynching," declared Richard B. Moore, General Secretary of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, yesterday at the offices of that organization at 2162 Seventh Ave., "by forging a mighty alliance of Negro and white workers and all honest intellectuals against the lynchers."

Moore, who has just returned from a nation-wide tour for the Scottsboro boys, facing a new lynch trial on Nov. 27 and threats of an organized lynching conspiracy, is busy making arrangements for the Public Hearing and delegated conference to be held in Baltimore, Md., on Nov. 18 and 19.

Indicts Lynch Lords

"The open campaign led by ruling class officials of the state of Alabama to lynch the nine Scottsboro boys at the approaching trial, together with the horrible lynching of George Armwood in Maryland, and the legal murder of Euel Lee, is evidence of a ruthless and growing murder campaign to crush Negro organization and struggle, "declared Moore in a biting indictment of the oppression of his race and class.

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights will gather together delegated representatives of many and varied organizations, in Baltimore, Maryland, the state where Armwood was lynched, to lay the basis for the further rallying of the toiling masses to an organized and militant fight against such forms of ruling class bestiality.

The Executive Board of the L. S. N. R. met last Saturday and discussed the plans and perspectives for this conference.

Public Inquiry On Lynchers

"At this conference plans for a nation-wide investigation and scathing indictment of those increasing lynch murders, whether legal or extra-legal, will be outlined," Moore declared. "An important feature of the conference will be the public inquiry into the lynching of Armwood to further establish the collusion of county and state officials as of all others responsible. At this inquiry, a tribunal of workers and intellectuals will be set up to hear the testimony and pass judgment on the lynchers."

The glaring facts exposed by the Daily Worker and the Baltimore Afro-American on the horrible lynch-

Public Inquiry Nov. 18 Into Lynching of Armwood

ing of this innocent worker and the detailed account of Governor Ritchie's refusal to order his removal from Princess Anne, or to order out troops to protect him, will be brought to the fore at the Public Hearing.

Tuscaloosa Delegation to Report

The delegation of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, now investigating the lynchings in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, will stop off in Baltimore to report at the Public Hearing its findings in the Alabama terror.

"Plans to broaden the scope of this inquiry on a national basis, and to publish the findings in order to expose before the whole world the brutal character of the fascist lynch violence now raging against the Negro masses will be one of the duties of the conference," declared Moore in reporting the decisions of the Executive Board.

"We intend to set forth the facts of the horrible persecution and murder of the Negro people in the same manner as the 'Brown Book of Hitler Terror' exposes the atrocities of the Nazis and their responsibility for the Reichstag arson, as brought out in the hearings before the International Committee investigating the Reichstag fire and Hitler terrorism.

Plan Nation-Wide Fight On Terror

"This inquiry and exposure will be the basis for the development of a broad, organized campaign against lynching, for open resistance of white and Negro toilers to the lynchings, and for the death penalty for all lynchers. It will serve to intensify the struggle against the whole system of national and social oppression which breeds lynching.

"The League of Struggle for Negro Rights calls upon all workers, honest intellectuals, all human beings who are courageous enough to stand up against this ferocious savagery, in the midst and in the name of so-called civilization and upon all the organizations of every character to rally to the support of the anti-lynching conference by sending as many delegates as possible.

"Let this conference be the beginning of a militant, determined struggle which will effectively halt the murderous rising lynch terror."

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4028

Mobile, Ala., Register
October 16, 1933

DENOUNCES LYNCHING
(Anniston Star.)

Forceful, determined and with no hint of compromise was Dr. Henry M. Edmond's sermon Sunday in denunciation of the recent lynchings in Alabama and in the south and if the advice of the Birmingham minister is heeded we shall, in a large measure, rid the southland of the stench of these inexcusable murders. Cold blooded murders they are, for such deaths can be called by no other term.

Dr. Edmonds, pastor of the Independent Presbyterian church of Birmingham, made the following state- general counsel of the Louisville and Nashville, will be the guest of the Chamber of Commerce in Mobile November 6, while here to deliver an address on the problem of the railroads. A committee composed of S. A. LeBlanc, R. J. Milling, Leon Schwarz, R. L. Marshall, Frank Lyon, G. D. Lining, and Steele Partridge, has been appointed to make arrangements for the entertainment of the railroad officials."

"Mobile sportsmen were leaving Mobile in large numbers this morning for the dove shooting field of the neighboring countryside in celebration of the opening of the shooting season."

"My conviction is that it costs civilization too much to turn over the work of our courts to young, ignorant, undisciplined, irresponsible, cowardly, non-tax-paying, sadistic, vagrant and self-appointed agents.

"It costs too much to expose men, women, young people and children to the sight of mobs howling, dancing and singing about their mutilated, burning human victims.

"It costs too much to expose possible innocence to a crowd gone crazy, lustful and unreasoning as a forest fire.

"It costs too much to turn madness loose to burn down schoolhouses, hotels, office buildings, jails.

"Of course, the kernel of the matter is it costs too much to relinquish the principle of orderly trial based on evidence."

To those who know the true situation, and it must appear even to the casual reader, that many of the persons slain by ignorant mobs are innocent. If they are guilty of such heinous crimes as to inspire the demand for life, there are few cases on record in which they escape justice in the normal process of court procedure.

Intelligent people everywhere should take lynching seriously to mind, and consider it such a matter of importance that it becomes a personal antagonist, the blot to be wiped from the southern escutcheon.

Aquatic products produced in Japan the last fiscal year totaled 131,662,479 yen.

Norton, Va. Weekly
November 8, 1933

YOUR EDITOR has been named on a committee, mostly Southerners, to investigate the double lynching perpetrated on August 13 near Tuscaloosa, Alabama He will be down there when this is printed.

It seems that the two Negroes—they're always black citizens who get lynched—were first denied legal counsel of their choosing, and that the rejected attorneys were hustled out of town ahead of a lynching party. Although local opinion was admitted by the sheriff to be inflamed, he apparently took no precautions against the lynchings that followed the attempted trial. And there is strong doubt that the Negroes were guilty.

At least, such are the reports. So the committee will seek to interview the judge, the sheriff and other citizens of Tuscaloosa for the purpose of determining responsibility for the lynching.

Maybe your editor will be coming back pronto. You can't tell what may happen to outsiders going where the citizenry is all too fluent with the rope.

* * *

A READER said the other day: "From the way you write about some folks around here it seems you'd be mad at them and not on speaking terms. But I see you talking to them on the street as if nothing had happened. How come?"

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
October 25, 1933

Another Stigma on Georgia

It is never safe to point the finger of scorn at anyone else when it comes to this matter of mob violence.

We were just on the eve of saying that the lynching last week at Princess Anne, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, of a Negro, in circumstances of peculiar atrocity, had justly aroused the indignation of the entire country, and since it was the second lynching in two years at almost the same spot, with no one punished, it was time for the Maryland authorities to get busy.

But just at that juncture comes the news that a Negro was taken from the city jail, at Richland, Ga., in broad open daylight Monday morning and done to death by a mob.

It appears that the victim of mob law was arrested by a local policeman on a charge of having made an assault upon a ten-year-old Negro girl. Shortly after he was placed in the city lock-up a mob broke the outside lock and made their way to his cell.

The sheriff of the county was notified, and he trailed the mob to a point about two miles from town, where he found the Negro in a wood. He was brought to town and placed in the county jail, where he died of his wounds, having been shot four times and beaten.

The sheriff says he has not been able to learn the identity of any of the mob, "but it was not a large one."

In the Maryland case the newspapers are saying that the immunity of the lynchers, in December, 1931, undoubtedly gave encouragement to the blood-thirsty mob which took Armwood from the Princess Anne jail Wednesday night, hanged him, burned his body to a cinder, dancing around the bonfire with ghoulish cries of ecstacy and distributing pieces of the hangman's rope as gruesome souvenirs.

Tremendous pressure is being brought to bear to punish the guilty in the Maryland case, but the indications are not strong for success. The sheriff was in the jail with the mob. It is not denied that he was really overpowered and perhaps could not have prevented the lynching after the mob got inside. But someone was to blame for bringing the Negro back to Princess Anne after he had once been safely lodged in jail at Baltimore.

It is equally true that the sheriff knows every man in the county, but now he claims that every one in the mob was a complete stranger to him!

The judge of the court made an address to the mob, asking that the law takes its course. He told them that he recognized many of its members as they stood before him.

But he, too, has had a change. He pretends that the mob which did the lynching was not the same mob he addressed a few minutes before.

Any criticism of Maryland on the part of Georgia newspapers would now bring the reply that we had better sweep before our own door.

The Richland case was not accompanied with those peculiarly atrocious acts which characterized the Maryland affair, but on the other hand, what becomes of the old contention about protecting the women of the white race? Certainly it does not in any degree condone the guilt of the attacker that his victim was a Negro girl, but it does take from the lynchers in the Richland case the one excuse so often offered about an "unwritten law" to protect white women.

The state of Georgia deplores this new blot on the state and we shall not assume any holier-than-thou attitude towards Maryland.

Dothan, Ala. Eagle
October 12, 1933

DENUNCIATION IS NOT ENOUGH

Last Sunday Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, of Birmingham, denounced lynchings from his pulpit, part of which follows:

"My conviction is that it costs civilization too much to turn over the work of our courts to young, ignorant, undisciplined, irresponsible, cowardly, non-tax-paying, sadistic, vagrant and self-appointed agents.

"It costs too much to expose men, women, young people and children to the sight of mobs howling, dancing and singing about their mutilated, burning human victims.

"It costs too much to expose possible innocence to a crowd gone crazy, lustful and unreasoning as a forest fire.

"It costs too much to turn madness loose to burn down schoolhouses, hotels, office buildings, jails.

"Of course, the kernel of the matter is it costs too much to relinquish the principle of orderly trial based on evidence."

Which is all very fine and true. But mobs are not interested in costs.

We insist that the best way to control mobs is to rid the courts of delay in trying persons accused of the unspeakable crime. Make arrest sure, trial swift, and penalty, if convicted, certain.

Windsor, N. C. Advance
September 29, 1933

WILL HAVE TO GIVE IT SOONER OR LATER

Negroes in this county are asking for transportation of high school pupils of their race to the two high schools maintained for them in the county. Their request is before the State school authorities at Raleigh for consideration and decision.

The problem of transportation for negro high school students arose several years ago and plagued the county board of education, but was tactfully handled so that the expense of county-furnished transportation was avoided. Unquestionably, the pupils of consolidated Negro schools who live beyond the two-mile limit are entitled under the law to the same transportation facilities that are furnished to the white pupils. Indeed, under the law the Negro children of the State are entitled to educational advantages in every respect equal to those furnished by the State to their white neighbors, since there is no distinction or discrimination between the two races in the general school law. In practice, however, because there has been no demand for it from the Negroes, local boards of education have not consolidated Negro schools and expanded the educational program for the Negro race to any great extent. In this county, with the burden of school costs under the old dual system reaching the breaking point, to have included the Negroes in the consolidation and building program would have made the cost prohibitive.

But two consolidated Negro high schools have been maintained in the county, with the assistance of funds received from the Rosenwald Fund for Negro Education, for those Negro pupils who want school beyond the elementary instruction given in the small schools scattered over the county. To attend these schools the pupils of necessity must board in the communities, Windsor and Powellsville, where they are located, walk to them or have some means of transportation. In the absence of transportation furnished by the county, this has forced a hardship upon a class of people, already hard-pressed economically, who should be given every encouragement possible to lift themselves above their present state educationally and economically.

Generally, they have been patient and have not been insistent in their demands, realizing the impossibility of the county to carry the load of increased expense that furnishing them transportation would entail. With a commendable spirit of cooperation among themselves and setting a praiseworthy example of sacrifice for the sake of education for their children, out of their own meager earnings patrons of these two Negro high schools have for the past two years operated their own busses, paying all expenses and in one or two instances buying the machines. In this they were given encouragement and some assistance by the county board of education, but without committing the county to the policy of furnishing transportation to the Negro schools.

Now the State has taken over maintenance and operation of all school transportation. The Negroes, who have been digging in their own pockets heretofore, are demanding that State provide transportation for them and relieve them of this expense. Sooner or later, there is only one decision that State authorities can make. It would have been the same sooner or later had the local board continued control of the school finances. The law makes no distinction and permits no discrimination between the races in the matter of schooling. The Negroes are showing more and more their wish and ability to improve their condition and their economic status by improving their level of education. When they want schools and demand them, there is nothing to do except to give schools to them as the law provides, which is only just and proper. Encouragement should be given them in their effort to raise themselves out of their present status of ignorance, superstitution and dependence.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
November 23, 1933

Good Work of the Conference

No more important declaration was made by the South Georgia conference of the Methodist church at Brunswick last week than that which stressed the importance of putting an end to lynching. The board of temperance and social service stated that this evil had increased three-fold, and that every educational device that could be brought to bear against it should be used.

Lynching is a species of barbarism, and is so dangerous to every man that none can afford to tolerate it. For the fuel on which lynching feeds is the friendless and helpless today, only to have this insidious disease attack the higher-up tomorrow. It is seed that flowers and flourishes like fire, and is always likely to get out of control.

From 1885 to 1928 there were lynched in the United States a total of 4,321 people; of these 1,051 were white, and 3,260 were Negroes. From 1889 to 1930 Georgia led all the states in lynchings, 463 being the total number; while Mississippi was second with 452.

The Methodist conference urged that Georgias laws be changed so the governor would be vested with plenary power to act when it was necessary to protect prisoners and give them a court trial. This is a highly important recommendation, and should be adopted. Of those lynched in 1931 ten were in the hands of officers, seven were taken from jails, and one from a hospital; two had been released on bail, and one of the victims was hanged and his body burned.

There were 63 instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings; seven of these were in Northern and Western states, and 56 in Southern states; in 51 of the instances guards were increased or the prisoners removed or other precautions were taken. In the 12 other instances armed force was used to repel the lynchers. A total of 91 persons were saved from lynchers in this fashion, 19 of these being white, and 72 Negroes. The offenses charged were murder, and wounding men, attempted rape, (the supposed cause for all lynching) being five.

It has been amply demonstrated that where officers desire to prevent lynching, it can be done. If the governor were given authority to summarily remove an officer who permits a mob to take his prisoner, there would be a disappearance of the lynching evil. Mobs are not going to risk their own lives, and they are not apt to endanger the officers, with whom they are usually friendly.

No man, however powerful and influer is safe unless all men are safe. The lyncl once they get the taste of blood, become a l less band that will assemble for righting wrongs, holding their own courts (such as they are), and deciding on who has a right to live and what punishment shall be meted out. The greatest evil, though, is the fact that the accused is convicted before his hearing, and in many instances none is held. He is not permitted to produce witnesses, and the law is a dead letter. The right to a hearing before a court assembled and conducted in orderly fashion is something the forefathers fought strenuously through centuries to obtain, and no man who has half appreciation of what this means will lightly jeopardize it.

The conference wrought wisely in dedicating itself to an effort to remove the lynching blot from Georgia's more or less fair name. It is not surprising to see her name at the head of the list of lynchers, while she is at the bottom educationally.

Lynchings - 1933 & Discussions

White Press, Southern.

4029

NEWS
Tuscaloosa, Ala.
SEP 14 1933

To Prevent Lynching, Remove The Cause

LYNCH LAW has not returned to Alabama, one swallow does not make a summer, yet only the blind can fail to see the impending danger. What to do about it is the question. To shower abuse upon the community in which a lynching occurs is not the cure. To berate and abuse is not enough, to deplore and condemn leads nowhere. To demand a goat is but a sop. Glib writers may squall their heads off shouting "shame," but that won't get us anywhere. Emulating Don Quixote in a windmill fight is pue bosh and tends only to fan the flames of interracial strife.

To prevent the return of lynch law to Alabama is a problem that should demand the immediate thought and attention of the best thinkers in the state—men who think beyond the end of their tongues or the point of their pens. The records, show that the mere prosecution of lynchers will not do the job, since convictions in the court have been most rare. The running down of the guilty and the successful prosecution of them has always been an exceedingly difficult thing to accomplish, and the occasional punishment meted out to offenders has little effect upon future mobs, for the simple reason that when men become so enraged as to take part in a lynching they are too enraged to count or care what the cost might be. To prevent the return of lynch law the people must face the truth as it is; they must take into account human naturt as it is, rather than than as we would like it to be.

Some of the boys who write for the newspapers can sit down in front of their typewriters and tell the people how to go about the job—just like that. We confess we can't, but we have some ideas about the matter that may, or may not, be worth something. We who write editorials in little cities like Tuscaloosa and in the smaller towns live pretty close to all the people. We hobnob with the bankers, the preachers, the merchants, the farmers, the taxi drivers, and politicians, the pool room boys, the lounge lizzards, the golf players, the professors, the carpenters, the bankers, the candle stick makers and the crap shooters. We don't pretent to know more about everything under the sun than they do but we do get a pretty good idea about their thoughts and reactions.

During these last few weeks we have been in the thick of things here in Tuscaloosa and we know a few of the causes which contributed to the lunching of Dan Pippan and A. T. Harden.

The brutishness of the foul murder of Vaudine Maddox sent a shudder through the people of this entire section. Damaging evidence pointed an accusing finger at Harden and Pippen who confessed and implicated Clark. When a few days later a number of young hot-heads from the community in which the murder occurred made a demonstration in front of the courthouse. Judge Foster and sheriff Shamblin convinced them that they were doing wrong and the gang broke up. The case was docketed for trial. Relatives of the negroes employed able young counsel. The prosecution was apparently in the hands of our conscientious young assistant solicitor, William J. Foster, and the people went on about their business—giving no more thought to the case.

About one week before the case was to come to trial, out of a clear sky came the news that the International Labor Defense would inject itself into the case. At first interested, then alarmed and finally incensed, Tuscaloosa looked on as these carpet-baggers of 1933, "belled buzzards" from the east, swooped down upon us.

Tuscaloosa had followed the Scottsboro case closely. We knew these confessed rapists had been defended by the same crowd—justice delayed, and prosecution witnesses gradually disappearing through what looked like thrickery and bribery. Our people knew that one of the principal prosecuting heroine of Harlem. They knew that Morgan and Jackson counties were being bankrupted by the cases. They had seen the wrath of the radicals leveled at the heads of the governor and other constituted authorities of the state and counties. They were apprehensive lest the Scottsboro case be repeated at Tuscaloosa. Two years or more ago, three young white women of Birmingham were forced by a negro man to drive into the woods at the outskirts of the city; only one lived to tell the horrible tale of rape and murder. The perpetrator of that crime has long since been identified by the only living person who could possibly identify him, but the case has not been disposed of.

Deep in the southern white mans breast is the determination that rape and murder of white women shall not go unpunished. Though lax in many ways, easy going in manner and speech, kindly by nature and honorable by instinct, the southern white man becomes a raging lion when alien hands are laid upon the women of his race.

The facts in the case of the foul murder of Vaudine Maddox had become pretty well known, and so when the day of the trial came few people really believed that the ILD lawyrs would appear upon the scene, but when they did actually appear, indignation swept the city—spread over the county and out through west Alabama. A large crowd gathered in the streets around the courthouse. Orderly in every move, curious, perplexed and indignant, the throng showed no sign of mob violence. With suppressed anger they saw the frightened Communists escorted to the railway station and out of the city.

Tuscaloosa was again ready to dismiss the case from its mind with the feeling that having been ruled out of the case the ILD would return no more. Tuscaloosa was glad that the court had appointed the ablest of counsel to assist in the defense of the negroes. Tuscaloosa wanted Pippen and Harden to have a fair trial, but Tuscaloosa did not want outsiders to come in and make a show place of our courts, obstruct justice and make another Scottsboro case with all of its attendant notoriety. Judge Foster reset the case for trial. A few days later Constable King picked up a negro agent for the ILD, sent here to get money from local negroes and a contract for the defense that would permit the radicals to re-enter the case. The negro agent broke down and told the whole story—how he had been here before and collected money from Tuscaloosa negroes. The names of many prominent negroes were divluged by him. Authorities tried to keep the information quite but it leaked out. It was proof that in spite of the efforts of many of the leading negroes to save the situation, members of their race were actually aiding ILD and the ILD lawyers let it be known that they WERE coming back.

Resentment against the "belled buzzards" from the north and against their negro aides steadily grew. It reached the bursting point. Leading citizens of the town were constantly in conference, striving to avert disaster. It was apparent to every one that the arrival of the ILD lawyers again would be a signal for bloodshed. Alarm was everywhere. Feeling was at a high pitch. The National Guard was in summer camp at Anniston, but would be home before the day of the trial. All thought of the best minds of Tuscaloosa was to avert an outbreak on the day of the trial. Fed had any thought that there would be an overt act before the ILD lawyers appeared. August 22nd was being looked forward to with dread and fear. If those lawyers came, nothing but a miracle could prevent trouble. Pippen, Harden and Clark apparently were forgotten. A race riot of terrible consequences appeared not only possible but almost certain.

The storm broke. Out of a clear sky came the news that a mob had formed, taken the three negroes from deputy sheriffs and shot two of them to death.

Lynching is a horrible thing. The lynching of Pippen and Harden was a horrible thing—so is rape and murder a horrible thing, and as long as we have rape and murder there will be a danger of lynching. Delay in bringing to justice the perpetrators of rape and murder surely contributes to lynching. The preaching of social equality in the south surely contributes to lynching. Glib writers openly defending those accused of defending those accused of rape or murder are surety contributors to lynching.

When a man is sick the doctor looks for the cause and seeks to remove it from the system. So it is with lynching. Raging cries of abuse and shouts of "shame" do not go deep enough. The cause must be removed.

In the state of Alabama wise and vigorous effort must be made to prevent the return of lynch law. Our largest city, Birmingham, is a regular cesspool of crime, fourth largest murder city in America. There the nests of Communists flourish, to reach out into communities like Tuscaloosa with their slime to breed discord and bloodshed. Birmingham officials and Birmingham newspapers can help far more by cleaning up their town own and driving the Communists from their borders than in any other way—certainly far more than by denouncing and abusing other communities.

The responsibility of preventing the return to Alabama of lynch law is the responsibility of every man within the borders of the state. It is the responsibility of every officer of the law to apprehend the lawbreaker. It is the responsibility of every judge to see that a fair but speedy trial of the accused is held. It is the responsibility of every prosecutor vigorously, honestly and speedily to collect his evidence, prepare his case and go before the court to demand justice. It is the responsibility of every defense lawyer to secure for his client a fair and honest trial without unnecessary delay.

Upon the whole people falls the stern duty of awakening to the menacing situation and filling all public offices with men of known quantity, men of real character and ability. Men who not only have, but by their record will hold, the confidence and respect of the people.

Finally, the best thinkers among the whites and the blacks must work harder than ever to lead their people into an harmonious relationship. We are here together. We must live together in peace and understanding.

Lynch law is an awful thing. It must not be allowed to return after all these years of exile. It will not if every person does an honest part—if every official plays an honest role, every preacher delivers only honest sermons, if every newspaper writes with an honest purpose ignoring the temptation of eastern plaudits or eastern prizes.
—The Tuscaloosa News.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
NEWS
SEP 1 3 1933

Why We Still Have Lynchings In The South

The Birmingham News prints herewith a letter which it is very loath to publish. The writer of the letter not only condones the barbarous crime of lynching, but upholds it, approves it, and even, in effect, demands its practice. We publish the letter only in order to reply to it, first apologizing to readers for offending their sensibilities by the injection of so abhorrent a viewpoint and such intemperate and inflammatory language into these columns.

To The News it is a shocking and an utterly deplorable thing that this could have been written by any Alabamian, much less by an educated man who has standing and is respected in his community:

To the Editor The News:

The persistent attempts of The News, through its editorial columns, to arouse sympathy for the vile black rapist by picturing his mental sufferings in dreading summary punishment at the hands of outraged white men (dubbed "the mob"), and the studied indifference to the shame and sufferings of his white-woman victim, calls for the severest condemnation of white men who deem protection of virtuous women worthy of all effort. While The News devotes columns, almost daily, to excoriation of white men who would bring swift and exemplary punishment upon the black beast that commits this intolerable crime against those whom white men hold dearest, there is entire absence of sympathy for the white victims of the brutal Negro's lust and savagery. Nowhere is there to be found a line of regret for the horrible crime, or sympathy for the unfortunate victim and her relatives; nor a single word of warning to the roving black beasts that lie in wait (unrestrained by law) to prey upon weak and defenseless women with an outrage worse than death itself!

Instead, we find a coddling commiseration for the black beast that despoils white womanhood; a rejoicing when safety for him is found behind prison bars, and bitter denunciation for white men who would put a stop to such crimes by removing the cause—promptly putting to death the vile black beast that, alone of all races, is prone to commit such outrages against white women. This particular crime is without provocation that may attend uncontrollable anger, and is inexcusable in the sight of God! Borrow a Bible and find out what God Almighty says about dealing with this particular crime, when committed by one of the woman's own race—how much more severely He would condemn the black beast who violates a white woman! Turn to the twenty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, and read that God decrees the rapist shall be "stoned to death by the people" (not the elders or judges, corresponding to our courts of law)—"the mob," as the mulatto-minded press of Alabama so scathingly describes those avengers, acting under the will of God, to rid the land of the vilest form of pollution possible to imagine!

If the press of Alabama, and other Southern states, will use half of the editorial space now devoted to sympathy for the Negro rapist to condemnation of that particular crime which incites white men to lynching (as God directs), and the other half to warning the Negro that he must keep hands off the white women of the South, there will be more done to stop lynching than all the hysteria over punishment (miscalled "vengeance") meted out where the law is impotent to protect the weak. Respect between the citizens of a state and its laws should be mutual, reciprocal, and respect should not be demanded for a law which fails to protect the white women of Alabama against the roving black beast that the law is impotent to control. Yes, lynching must stop; but the way to stop it is to remove the cause!

When the skulking Indian savage slew white women and children, their men-folks wrought sure and terrible punishment—approved by history. Why should not similar action prevail against the skulking savage Negro beast who imposes worse-than-death upon innocent, defenseless white women? When the law restrains these black beasts from roving at will and lying in wait to despoil white women, then it will be time for this law to demand respect from white men. Until the law proves able to protect our white women against attacks from the black beast, it is certain that such cases will continue to be handled in the God-ordained court of Judge Lynch—interracial organizations and a mulatto-minded press to the contrary notwithstanding.

DEMPS A. ODEN.

Childersburg, Ala.

(Copy to Gov. Miller.)

Here we have the reason, in the last analysis, why lynchings still take place in the South. It is because such men as Mr. Demps A. Oden give lynching their sanction. It is because such men as Mr. Oden, occupying positions of influence and respectability in the lives of their communities, condone what should be condemned.

Men like Mr. Oden would hardly be found participating in a lynching mob themselves. But the knowledge that such men approve of this brutal and hideous practice spurs the actual lynchers on, and at the same time inevitably lessens the effectiveness of law in the effort to prevent this crime or to bring the guilty ones to justice after a lynching has been committed; for public opinion must stand solidly behind a law if it is to be observed and enforced.

There are many men in Alabama like Mr. Oden—and that is why The News believes that some good may come from exposing his viewpoint, as unpleasant as it is to do so, and meeting it with a reasoned appeal to intelligence and civilized decency. It is true that men like Mr. Oden are greatly in the minority in Alabama and in other Southern states; but numerically they are many, and their influence is felt. If it were not for the fact that a small body of public opinion supports them in their slinking, dastardly acts, mobs would not dare to defy the law and commit their crimes against society.

Mr. Oden defends the **right** to lynch. That is an astounding thing. Yet it is because some men hold that it is **right** to lynch, even though they would not stoop to it themselves, that others, more ignorant and more bestial, believing them, go forth and kill.

What **right** has any group of men to lynch any man, in a civilized society governed by laws? Most people will readily deny that there is any **right** to lynch, and will require no proof. But let us examine the question from several standpoints.

If lynching were **right**, could we not expect, on a question so simple and clear-cut, to find a majority public opinion supporting that view? Yet all the evidence will show that the majority opinion holds that lynching is wrong. For example, in all the states, legislatures representative of the popular will have enacted laws proclaiming lynching a crime and providing for its punishment. Grand juries, likewise representative of the public, act whenever they can to bring lynchers to justice, and strongly condemn the practice in any case. No legislature or no grand jury could be found a majority of whose members would uphold lynching. Again, the press, reflecting public opinion, is practically a unit in denouncing lynchings, wherever they occur. There can be no doubt that the majority public opinion everywhere in this country opposes lynching; it is only a small minority opinion that upholds it, and a still smaller minority that practices it.

What **right** has any mob to take the law into its own hands, and act as prosecutor, jury, judge and executioner all in one? There could be no impartial fairness in such a proceeding, and what is unfair cannot be right. We have laws and courts to administer justice, and they are reasonably efficient. There is no necessity for so-called mob "law."

Mr. Oden says the "court of Judge Lynch" is "God-ordained." He quotes from the Bible to show that it is **right** in the sight of God to lynch a rapist. The Bible also sanctions the burning of witches, but we daresay that even Mr. Oden does not believe in witch-burning. "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," says Exodus 22:18, and as a consequence of that command accredited to God, but long since discredited by common sense and human feeling, many thousands of innocent, helpless unfortunates were burned to death during some of the dark centuries in the world's history. No more should common sense and human feeling tolerate lynching on Biblical grounds.

Mr. Oden believes also that because the early white men in this country "wrought sure and terrible punishment" on the savage Indians, we Southerners are justified in lynching Negroes. But there is no comparison between taking men from the hands of the law to lynch them, and fighting Indians in a pioneer region where there was no organized society and no law worthy of the name. At least, the Indians had an opportunity to fight back.

The slanders about the "studied indifference" of The News to the suffering of a rapist's victim and the "mulatto-minded press of Alabama" hardly deserve notice. The sensitivity of any person to such an outrage requires no stressing; in any tragedy of that kind sympathy is taken for granted. And as for the attitude of the Alabama press toward lynching, it is to the eternal credit of the influential newspapers of this state, and of the South, that they have not merely stood virtually united against the practice, but that they have so vigorously championed the cause of law and order and opposed all forms of mob violence.

Lynching has never yet curbed any sort of crime. In the nature of things it cannot, because, being a criminal act itself, it only tends to break down all law and order. Lynching is anarchy in action. At one time there were as many as 24 lynchings in Alabama in a single year—in fact, that number in two successive years, 1891 and 1892. Does anyone believe that conditions were improved by those lynchings? Does anyone believe that there was less of crime and outrage in Alabama then than there was, for example, during the 10-year period ending with 1932, when six of the 10 years were free of lynchings, and there was only one lynching in each of the other four?

Let all who may be inclined to believe as Mr. Oden believes remember that white men as well as Negroes are lynched; there were, in fact, many years in this country's history when more white men by far were lynched than Negroes. Let them remember that far more lynchings are committed for other crimes than for rape. And let them remember it has been definitely ascertained that sometimes innocent persons have been the victims of mob violence. When this form of anarchy prevails, it does not matter what may be a man's race or color, what the nature of the crime of which he is suspected, or whether he is guilty or innocent. If the viewpoint of Mr. Oden were generally held, no man could count himself safe; we would have a repetition of the injustice and cruelty of the witch-burning era, when the identity of the next victim depended on nothing more than the whim of the mob.

As long as people upheld the **right** to burn witches, thousands of innocent men and women were tortured to death each year—and the grand total of victims was a frightful number.

It is only a few years since Alabama was outraged by a series of brutal floggings. Then there were those who upheld the **right** to flog. Public opinion arose in indignation, and the **right** to flog ceased to be a question. Then the flogging evil disappeared.

As long as there are men like Mr. Oden who uphold the **right** to lynch, there will be lynchings. We will have no more lynchings in the South when there is no appreciable body of public opinion left which defends the **right** to lynch.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions

White Press, Southern.

4030

RALEIGH, N. C.
NEWS OBSERVER

AUG 19 1933

ALABAMA AROUSED?

Discouraging to lovers of justice in the South as seems to be all the news that comes out of Alabama, there is at least one encouraging note in the fact that the newspapers of Alabama, far from condoning the recent horrible lynching there, express the shame which all decent men and women of Alabama feel for this brutal mockery of its justice.

"Alabama stands disgraced in the eyes of the civilized world," declared *The Birmingham News* in its leading editorial on the day following the lynching. "Shame of the blackest dye has been brought on this State."

The editorial adds:

Most Alabamians feel this shame deeply. All enlightened, law-abiding citizens of this State are as outraged over this horrible affair as anyone could be. Indeed, such Alabamians, and that means by far the great majority, of course, are more outraged than any others could possibly be, for it is their State whose name has been blackened, and they will not be spared from the reproach of the rest of the world.

It will be unjust for those who deplore this outrage more deeply than any outsider could to be held up to scorn because they are citizens of the State where this crime was committed. But that is an inevitable consequence of a lynching. People elsewhere will not understand that this atrocity was the act merely of a few hot-heads, a small band of barbarians. Others will not understand that the vast body of this State's citizens not only do not condone this piece of savagery, but that they are profoundly shocked and grieved at this act of violence.

But that is the penalty that the many must pay for the lawlessness of a few.

There is never any excuse for lynching. This lynching was particularly reprehensible, in view of many circumstances. That is to say that recently law and order in Alabama has been on trial in the eyes of the rest of the country—whether justly or not, justice in Alabama has been on trial—and at this time of all times every Alabamian should have been temperate and restrained in feeling.

The crime cannot be undone. But every effort should be made to apprehend the guilty ones and bring them to justice.

The News, of course, is right. Decent citizens neither in Tuscaloosa nor Birmingham regard a lynching with anything but horror. Decent citizens do not lynch or kill defenseless Negroes. But that is the lowest standard of decency, a negative standard. Decent citizens must do more than refrain from acts of indecency. They must, as *The News* has done, denounce the indecent and drive it out of their civilization.

The most horrible feature of the Alabama lynching was not that the crime was committed by "a small band of barbarians," but the fact that the State and its decent citizens had every warning of the ugly mood of "barbarians" and that the State, already on trial in the court of world public opinion, allowed itself to be uncovered in its impotence by "a few hot-heads." Decent citizens and a decent State were slowly aroused in Alabama, but the South and the world will hope that this final atrocity will stir the people and the State out of impotent decency and into a militant decency which will not only punish the perpetrators of the present crime but put the fear of an aroused State into the hearts of "barbarians" for all time to come.

MOBILE, ALA.
REGISTER

AUG 31 1933

JUDGE FOSTER AND LYNCHING

In an exceptionally able and vigorous charge to the grand jury of Tuscaloosa county, in connection with the recent lynching of two negroes, Judge Henry B. Foster, of the circuit court, denounced lynching as "murder," and "mob violence" as "the greatest enemy to the orderly processes of the law." No more ringing appeal for "the orderly processes of the law" has come from the bench of the South recently than may be found in the charge of this fearless Alabama jurist; it should open the way for the indictment, trial and conviction of persons guilty of this offense against the law, and should also again remind critics of Alabama, in all parts of the country, that so far as our courts are concerned, law and order, and justice are as secure in Alabama, and are as fearlessly guarded as in any state of the American Union.

Judge Foster told the grand jury that "mob violence is in itself a crime"; that it "provokes rather than restrains other crimes"; that "it represents not the orderly will of the majority as expressed through the mandates of the law, but the inflamed and irrational hatreds of the few," and he added:

The most extreme form of mob violence is lynching. The taking of the life of a human being without affording him a hearing at the bar of justice is not merely to deprive of him natural rights. It is more. It disrupts the harmonious relationships of the community and results in hatreds that lead to further disrespect of the law and of its normal procedures. It too often results in the growth of antagonistic minorities whose presence creates alarms and fears. It deprives the members of a community of their sense of security and their confidence in the ability of the community to afford every accused individual a fair trial.

Not only so, but Judge Foster asserted that "lynching is an affront to the dignity and sovereignty of the commonwealth," an attack upon the judiciary and other agencies of the law, a relic of the age of barbarism that has no proper place in the economy of enlightened states. Judge Foster's denunciation of lynching is none too strong, for we have laws in this state to square all accounts with law violators, and we have judges and other agencies of the law fearless and honest enough to see to it that the law and justice are not cheated of their dues.

Judge Foster's charge to the grand jury in this Tuscaloosa case should silence at least some of the critics of Alabama who have permitted prejudices, growing out of the Scottsboro case, to lead them to wrong conclusion with respect to law and justice in this state. The law is as secure in Alabama as it is in any state. Judges in Alabama are as fearless, as honest, and as devoted to the great principles of human justice as are judges anywhere in America.

It was a great Alabama jurist and statesman, Thomas Goode Jones, who, as federal judge, urged a federal grand jury to assume jurisdiction in a lynching case on the broad theory that American citizens had been unlawfully deprived of life, in violation of their constitutional rights, and that it was the duty of the federal government to resent and punish the crime. It was an able and a brilliant argument, and a devastating denunciation of lynchings.

Alabama's rceord on this subject of lynching is fairly consistent, so far as our judicial system is concerned, and it is a mean libel of this state for shallow critics to assume that justice is insecure here. Judge Foster's vigorous charge in this Tuscaloosa case, involving members of the negro race, should shame some of the state's slanderers.

RALEIGH, N. C.
NEWS OBSERVER

SEP 3 1933

PENDER'S OPPORTUNITY

Many good citizens of Pender county are much disturbed by the unpleasant publicity which the killing of Dock Rogers, Negro, there last Sunday, has brought to the county. They resent the word "lynching" and defensively urge the hardly less ugly version of the affair that it was not the living Negro but his corpse which was unquestionably lynched by a mob of Pender and Duplin citizens.

There is no reason why good citizens of Pender or the county itself should any longer suffer under unpleasant publicity. At the request of Governor Ehringhaus, who has offered a reward for the apprehension of the "person or persons unknown" who, according to the coroner's jury, killed Rogers, investigation will be begun by Solicitor Woodus Kellum on September 11. Judge E. H. Cranmer, one of the most fearless judges on the bench, will preside over the investigation.

At the hearings before Judge Cranmer good citizens of Pender will have the opportunity to show beyond any doubting that mob violence is as repulsive to Pender as to any section of North Carolina. According to the reports which have come from Burgaw, there were "several hundred citizens" present when Rogers or his body was riddled with the mob's bullets. There should be, therefore, no lack of witnesses to the facts.

From this investigation Pender could only be injured by a reluctance or refusal of the good citizens to help the Governor, the Judge and the Solicitor uphold justice in North Carolina. Any such showing of reluctance would reflect upon Pender as evidence that mob violence there is approved by the citizenship. A whitewash of the affair, if such a thing were possible, as it is not with Judge Cranmer on the bench, would bring deeper discredit both upon the county and the State. The guilty must be found and punished if Pender is to hold its head high among counties where justice is guarded.

The investigation should be welcomed everywhere in the State as an opportunity for demonstration that North Carolina, which has had fewer lynchings than any other Southern State, does not and will not tolerate any violent meddling by mobs with the sovereign justice of its courts.

Birmingham, Ala., News
September 1, 1933

ALABAMA AROUSED?

Discouraging to lovers of justice in the South as seems to be all the news that comes out of Alabama, there is at least one encouraging note in the fact that the newspapers of Alabama, far from condoning the recent horrible lynching there, express the shame which all decent men and women of Alabama feel for this brutal mockery of its justice "Alabama stands disgraced in the eyes of the civilized world," declared The Birmingham News in its leading editorial on the day following the lynching. "Shame of the blackest dye has been brought on this state."

The editorial adds:

> Most Alabamians feel this shame deeply. All enlightened, law-abiding citizens of this state are as outraged over this horrible affair as anyone could be. Indeed, such Alabamians, and that means by far the great majority, of course, are more outraged than any others could possibly be, for it is their state whose name has been blackened, and they will not be spared from the reproach of the rest of the world.
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> It will be unjust for those who deplore this outrage more deeply than any outsider could to be held up to scorn because they are citizens of the state where this crime was committed. But that is an inevitable consequence of a lynching. People elsewhere will not understand that this atrocity was the act merely of a few hot-heads, a small band of barbarians. Others will not understand that the vast body of this state's citizens not only do not condone this piece of savagery, but that they are profoundly shocked and grieved at this act of violence.
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The News, of course, is right. Decent citizens neither in Tuscaloosa nor Birmingham regard a lynching with anything but horror. Decent citizens do not lynch or kill defenseless Negroes. But that is the lowest standard of decency, a negative standard. Decent citizens must do more than refrain from acts of indecency. They must, as The News has done, denounce the indecent and drive it out of their civilization.

The most horrible feature of the Alabama lynching was not that the crime was committed by "a small band of barbarians," but the fact that the state and its decent citizens had every warning of the ugly mood of "barbarians" and that the state, already on trial in the court of world public opinion, allowed itself to be uncovered in its impotence by "a few hot-heads." Decent citizens and a decent state were slowly aroused in Alabama, but the South and the world hope that this final atrocity will stir the people and the state out of impotent decency and into a militant decency which will not only punish the perpetrators of the present crime but put the fear of an aroused state into the hearts of "barbarians" for all time to come.—Raleigh News-Observer.

OBSERVER

Alabama City, Ala.

SEP 7 1933

THE SOUTH ON LYNCHING—

The Literary Digest published an article last week of particular interest to the South. "What Alabama Thinks of Lynching," will go far in rectifying the once prevalent impression held in the North that the South condones its lynching.

The Digest quotes the Montgomery Advertiser apropos of the recent lynching near Tuscaloosa: "There is blood on the great seal of Alabama;" the Tuscaloosa News; "The lynch law was born of ignorance and arrogance"; the Birmingham Age-Herald, "The guilty fall primarily upon those slinking dastards who committed the lynching; they should be hunted down relentlessly"; the Birmingham News, "There is never an excuse for lynching"; and the Huntsville Times, "The excuse that the I. L. D. lawyers caused the lynching is just a screen to cover up cowardice and official delinquency."

On the same page of the Digest appears a photograph of Deputy W. I. Huff of Tuscaloosa and his two guards, from whom the armed lynchers took the negroes. The caption reads: "You don't know how it feels until it happens to you."

The press in Alabama ought not rest from telling "how it feels" until every man and boy among us realizes not only how the Deputy Sheriff feels, but how the prisoners feel in such a catastrophe.

Gadsden, Ala.,
Observer
Sept. 7, 1933

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The press in Alabama ought not rest from telling "how it feels" until every man and boy among us realizes not only how the Deputy Sheriff feels, but how the prisoners feel in such a catastrophe.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
September 3, 1933

THE LEOPARD AND HIS SPOTS

THAT old gag about the leopard's inability to change his spots must be junked for all time.

Witness a Birmingham newspaper. It carries a cartoon—and a very clever cartoon—representing "Fame" as ready to chisel on an immortal monument the name of the unidentified individual who delivered unto the Kingfish that celebrated sock on the head.

Just a few days earlier, that same newspaper busied itself with frantic attempts to indict a people for a deplorable act committed by a handful of men —the lynching of the two Tuscaloosa County negroes.

The newspaper, with lawlessness fuming under its very nose, struck out elsewhere to deliver its tirade against the awful state of lawlessness in Tuscaloosa County. It used strong words and turned to resentment the bitter shame of Tuscaloosa County.

The newspaper wasted no adjectives in its denunciation of lawlessness. It posed as the arch-apostle of all things just and right. Lawlessness could never be condoned, and any attempts to alleviate its pains by pointing to the major contributory factor were so much bosh, so much subterfuge, it said.

But what do we find now? The leopard has changed his spots. The newspaper no longer poses as the personification of justice. It actually condones, and, still more, praises lawlessness.

Huey Long got a sock on the head. We know that Huey's assailant violated the law. We know that he committed assault and battery on the eminent windbag from Louisiana. We know that, rather than a place in Fame's hall, he should be hailed before a court and punished. We know all these things. But we are imperfect. Most of us agree that Huey deserved it, along with a few more punches which he failed to get. Most of us agree that the assailant, as the newspaper suggests, have his name carved in rock for eternity.

But the Birmingham newspaper, which posed as perfect? How can it explain such a lapse? How can it condone and praise lawlessness in any form? How can it accept an explanation that the Kingfish might have incited his assailant to such a pitch that he could no longer control himself? It refused point-blank to grant that there might have been a contributory cause in the Tuscaloosa case which incensed a handful of men to such an extent that they completely lost control of their senses.

These two cases—one a tragedy, the other a comedy —are too far apart to call attention to the fact, thus they make poor comparisons. But at least they might point out to a self-righteous journal that consistency at one time was considered to be a jewel.

Lynchings-1933

White Press, Southern

4031

Discussions.
Birmingham Ala,
News -
July 18-1933

The Tragedy Of Lynching:
Alabama's Record Of Improvement

On the book-page of this newspaper there appeared last Sunday a review of a volume called "The Tragedy of Lynching." In the review, one sentence from the book was quoted: "Mobs and lynchings will ultimately fade from the scenes with the general rise of the cultural level, which alone can provide the basis for the development of a public which will discard these crude methods of group expression."

During the first six months of the present year, no man was lynched in Alabama, no man was taken by a mob of other men and killed. This is a continuation of the unmarred record of last year. There was no lynching in Alabama in 1932; nor was this the first year in which this state's record was unsullied: in six of the last 10 years Alabama has been free of mob killings. There was one fine stretch of four years, beginning with 1926, when the state's record was entirely clean. Then in 1930 it was broken by one lynching and again in 1931 by another; but the tendency has been toward a steady improvement, and for 18 months the state has known no act of mob violence. There was a time in Alabama—back in 1891—when 24 men were lynched in a single year! That time, most fortunately, seems to have passed forever.

Does this mean that at last Alabama has risen to that general cultural level which recognizes the complete tragedy of lynching? Does this mean that at last the men and women of Alabama, having abolished lynching, now come forth clean and fine, ready to lead their state to a higher place at the council of civilized peoples? If it does mean that, then truly we men of this state can walk more erect, can look other men more directly in the eye; for now at last we are rid of a shame that so long has laid so heavily upon us.

There was a time when men of the South thought that society could be protected only by an occasional lynching, a mob killing that served both as punishment to an individual and as warning to a group. Intelligent men no longer believe this; for they have read the proof, submitted by sociologists and social scientists, that in reality lynchings result in direct and indirect money losses to the community in which the lynching occurs, publicity that is of incalculable harm to the community, a lessening of the respect for government, a lowering of the spirit of citizenship, and numerous other anti-social influences that sometimes require decades to counteract.

Intellectually progressive men for years have known the facts about the actual results of lynchings. Now at last it would seem that all men of Alabama understand that a lynching does not properly punish and cannot possibly cure, that it merely boomerangs — economically, socially, politically and spiritually—upon the community and the state in which the lynching is committed.

We of Alabama are pleased that the people of this state have risen to such a general cultural level that no lynching has been committed within our state borders during the last year and a half. We are proud of that record. And we trust—we earnestly trust—that all this year, and that all the years of the future, will pass without ever again this fair state being humbled and brought low by the lyncher.

But trusting is not enough. Regardless of how high the general cultural level of the state may rise, there will always be scattered through society enough psychopaths, men whose particular form of degeneracy is torture and sadism, who will be willing to endanger the whole economic and social structure in order to indulge in a lynching, the most barbaric and therefore to them the most enjoyable expression of their perversion.

Against these unfortunate degenerates, society must guard itself. For its own protection society might well insist upon more stringent and more vigorously enforced laws providing for additional protection for prisoners, providing for the easier apprehension and the unfailing punishment of lynchers. As we of Alabama and of the entire South continue our fine progress, our steady general cultural rise, such laws will, of course, come; but in the meantime we men and women of the South can best serve our section and ourselves by making lynching thoroughly unpopular in every way.

Once the fellow of no social or economic understanding, of small intellectual development, fully realizes that the best people of the South keenly disapprove of lynching, then he, despite the incitation of the psychopath, will be less quick to swagger forth and kill. At present he does it partly as an expression of atavistic inhibitions, proving himself a flower of old Southern culture, a protector of Southern traditions, by gathering several hundred similar ruffians about himself and bravely going forth to burn a man already tied and handcuffed.

As a very distinguished Southern gentleman, a member of a very distinguished Southern family, said recently, "The time has come for us to teach these hoodlums that lynching is no longer popular, that the best people of the South no longer approve of it."

The gentleman is right. The time has come. Therefore, let the best people of the South speak out, making free use of their press, their universities, and any other agencies that stand unreservedly for all those forces that are so hopelessly trodden upon whenever a man is lynched.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
NEWS

JUL 18 1933

The Tragedy Of Lynching:
Alabama's Record Of Improvement

On the book-page of this newspaper there appeared last Sunday a review of a volume called "The Tragedy of Lynching." In the review, one sentence from the book was quoted: "Mobs and lynchings will ultimately fade from the scenes with the general rise of the cultural level, which alone can provide the basis for the development of a public which will discard these crude methods of group expression."

During the first six months of the present year, no man was lynched in Alabama, no man was taken by a mob of other men and killed. This is a continuation of the unmarred record of last year. There was no lynching in Alabama in 1932; nor was this the first year in which this state's record was unsullied: in six of the last 10 years Alabama has been free of mob killings. There was one fine stretch of four years, beginning with 1926, when the state's record was entirely clean. Then in 1930 it was broken by one lynching and again in 1931 by another; but the tendency has been toward a steady improvement, and for 18 months the state has known no act of mob violence. There was a time in Alabama—back in 1891—when 24 men were lynched in a single year! That time, most fortunately, seems to have passed forever.

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GREENVILE, S. C.
NEWS
JUL 13 1933

THE CLINTON "LYNCHING"

South Carolinians are deeply gratified that Governor Blackwood has enlisted the services of two of the state's best detectives and is determined to press the investigation of the so-called "lynching" of Morris Dendy at Clinton unrelentingly until the guilty parties are brought to justice.

While this atrocious deed was originally dubbed a "lynching," it is quite proper and of importance in justice to the community of Clinton that the distinction be made that it was not a lynching in the sense of being the act of a mob, but a plain murder by some three or four people. There is nothing in the case to indicate the development of any mob spirit at Clinton in this connection. Certain persons with murderous intent seized the unguarded negro and killed him. The sooner they can be apprehended and convicted the better it will please the citizenship of this state in general and the citizenship of Clinton in particular.

Marks, Miss. Democrat
July 20, 1933

WOMEN DENOUNCE LYNCHING AND MOBS

Local Leaders Pledge Themselves To Create New Public Opinion In Sunny Southland.

The crime of lynching, which is peculiarly American and identified in particular with the South, is a denial of all that civilization represents. America stands guilty among nations while her people permit it. "Here is reclaiming work for every responsible man and woman," says Mrs. Atwood Martin, of Kentucky, Chairman of Central Council.

This that is shared by thousands of men and women of our nation and has been crystalized into the formation of an association for the prevention of lynching whose purpose is to create sentiment against the evil and in every way possible strive to prevent the practice of mob violence.

In carrying out the spirit of the organization Methodist Church of Sardis-Grenada District at the Second meeting of the 5th Zone, Sardis-Grenada Districts, affixed their names, together with some of the officials of the County to the following Declaration:.

"We declare lynching is an indefensible crime destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved. Though lynchings are not confined to any one section of the United States, we are aroused by the revolt which discloses our heavy responsibility for the presence of this crime in our country. We believe that this record has been achieved because public opinion has accepted too easily the claims of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in the defense of womanhood. In the light of these facts, women dare not longer permit the claim to pass unchallenged nor allow themselves to be the cloak behind which those bent upon personal revenge and savagery commit acts of violence and lawlessness in the name of women. We repudiate this disgraceful claim for all time. In evidence of our purpose we solemnly pledge ourselves to create a new public opinion in the South which will not condone for any reason whatever the acts of mobs or lynchers. We shall teach our children at home, at school, and at church a new interpretation of law and religion; we will assist all officials to uphold their oath of office; and finally we will join with every minister, editor, school teacher, and patriotic citizen in a program of education to eradicate lynching and mobs forever from our land."

Signed,

Mrs. S. M. Walker, Mrs. R. A. Hicks, Mrs. W. A. Moore, Mrs. Andy Moore, Mrs. G. L. Moore, Mrs. W. P. Knight, Crowder.

Mrs. Albert Spencer, Mrs. Jewel H. Porter, Mrs. Tom Durham, Mrs. Tom West, Mrs. E. C. Driskell, Mrs. A. L. Taylor, Mrs. J. P. Dunning, Mrs. D. A. Yarbrough, Mrs. Leroy Ruth, Mrs. J. W. McVey, Mrs. J. P. Walker, Mrs. E. A. McVey, Lambert.

Mrs. T. R. Ferguson, Crowder; Mrs. M. M. Gibson, Jr., Mrs. J. J. Adler, Belen; Mrs. Sue Haguewood, Memphis; Mrs. W. Hudson Sanford, Mrs. R. P. Sorrells, Mrs. G. C. Jones, Mrs. M. E. Wilson, Mrs. V. V. Eason, Mrs. A. A. Pogue, Mrs. J. E. Young, Mrs. Birdie Denton, Mrs. W. J. Self, Marks, W. T. Haynes, Sheriff; W. J. Pettyjohn, Deputy Sheriff; Otis Mitchell, Chancery Clerk.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
July 26, 1933

Defining A "Lynching"

Not long ago, in Clinton, S. C., four white men took a Negro from an insufficiently guarded town jail and killed him. In the telegraphed accounts of the affair it was described as a "lynching," and The Charleston News and Courier makes objection to the use of this term as reflecting upon the town and the county and the state. The editor says that calling such a kidnaping and killing a lynching implies that the deed had popular encouragement; that the assassins should be honored rather than abhorred. He urges that a "lynching" is a pseudo-legal form of punishment no more to be reprobated than the extreme penalties meted out in the West in the old lawless days by the vigilantes. "Whether or not they should be," he says, "lynchers are not held to be quite the vile and infamous creatures that assassins are; a quartet is not a mob; it has not general popular support to justify it in taking the law into its own hands." He is inclined rather to class these feudal and racial killings by a handful of "crackers" or hill-billies" with the internecine rivalries and slaughters among Northern city gunmen. The respectable, law-abiding element in the community does not countenance them, North or South, but apparently nothing can be done to put an end to them.—Boston Transcript.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
August 18, 1933

Of the 183 lynchings in the United States in the last 10½ calendar years, only four were in Alabama. In six of these years Alabama had a record of no lynchings at all. The lynching of Quinn Neal at Haynesville on Aug. 5, 1931, was the last one prior to the crime of last Sunday morning. The greatest number of lynchings in the United States and in Alabama occurred in 1892. In that year the national total was 231 and Alabama's was 24. The measure of improvement shown is gratifying but, by that very measure, Alabama's shame for the deed of last Sunday must be the greater because it represents so disgracefully backward a step.

Chester, S. C., Reporter
August 17, 1933

The recent lynching in Alabama may be regrettable, and, of course, is, but is not surprising in view of the persistent interference of outside elements with the courts of Alabama. Had these people attended to their own business, and allowed the State of Alabama to handle its own affairs, there might have been no lynching last week, and probably no crime to arouse the people of Alabama to take the law into their own hands.

Thomasville, N.C. Char & Children
August 17, 1933

The south is shamed by the lynching of two negroes in Alabama Monday. Racial agitators are partly responsible for the act. The fact that fanatical agitators from the north are enough to try the patience of a saint is no excuse for the atrocious crime. Alabama will have to bring the guilty parties to justice.

Selma, Ala. Times
September 7, 1933

ALABAMA THREATENED BY AN INSIDIOUS EVIL

Since reference was made on this page last week to the lynching of two negro prisoners near Tuscaloosa and the wounding of a third, an attempt has been made by a mob from Morgan County to take from the jail in Huntsville a negro charged with a heinous offense in the county of Morgan In this case the attempt was thwarted by the firm stand of the officers in charge.

Too many of our people approach this matter through their emotions rather than through the medium of their intellects. Passion is too often substituted for reason, and criminal force for the orderly process of law and justice. Such motives and such procedure can but make bad matters worse.

Any balanced mind ought to be able to realize that one crime does not justify another; also that the blow directed by the mob not onl ystrikes the alleged criminal but with greater force does it smite the law itself. And when the law is under-mined civilized government totters to its fall.

It is the duty of the state to give every one accused of crime a fair and legal hearing. When the mob presumes to act for the state the entire public is outraged. That fair and speedy trials are not always provided is a matter to be regretted and to be remedied, but it does not justify the laying of unauthorized and violent hands on the one whom the law is designed to handle.—Roanoke Leader.

White Press, Southern.

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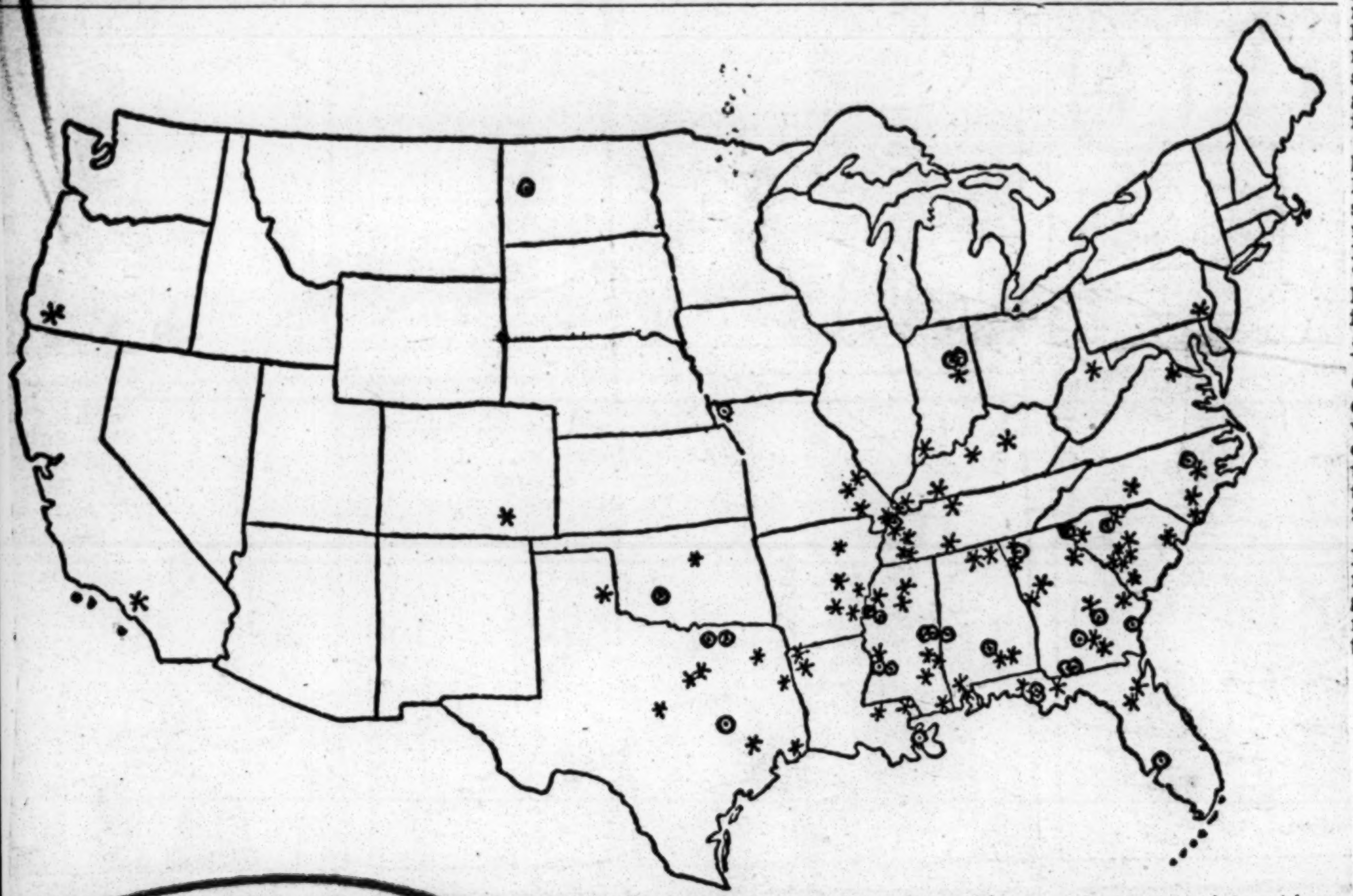
Lynchings - 1933
Discussions

"TRAGEDY OF LYNCHING" PICTURED ON MAP



This map, printed in "The Tragedy of Lynching," shows the location of lynchings and attempted lynchings during the year 1930. The circles place actual lynchings; the crosses show attempted lynchings that were prevented before the mob was able to kill its victim.

Birmingham News-Herald

The South Is Scene For 97 Per Cent Of Lynchings

7-16-33.

THE TRAGEDY OF LYNCHING, by Dr. Arthur F. Raper, research and field secretary, Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Published by the University of North Carolina Press. 500 pages, $2.50.

Birmingham, Ala.

In the United States there were 3,693 lynchings between 1889 and 1929. For 40 years an average of more than 92 persons annually were killed by American mobs.

Toward the latter part of the 1920's, mob violence slackened somewhat; but early in 1930 the number of lynchings began once more to increase. This increase was the immediate cause for the formation of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching. Dr. Arthur F. Raper was appointed chief of research and investigation.

Dr. Raper and his assistants investigated each lynching committed during 1930. For two years they sought and examined every bit of evidence—criminal, social and economic—that seemed direct or indirectly to have incited each mob. Their findings, plus an introduction resulting from a cross-study, have recently been published by the University of North Carolina Press.

In the introduction, which unfortunately is very poorly organized and annoyingly repetitious, there is said exactly what should have been said years ago on the whole question of lynching. The immediate cause of mob action is, of course, hysteria; but the roots from which that hysteria blossom are sunk deep in ignorance, economic conflict, fear and psychopathology.

Sensibly saving his breath, Dr. Raper has no fatuous comments on the horror of lynching; nor does he exhaust himself by futile insistence that really thou shalt not kill. Instead, Dr. Raper, a sociologist and a sensible man, draws charts and compiles statistics proving that illiteracy and the current price of cotton have infinitely more to do with lynchings than all the frayed and tattered traditions of the ante-bellum South, which today are being so staunchly defended by yokels and yahoos whose grandfathers used to count themselves lucky if they had enough cornmeal and sorghum to last through the Winter.

The charts and statistics further show that rape, which most of us believe to have been the invariable cause for mobs, was in reality the accusation against only one-sixth of the lynching victims between 1889 and 1929. A few other accusations for which men were killed were: bringing suit against white men, trying to act like a white man, frightening school children, trying to get a job in a restaurant.

These charts and diagrams and statistics are damnably embarrassing to the intelligent Southerner; for Dr. Raper shows that the more backward a county—smaller percentage of taxes paid, smaller percentage of votes cast, higher degree of illiteracy—the higher percentage of lynchings in that county. Furthermore, the lynchings perpetrated by men within the lowest levels of economic, social and intellectual development are lynchings characterized by tortures and elaborate evidence of sadism.

In ratio as the economic, social and intellectual standards rise, so the degrees of tortures fall; until eventually we come to a community development which permits no torture at all, which prides itself upon insisting that its lynching victims are quietly and orderly shot or hanged, that they are not burned by slow fires, that their fingers and toes are not cut off joint by joint, that they are not mutilated elsewhere, nor do they have sharp stakes driven into their mouths. In other words, Dr. Raper's statistics prove that the farther we get from the jungle, the less we go in for barbarities.

And then comes the ultimate humiliation to us Southerners; for by his maps and diagrams, Dr. Raper shows that lynching is localized almost entirely to the South. "From 1889 through 1899," writes Dr. Raper, "approximately 82 per cent of all lynchings in the United States were in the 14 Southern states (in which are included the border states of Virginia Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma); during the first decade of the new century, 91.9 per cent were in these states; during the second decade, 94.4 per cent: from 1920 through 1924, 95.3 per cent, and for the five-year period ending with 1919, 97.4 per cent."

Dr. Raper's book, "The Tragedy of Lynching," is not the book of one man, rather it is the expression of group conclusions reached by a committee of intelligent men who for two years studied the mob phenomenon. We Southerners can well afford to hear the suggestions of these men, all of whom themselves are Southerners; and after considering the recommendations earnestly put into effect those that can be most serviceable in each particular community.

The introduction to the book ends with a list of the committee's sensible and, apparently, practicable suggestions and recommendations, which unfortunately are more numerous than can be quoted in this review. One sentence, though, is essential: "Mobs and lynchings will ultimately fade from the scene with the general rise of the cultural level which alone can provide the basis for the development of a public which will discard these crude methods of group expression."

After his introduction, Dr. Raper begins a case study of each lynching committed in 1930. Except perhaps for a trained sociologist accustomed to read case records, the book itself is notably less effective than the introduction. The material is woefully jumbled and the writing at times indiscreet, even offensive; not offensive because of its frankness, but because of an attempted irony, which of course, is in very poor taste. And too, the chapter headings are unpardonably flippant and have no place in the discussion of so serious a subject. Furthermore the invariable paragraph headings smack of this same flippancy and eventually prove merely irritating deterrents.

Those who have the eradication of lynching most at heart would be wise to limit the sale of "The Tragedy of Lynching" as a book, then issue the fine introduction as a separate pamphlet and send it broadcast.

—J. S. C.

Greenville, S. C. News
July 8, 1933

LYNCHING VS. MURDER

Governor Blackwood's comment that the killing of a negro who was spirited from the jail at Clinton, was "not a lynching but a murder," has aroused some comment as to what the difference is between a lynching and a murder.

Governor Blackwood probably had in mind the indication that this killing was not the work of an infuriated mob, but of a very small group of citizens who went about their nefarious business in a calm and deliberate way.

There is, however, no strictly legal distinction between a lynching and a murder. A lynching takes the life of a citizen without sanction of the courts. Civilized society cannot construe such an act as in any other way than a murder. Individual members of the mob might, perhaps, plead the pressure of passion in mitigation of their crime, but the net effect of the action of a mob, however large, in administering the death penalty upon a prisoner without a proper court trial cannot legally be regarded as anything less than a murder.

In the case of the Clinton negro it appears that there was no "mob." Three or four persons took it upon themselves to seize this negro from a poorly guarded jail and kill him, although his offense was not of a character to arouse any public sentiment that he deserved capital punshment. The perpetrators of this heinous crime have not even the excuse of mob action stirred by passion. It seems to be nothing less than a deliberate, cold blooded murder, and it is certainly to be hoped that the Laurens county and state authorities leave no stone unturned to apprehend the criminals and bring them to speedy justice.

Murphreesboro, Tenn. News-Jnl.
June 30, 1933

Tennessee and Lynchings

Although lynchings showed a slight increase the first six months of this year in comparison to a corresponding period a year ago, it is highly gratifying to see the splendid progress that is being made in the eradicat n of this contempt for the laws of the land.

There have been six lynchings since January 1 compared to five lynchings in a similar period of last year. While these figures prove startling that civilization can reach a point that the law will be disregarded to such an extent, yet a persual of records discloses that just 10 years ago, 15 persons were lynched the first six months of that year.

Of the persons lynched this year four were negroes and two were white and as unwanted as the distinction is, Tennessee tied with Louisiana for the most outrages of this nature. Each of these states reported two necktie parties while Georgia and Texas had one each.

But the bright side of the picture is that during the first six months there were 14 lynchings avoided by officers of the law. Five times force was used to repel the would-be lynchers and on nine occasions the prisoner was moved or the guard augmented. In this manner the lives of 17 persons were saved from death at the hands of mobs.

We commend these officers of the law who thwarted the efforts of those who would blacken the records of decency and right by taking the law into their own hands rather than to have it follow in the prescribed channels.

It is agreed that the law moves slowly and sometimes very ineffectively but that is no reason for men, crazed at the moment by some crime, to wreak vengeance on some helpless and maybe innocent man, when it is the law itself and not the violater, that needs attention.

Laurens, S. C., Advertiser
July 12, 1933

DEMANDS PUNISHMENT

The Advertiser is not interested in an academic discussion of whether or not the slaying of Norris Dendy at Clinton last Tuesday night was a lynching or a murder. Under either name it was bad enough. Neither do we believe that Gov. Blackwood had any particular motive in describing the crime as a murder instead of a lynching, his remark evidently having been the natural outburst of feeling following upon his receipt of the first details of the crime.

The reprehensible feature of the crime, whether it be termed a murder or a lynching, was that a set of men forcibly entered upon the premises of the law and, in defiance of public policy, took therefrom and slew a man whose life the state by his arrest had obligated itself to protect.

Such a flagrant disregard of the law demands the fullest investigation and punishment. But, regardless of the result of the investigation commendably ordered by Gov. Blackwood and supported by Solicitor Homer S. Blackwell, the perpetrators of the crime should feel at least the weight of an indignant public opinion, not only as an example to others but as proof to them that they cannot win approval for such acts in a civilized community.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
August 2, 1933

All Liars in the Raw

In an editorial last Thursday The Telegraph stated that women's charges of being insulted by men could not and should not always be accepted without question. It has been shown in numbers of cases that women develop some pique or fancied offence to charge against men, whereas the real grievance is something entirely different from what they allege. They know men are quick to resent insults to womankind, and therefore women making allegations as to being insulted, being cunning enough to know that that kind will provoke the greatest resentment, the most summary action and the least investigation. Thus they get revenge for whatever the grievance—and the revenge frequently results in tragedy foul through death of the innocent. Macon's last lynching of a white man—nearly fifty years ago—was said to have been due to charges made by a woman, and that members of the mob were very uncertain afterward as to justification for what they had done in "avenging Southern womanhood."

In trying to impress the necessity for caution and investigation of such matters, rather than snap judgment, we pointed out that women were permitted to spurn the truth, and still be rated as honorable, according to Webster's unabridged dictionary. D. A. Miller, of Junction City, Ga., in our letter column of Aug. 1 takes issue with this feature of the editorial, asserting that while he as a teacher of adolescent girls and boys had observed that girls would lie and cheat in their school work much worse than boys do, as a rule, there are honorable exceptions among the girls.

Mr. Miller as a teacher makes an important and welcomed contribution to the object we sought to accomplish—that is, that what women say about men's insulting them should not be accepted in every case. He has observed in actual life that girl's lie and cheat in school work much worse than boys do. Up to his pronouncement on the subject we had only the dictionary as basis for our suspicion.

We did not by any means intend to condone or justify this detestable thing in women—simply meant to point it out as an inherent, established and recognized weakness, and that while we endeavor to have them overcome it, we must be on our guard against being imposed upon by some of the unscrupulous ones, who when they become angered do not reckon the consequences. What chance has any man when a good-looking woman cries and says he insulted her? The tag pinned on the Mississippi Negro last week simply read, "He insulted a white lady." Who knows whether that is true or not?

It is probable that woman's recognized disregard of the truth and fairness, as Mr. Miller states has come under his actual observation, is due to the nature of the female. We repeat it is to be deplored, frowned upon and overcome in every way possible—but while it exists we have to admit it, to guard against imposition and to make progress toward overcoming it. We say it is probably due to the nature of the female, because it is her nature to protect her young by running away with them, to hide them, to deceive by every possible scheme as to their whereabouts. That is motherhood, which supersedes even the first law. It is inherent in nearly all females. The male, on the other hand, usually fights his way through. Courage is inherent and is demanded of him, candor follows courage, truth is candor. The law that a wife's testimony is not admitted in matters relating to her husband may have had its inception in the recognition that she would not tell the truth where her affections were involved, although there is an obvious and more modern explanation of it now.

Certainly women should tell the truth. But until civilization makes more progress in removing from woman's nature and mind all question as to the security of her offspring, we shall have to make allowances for the great compelling power that guides her. She will lie for them, steal for them, die for them. And loving her for these attributes, as we do, we have to make allowances for her inability or failure to differentiate as to other things she will at least lie about.

Fayetteville, N. C. Observer
July 6, 1933

DEATH FOR LYNCHERS

The history of the material and cultural development of the human race has been paralleled by the development of a complicated and intricate system of jurisprudence calculated to assure every member of society of safety for his person and his possessions so long as he abided by the rules laid down by society for its protection.

Today that system of jurisprudence, of justice, of law has reached the highest degree of perfection it has ever enjoyed. It has not been an easy progress. Every step in the development of justice has been accomplished over the protest of those who did not want it.

Millions of lives have been sacrificed, whole nations have been ravaged, populations have been deported, kings have been dragged from their thrones to the chopping block, dictators have faced firing squads, patriots have swung from gallows, torture chambers have run red with blood of reformers.

But out of this travail has developed our system of trial by jury, right of appeal, magistrate courts, county courts, district courts, state supreme courts, commissioners' courts, federal courts, appellate courts, United States Supreme Court.

To insure justice to all millions of pages of legal lore compounded by thousands of profound minds have been printed, and billions of dollars are spent every year to maintain courts in which the cause of the most lowly citizen as well as the highest may be heard with equity.

What is the ultimate result?

Four South Carolina white men inflamed with anger drag a dim-witted, thick-skulled negro from an unprotected country calaboose, push him into an automobile, drive him into the country and proceed at their leisure to beat and torture him to death.

They not only lynched the negro, they not only lynched the law of South Carolina, but they lynched every effort toward law and order that man has made since he emerged from the jungle.

They spattered the satin gowns of the Supreme Court with blood, they defiled the Goddess of Justice with the sweat of the noose.

Society can get along without the lynchers' victim, but it cannot get along with the lynchers.

What the South needs to recognize is that lynching is murder in the first degree not so much because it takes the life of a single brutal criminal, but because it kills the spirit of justice, sets at naught the courts, and strikes at the bed-rock of the system upon which our civilization is based.

If anybody deserves death in the electric chair the lynch-murderer is that man.

White Press, Southern

Lynchings-1933 & Discussions.

4033

Sylacauga, Ala., News
September 15, 1933

CRIME CONTINUES

While some of our leading state papers continue to discuss the mobbing of the negro rapists in Tuscaloosa, and bemoan the tidal affect of mob law, crime goes marching on. Since the Tuscaloosa rape case found first page position, a similar crime has been committed when two negroes beat and robbed a prominent white man and attacked his companion, a white woman, in the capitol city of Montgomery. This too, found front page position but the news died out as efforts to find the criminals abated. Other less heinous but murderous crimes have been committed in the State and out of it during the past week. Representatives of the International Labor Defense League, our "Bell Buzzards" are promptly on the job, especially when the crimes are heinous, to lend their money and their efforts to defy our courts and juries and thwart justice.

The time may come, and more speedily than we expect, when patience will cease to be a virtue, and we will need the leadership of a Forest, the statesmanship of a John Sharp Williams, and the eloquence of a Grady to save the "white supremacy of the South," whether or not this be their day or our day.

The most sensible article on this racial subject, now taking on new growth through the commital of more brutal crime, appears in a recent issue of the Montgomery Advertiser, a paper that has heard the cheerful pop of the pistol and felt the soothing slash of the bowie, and lived through 100 years of the darkest ages of our history and yet with us to advise and lead.

This article is printed below and we hope every reader will carefully study it:

"The low-down Negro is the greatest burden which the decent Negro has to bear, even as the low-down white man is the greatest burden which the respectable white man has to bear.

"Because we have low-down Negroes and because we have low-down white people here in the South where both races are numerically powerful, it behooves the decent people in both races to give the best that is in their hearts and brains to curb and repress both classes that now again humiliate them.

"The respectable and the responsible elements in both races should come close together. They should be frank and honest, they should be brave and resolute. Their common purpose should be to repress and control the vicious elements in both races. They should desire to keep the peace between the respectable people in both racial groups That is the decent, sensible civilized thing to do.

"There are two facts to remember: First, the low-down Negroes are more prone to attack white women than low-down whites are to attack colored women. Their proneness to this crime is derived not as many suppose, from the jungle animalism of the black—an absurd idea—but from his vanity. Vanity, as a matter of fact, wrecks more lives than any other cause. Watch it.

"Secondly, the low-down white man frequently is inconsiderate of and insulting to respectable Negroes. He makes it impossible for them to trust him, respect him, admire him or to avoid hating him.

"Indeed, he deserves their hatred, because he is crude, vicious, cheap, cowardly and unfeeling. He is offensive to them only because he knows they are weaker socially, economically and politically than he is.

"Because he is willing to betray, abuse and outrage the weak he is not better at heart than the most ornery cornfield Negro in Alabama. If he had any moral courage he would make it a point of honor to be decent to the weak in all circumstances.

"But the Negro, it is only fair to say, is weaker than the white man because he has not been so well trained. He has not yet had the benefit of the spiritual power which flows from civilizing agencies because he is still the youngest of the races that stand face to face with golden opportunity.

"It is no reflection upon the Negro to say this. He knows it as well as anyone.

"But the Negro shows remarkable promise, and it is greatly to his credit and of notable significance that the choicest spirits of his race seldom if ever come under a cloud. The Advertiser has never known of a Negro college graduate, as an example in passing, who was charged with the crime of rape As the Negro's training improves the less prone he is to turn antisocial and in any way to be troublesome.

"It is still the Negro beast who would prey upon white women and otherwise humiliate his race by committing offenses that cannot be condoned either by white or blacks.

"The Negro beast is primarily the problem of the Negro race in the South and ever orderly, intelligent Negro realizes the fact. Knowledge of it shames and horrified the good men and women who are black.

"But the Advertiser is sure that all white men of good will recognize the gulf that lies between respectable, orderly Negroes and those of their race who cannot be controlled except by force."

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
AGE HERALD
SEP 28 1933

Progress

Gov. Miller deserves the gratitude of all thoughtful Alabamians for his response to the challenge of the recent lynching in Tuscaloosa County. Not only does he offer a reward in the name of the state for the identification of the lynchers, but he throws behind the enterprise of detection the full weight of his official and personal reprobation. His was the word the occasion needed to give momentum to the process of discovering and punishing the guilty persons.

Meanwhile the authorities at Tuscaloosa have not been idle. Sheriff Shamblin's office is reported to be pursuing an intensive investigation. Judge Foster has called on the Grand Jury now in recess to resume its inquiry into the Pipen and Harden lynchings. It may be taken for granted that the inquisitorial body will also be interested in the later murder.

It is to be hoped that these efforts will be successful in bringing to the bar of justice the men who have committed offenses that have so shocked the community and the state at large. If Alabama intends to purge itself of such crimes, it must first make an example of the lynchers who could not escape its vigilance and condemnation.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
Post
OCT 9 1933

A Stinging Rebuke

Lawless men who have brought shame to the city which is the site of the state university are not calloused enough to miss the sting in Dr. Henry M. Edmonds' sermon yesterday on "The Cost of Lynching."

"It costs civilization too much," Dr. Edmonds is convinced, "to turn over the work of our courts to young, ignorant, undisciplined, irresponsible, cowardly, non-taxpaying, sadistic, vagarant and self-appointed agents."

Tuscaloosa, too, realizes the terrific reaction against a community which turns back, against centuries of civilized progress to a dependence on mob law.

The responsible people of Tuscaloosa have organized to mould sentiment which will prevent a recurrence of the recent disgraceful lynchings. The whole state wishes them success.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
AGE HERALD
SEP 26 1933

Tuscaloosa's Test

Sunday morning's lynching imposes on the authorities and people of Tuscaloosa County a responsibility which they cannot take too seriously. Upon the manner in which they deal with this challenge to civilization will depend whether Alabama has lost much of its standing in the court of public opinion. If those who committed this crime are run down and made to pay for the enormity, Alabamians will feel that at least the honor of the state has been saved. But if, for lack of zeal, for lack of heart to meet the menace, the lynchers are not brought to book, we shall deserve the reproach of our consciences and will be hard put to it to defend ourselves from the denunciation of the world.

It is six weeks since three Negroes, charged with raping and killing a white girl, were taken from a group of Sheriff Shamblin's deputies, who were carrying the prisoners to Birmingham for safe-keeping. A body of masked men sprang up at night at an obscure point on a circuitous route, gained possession of the darkies without having to fight for them, killed two of them and wounded the other. That episode is still being investigated; a number of difficulties have emerged to hinder the inquiry, but the fact remains that the persons who did the lynching have yet to be identified.

Now another atrocity is unveiled. Six or seven men go to the home of a Negro named Dennis Cross, who was out on bond to answer a charge of assaulting a white woman. The nature of the offense is such as to make it bailable. Pretending to be officers, the lynchers took the Negro presumably to post a larger bond at Tuscaloosa, but actually to be murdered. Thus the sheriff's office is brought into the picture again, and with a vengeance, for the impersonation mocks the principle of law enforcement by duly constituted officers, and makes the proceeding indescribably sinister because it was the prelude to the ghastly business that followed.

Obviously, Sheriff Shamblin is under the adamant necessity of exhausting every resource in the detection of these offenders. As a matter of simple self-defense he must round up these enemies of society or risk repeated use of the same ugly device whenever a few congenial blood-lusting fellows wish to execute a private vengeance. But the question of the sheriff's rights fades in the light of the brutal defiance of the law, which expressed itself in the killing of Cross. For that there cannot be offered even the usual excuse. It is one of those indefensible proceedings which leave even apologists of lynching without a shred of rational argument.

But to be able to rise to the height of this emergency, Sheriff Shamblin must have behind him the insistent support of the public opinion of Tuscaloosa County. Right-minded citizens should not permit themselves to get off on a tangent of hurt local pride, because of outside criticism directed at former happenings any more than they will permit themselves to be indifferent about a gross attack upon the elementary safeguards and decencies of civilized society.

Finally, it must be pointed out that this is a case which demands the full-measured attention of the state government. Atty. Gen. Knight, we have a right to assume, will soon enough be lending all that he can give to the clearing up of this business. But that is not enough. The time has palpably come for Gov. Miller to step into the picture. Necessarily the lynchers pretended to be officers of the state as well as of the county. The circumstances of this incident make it imperative that the executive department strengthen the hand of the attorney general by placing at the latter's disposal more funds than he now has at his command, together with the special endorsement of a gubernatorial announcement. That is not too much to ask in view of the gravity of the posture of affairs.

ANNISTON, ALA.
STAR

OCT 9 1933

DR. HENRY M. EDMONDS DENOUNCES LYNCHING

Forceful, determined and with no hint of compromise was Dr. Henry M. Edmond's sermon Sunday in denunciation of the recent lynchings in Alabama and in the South and if the advice of the Birmingham minister is heeded we shall, in a large measure, rid the Southland of the stench of these inexcusable murders. Cold blooded murders they are, for such deaths can be called by no other term.

Dr. Edmonds, pastor of the Independent Presbyterian Church of Birmingham, made the following statement during his discourse yesterday:

"My conviction is that it costs civilization too much to turn over the work of our courts to young, ignorant, undisciplined, irresponsible, cowardly, non-tax-paying, sadistic, vagrant and self-appointed agents.

"It costs too much to expose men, women, young people and children to the sight of mobs howling, dancing and singing about their mutilated, burning human victims.

"It costs too much to expose possible innocence to a crowd gone crazy, lustful and unreasoning as a forest fire.

"It costs too much to turn madness loose to burn down schoolhouses, hotels, office buildings, jails.

"Of curse, the kernel of the matter is it costs too much to relinquish the principle of orderly trial based on evidence."

To those who know the true situation, and it must appear even to the casual reader, that many of the persons slain by ignorant mobs are innocent. If they are guilty of such heinous crimes as to inspire the demand for life, there are few cases on record in which they escape justice in the normal process of court procedure.

Intelligent people everywhere should take lynching seriously to mind, and consider it such a matter of importance that it becomes a personal antagonist, the blot to be wiped from the Southern escutcheon.

Birmingham, Ala., News
September 29, 1933

A Splendid Example Of Newspaper Leadership

Attention is invited to an editorial of The Tuscaloosa News which is reproduced on this page. It was published on the front page of the Tuscaloosa paper Wednesday afternoon.

Speaking of the lynchings and other crimes with which its community has been afflicted lately, The Tuscaloosa News quite appropriately says: "Tuscaloosa is a proud city, her citizens are a proud people. We are very much like a well-bred family which suffers long and silently rather than wash its dirty linen before the public gaze, but there comes a time when patience ceases to be a virtue and the choice between self-humiliation and the continued living in filth must be made."

Tuscaloosa, the paper goes on to say, cannot permit present conditions to continue, for the situation holds "a great peril both to individuals and the people as a whole." With incontrovertible logic, it points out the danger: "When a band of men, taking the law into its own hands, escapes without penalty, will it not be more apt to repeat its performance? Will it not inspire other bands with a similar daring?"

So far as The Tuscaloosa News is concerned, "our conscience and our self-respect demand that we no longer accept the judgment of some of the finest and most honorable leaders in our public life that 'the less said about the problems we face the easier it will be to solve them and the better it will be for all.'" In that spirit, it bids the law-abiding people of Tuscaloosa to accept the challenge of the lawless.

This is a fine example of newspaper leadership. What it means, we may hope, is that the better elements in Tuscaloosa—and they unquestionably represent most of the people of the community—are coming to the fore to grapple with the problem at hand.

Tuscaloosa is a fine city, a proud city, as The News says. The community has been victimized by a few of the rougher element among its people. This the better element in Tuscaloosa will surely not tolerate. The challenge of The Tuscaloosa News is a hopeful indication that they will rise and crush the lawlessness that has besmirched their community and their state.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
NEWS

SEP 25 1933

Another Lynching In Tuscaloosa County

For the second time within little more than a month, Alabama is put to shame by a lynching. And again it is Tuscaloosa County that is the scene of the outrage.

One Sunday morning in August two Negroes were found lynched, after they had been taken from Tuscaloosa County officers. It was only by the merest chance that there were not three lynchings, for the third Negro, shot with the other two and left for dead, survived the bullets.

It was on a Sunday morning also that the latest crime was committed. What a ghastly spectacle for the good people of Tuscaloosa County, and all Alabama, to contemplate as they went to their churches Sunday!

Tuscaloosa County is one of our finest and most cultivated counties. It is the seat of the University of Alabama. It is a county possessing some of the best in cultural traditions.

Yet the good name of Tuscaloosa County is blackened again, and with it the good name of Alabama. It will not take much of this sort of thing to alter the fine reputation that Tuscaloosa County has always borne.

We may be sure that the majority of the people of Tuscaloosa County deplore these crimes as bitterly as any could do. The crimes were the acts of a few in each case.

It is up to the good people of Tuscaloosa to redeem their county's good name as best they may. This they can do by building up a strong public sentiment against lynching, so strong that none would dare to flaunt it again, and by bending their efforts unrelentingly to tracking down the criminals and bringing them to justice.

Lynchings-1933

Discussions

White Press, Southern.

4034

Rocky Mount, N.C., News
December 8, 1933

Lynching Not Sectional

Lynchings bees are not confined to any particular section on the country, as recent events illustrate, and there is, as the Charlotte Observer says, no reason for labelling the South the center of lynching activities. The Observer writes:

"The South may still hold to the distinction of being 'the Bible Belt,' and glory in it, but this section of the Nation can no longer be pointed to as 'the lynching belt,' for recent occurrences have shifted the location and in manner not to be mistaken. As a matter of fact, the South has never deserved distinction of the kind imposed upon it, for the lynching record kept by Tuskegee Institute, will show that lynchings have been common the country over. It was because Negroes were the chief victims in the South and for the crime that maddens men's brains, that the lynching occurrences in this part of the country have been emphasized as peculiar to the South, by Northern racial agitators, their eyes blinded to occurrences at their own homes. They will now have to sweep before their own doors, as they were forced to do in the case of child labor. It is exactly true, as argued by The Houston Post, that the record of lynchings will reveal many cases of this form of lawlessness outside the Southern States, and, also, that a goodly portion of the victims of mobs in the South are white people. It is not to be denied that a number of lynchings of Negroes occur in the South each year, though the number has been decreasing almost every year for a considrable period of time. But Negroes have no monopoly on being mob victims. White men, and even white women, have been put to death by mobs in this section.

"The three latest and most sensational lynchings that have disgraced the country occurred outside the South. This section can take grim satisfaction in that fact, not because it condones mob action, but because it effectually refutes the charge so often made that the South constitutes the 'lynching belt.' If there is a lynching belt, it has been considerably extended, reaching into California on the west, into North Missouri on the north, and into Maryland on the east. San Jose, St. Joseph and Baltimore certainly are not Southern."

There is, however, no "grim satisfaction" for this newspaper in that fact that other states have deprived the South of the unofficial title of the "lynching belt." Lynching anywhere is contrary to every established tradition, whether it occurs in North Carolina or California. Furthermore, there is additional cause for alarm when it crops out in all sections of the nation.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
December 26, 1933

DANGERS IN LYNCHING

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

Sullivan vs. the law. "As ye mete to others so shall justice be meted to you. Thou shalt not kill, saith the Decalogue," meaning illegal killing. The man who advocates breaking of law is a foe to the interests of civilization.

I know the Negroes, and I know the white man, of high and low degree. I know, too, the crimes that the white man is capable of committing. They are not for us to be proud of. They are constantly arraigned for unspeakable offenses against their own daughters, and against little girls of both races. Mr. Sullivan ought to know that if justice of the kind he talks about were meted to all offenders of the two races the land would run streams of blood. And as many innocent would be slain as guilty. In a county adjoining mine the son of a lyncher followed in his father's footsteps and helped to beat unmercifully a white man suspected of a crime, and later it was proven that the victim of the beating was absolutely innocent. But the man died as a result. A widow and orphan are left with no means of support.

I know of instances where mistaken identity has caused the innocent to be slain by mobs. It is hard enough to find the truth when the courts do their best. The mobs take all chances on guilt or innocence. They slay their victim at once and investigate his guilt later, if at all. I had a Negro working for me, and he was mistaken for an alleged rapist. He had almost perfect appearance with the accused, and was seized; and all in the world that saved him was a letter found in his pocket from a man who was sending him on a trip. The mob thought he was running away. The conductor on the train had to hide him in the baggage car to save him even after his evidence had satisfied a portion of the mob. This Negro is now a good citizen in another section. His life was not worth much at the time the mob was in its frenzy.

Mr. Sullivan's teaching is not responsible for all of the lawless lynching, but it is an influence for evil. The real trouble is that juries recommend mercy that is not justified in some of the capital cases. Mistaken sentiment that leads to unreasonable commutations of sentence is another cause. If the authorities will enforce the law as it should be enforced, Mr. Sullivan and his followers will not be so ready to ignore courts.

ANDREW P. RIVES.

Nashville, Tenn., Banner - Dec. 27-1933

Lynching Deplored by Interracial Leader

Says Public Opinion Is Needed to Outlaw Evil

Oakdale, Tenn., Dec. 27—(Special)—"No community is safe from mob violence, and constant cultivation of public opinion is necessary in order to outlaw this evil," declared James D. Burton, executive secretary of the Tennessee Interracial Commission, in a statement regarding lynching issued in connection with the antilynching meeting scheduled to be held in Nashville Wednesday.

His complete statement follows:

"We repeat the pronouncement of more than 300 Tennesseans, assembled in the State Capitol, in Nashville, in 1920, that lynching is unjustifiable under any and all circumstances, and that, whatever may be the provocation, lynching is the surrender of all that is dear to civilization. Every act of mob violence is not so much the punishment of the criminal as it is the lynching of the law. No extenuation as to the seriousness of the crime that causes such outbreaks or to the frequent defeat of justice in the courts, should be urged in favor of any mobs that take the law in its own hands.

"No community is safe from mob violence, and constant cultivation of public opinion is necessary in order to outlaw this evil. The developing of the right kind of public opinion will do more to eradicate lynching than all the forces of the law. Loyal and faithful officers of the law need moral support of the public, which, if given freely, will make it easier for them to restrain mobs. An anti-lynching bill was introduced in the Tennessee Legislature two years ago which had, among other things, a provision to bring moral support to faithful sheriffs and to help curb lynchings. It was sponsored by leaders from Bristol to Memphis. On account of the debate on the finances of the State, it was not finally disposed of.

"The Government of this nation and of Tennessee is not circumscribed to the executive offices in Washington and Nashville, but functions through constituted authority in every county hamlet in our land. It is in the local community where permanent improvement in race relations must be made. To this end it is hoped that leading citizens will give strong and active support in every effort in behalf of law and order. It is no time to be indifferent."

Nashville, Tenn. Banner
December 22, 1933

VINDICATE THE LAW

(Bristol Herald-Courier)

No effort should be spared to find and punish the members of the Columbia lynching mob. It is evident that Governor McAlister and Judge Hart are determined, if possible, to bring them to account. The arrest, conviction, and imprisonment of the men who perpetrated that outrage would be a victory for law and order in Tennessee that would have a salutary effect beyond the borders of the State.

Five Thousand Ghastly Lynching Victims in a Record in Half Century, United States

By STANLEY A. TULLSEN
NEA Service Staff Correspondent

Five thousand victims in a half century—that is the black record in the United States.

Even this is a record from which pages are missing, one on which hundreds of names of those who have gone to their graves by violence are not listed, one which does not include those slain in race riots and other outbreaks.

And before the time which this record covers, before it was thought worth-while to investigate lynching, hundreds of others died at the hands of maddened crowds which acted first and looked into the facts after the grim deed was done.

NATION AWAKENING

The nation at last is awakening to the appalling menace of lynch law, with the hideous acts of western, mid-western, and eastern mobs fresh in mind, and a concerted effort is being launched to stamp out the evil.

From the hero of a swift blow struck for American liberty comes the name that designates this most heinous of crimes, according to the

most accepted version.

Charles Lynch was a Virginia planter, a member of the house of burgesses, a justice of the peace, turned soldier during the war of the Revolution. In 1780, as he prepared to lead his cavalry squadron against the invading British, he discovered a formidable conspiracy among Tories of Bedford County.

NAME IS BORN

Lynch essentially was a man of action. Without a moment's hesitation, after capturing the ringleaders, he condemned them to imprisonment, and incontinently flung them into jail, thwarting the plot against the patriots.

He had exceeded the limit of his powers, in this heavy-handed emergency thrust, and from this action was coined the name given to lawlessness parading under the guise of law.

Lynching, in its early days, rarely involved death. Tar and feather parties and riding victims on a rail were regarded as lynching. And even this was not frequent, except in sparsely settled frontier communities.

From 1830 to 1840 it seldom meant inflicting the death penalty. As "civilization and culture" advanced, from 1850 to 1860, it often had that meaning. And from 1875 to the present day, lynching has meant death by horrible violence.

ROPE RULED IN WEST

However, except in the early settlement of California, lynching seems seldom to have been practiced until after the Cicil War.

Men trained in the rough school of the wilderness were impatient of legal forms and technicalities. They wanted their justice straight and swift. So lynch law eradicated outlawry and cattle rustling from the forests, mountain passes, and valleys of the far west.

Then came the disorders after emancipation, during the Reconstruction days in the south. Lynching came to mean torture and death, with negroes almost always the victims. And lynch law became, in the eyes of the world, a peculiarly American institution.

Be that as it may, it is a crime which has prevailed in other countries. In England, it was practiced under the name of Lydford law; in Scotland it was called Cowper law. There also was gibbet or Halifax, and Jeddard law in Britain, which indicated the same fate for the unfortunate offender.

NORTH ALSO GUILTY

Russia, too, is not guiltless of lynching, and in Germany there was the Vehmgerichte.

Northerners are prone to look toward the South when lynching is mentioned. But the hands of citizens of almost every northern state are stained with the blood of victims of the noose, the stake, and the gun.

The east has the cleanest record of any section, when lynching statistics are checked. In the west, most of the victims are white. In the south, negroes are by far the greatest sufferers.

One significant finding blasts the belief that a mob is motivated by chivalry, protecting the honor of the womanhood of its community. In 1918, for instance, it was shown that of a total of 62 lynchings, only 16 were for criminal assault.

MANY WERE INNOCENT

A study by the Inter-Racial Cooperation Commission of mob murder over a period of nearly a half century shows that many of the victims were innocent of the offenses for which they died deaths of horror.

Some were killed as the result of mistaken identity, others on unfounded suspicion, some by mob madness.

There were cases of burnings, fatal beatings and hangings, that involved crimes no more serious than hog stealing, "creating disturbances", "quarrel with employer", "failing to turn out of road", and "not knowing this place".

MOB LEADER WAS KILLER

No more ghastly evidence of the misplaced vengeance of a mob can be presented than that for which two men died at Celina, Ohio, in 1872. An enraged band of farmers, led by Thomas B. Douglas, hanged Alexander McLeod and Absalom Kimmel for the assault and murder of Mary Secaur, a child of 14, despite strong indications that they knew nothing of the crime.

Years later, Douglas, on his deathbed in Denver, confessed that he had slain the child and had spurred on the mob to turn suspicion away from himself.

Despite the vigorous battle waged by pulpit, press, and legislators, mob violence flames periodically, rising one year, falling the next, only to rise again.

HOPE FOR U. S. LAW

Hope is stirred that Congress will enact a federal anti-lynching law when it convenes in January and thus take a great step toward eliminating the evil.

Senator Edward P. Costigan of Colorado is drafting a bill which he asserts he will introduce on the first day Congress is in session, and support has been pledged by a large number of senators.

Under the constitution, the federal government has little power now to check the barbarous crime. Punishment is left almost entirely to individual states, where peace officers, fearful of the political result, usually dodge the issue.

However, when a subject of a foreign government is lynched by an American mob, the federal government is held responsible, and on several occasions has paid indemnities to families of victims.

HUGE INDEMNITY PAID

Twice this happened in the case of Chinese lynched in Wyoming and California, and twice in cases of Italians lynched in California and Louisiana. The indemnity in all these cases totaled more than a quarter million dollars.

The greatest number of persons done to death by mobs in a single year was 235 in 1892. From year to year since, there has been a steady decline in the toll.

But the time is not here for congratulation. In 1932 there were 10 lynchings in the United States. When a mob in San Jose, Cal., dragged two kidnap-slayers from jail and hanged them in a public park and an enraged throng seized a negro in jail at St. Joseph, Mo., and hanged and burned him, the total to date in 1933 mounted to 27, the highest mark since 1926, when there were 38 lynchings.

"Al" Visits "Frank"

Al Smith said it was just a social call. But a rumor of a Roosevelt-Smith alliance to reorganize New York's Tammany Hall—minus its present leaders—followed this visit of former Governor Smith to the White House. Here Al greets the cameraman with a wave of his derby—a black, not a brown one.

CHARLESTON, W. VA.
MAIL
DEC 4 1933

A Most Ingenious Paradox

Grimly ironic is the fate of officers of the law these days who find themselves defending arch-criminals (whose lives would soon be taken by the state anyhow) from the criminal fury of otherwise law-abiding citizens.

In California last Sunday night when the San Jose mob stormed the jail for the kidnapers of Brooke Hart, the very officer who had engineered their capture and developed an air-tight case against them was struck senseless as he strove to halt the charge. The good sheriff felt nothing at all for more than an hour (he was unconscious that long) but when he regained his senses perhaps, if a Gilbert & Sullivan mood was upon him, he felt indeed 'A policeman's lot is not a happy one.'

In Maryland where the chief executive of the state feels differently about lynchings, but the people (of the Eastern Shore at least) entertain similarly gory tastes, a paradox of another stripe developed. There officers were forced to battle a mob not to protect the state's prisoners from its fury but to prevent the mob from releasing them. Their prisoners in this instance, incidentally, were men who allegedly had participated in the earlier lynching of a Negro.

The whole thing upsets ~~our~~ preconceived notions about officers. Once we thought they were supposed to apprehend criminals and spend their time protecting the rest of the citizens from their tricks and fancies. It looks now as if the tricks and fancies of the average citizens were taking most of their time.

RICHMOND, VA.
NEWS LEADER
DEC 4 1933

EXPECTS MORE LYNCHINGS IF JURIES ~~FAIL~~

Editor The News Leader:

Sir,—Recently the papers have been filled with denunciatory editorials and blasts from public officials on the subject of lynching. It seems to me that recent events call for something besides denunciation. I think they call for a calm, unprejudiced inquiry into the causes of the present outbreak of mob violence in various parts of the country. It has been the editorial custom to describe lynchers as ignorant morons, barbarians, etc., yet in the affairs at San Jose, Calif., and St. Joseph, Mo., thousands of people cheered and encouraged the actual lynchers.

It is inconceivable that such whole-hearted approval would have been manifested if they believed that, through the courts, equal, exact, speedy justice follows the commission of crime in our country. In fact, the belief is general that laws are made to control the poor and that it is practically impossible to convict and punish criminals who are able to employ clever lawyers.

What encouragement is there to leave the punishment of the Negro ravisher of a white woman to the courts when one has only to look at the front page of today's paper to read of the trial of one of the six Negroes who ravished two white girls in 1931, who has already been tried and convicted twice for the same crime and are still unpunished. Why denounce the California mob which lynched two in human monsters when the same front page tells that four members of a Chicago gang of murderers and plunderers of the public have been turned loose by a St. Paul jury.

Chicago citizens have relied upon the law for protection of life and property. As everyone knows, they have been murdered, kidnapped, blown up by bombs, made to pay enormous sums as tribute, in order to remain in business. The leaders and hundreds of members of the gangs were known, yet the law was powerless to convict them of any crime except cheating Uncle Sam out of income taxes.

Ex-Secretary Fall, a poor man, was convicted and jailed for accepting a bribe from Mr. Doherty, but Mr. Doherty, a rich man, was acquitted of the charge of bribing Mr. Fall. A large book could be filled with instances of the failure of "the law" and "the courts," yet neither public officials nor the press appears to take any interest in reforming them. Until they are so reformed that the public feels it safe to rely upon them for what it demands, namely, equal, exact and speedy punishment of crime, be the criminal rich or poor, influential or a nobody, lynchings may be expected to continue.

F. S. RAY.

Ellerson, Va.

Lynchings - 1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4035

Birmingham, Ala. Age-Herald
October 19, 1933

THE ALABAMA VETERAN is a periodical published in the interests of and, apparently with the sponsorship of the war veterans of Alabama. Robert E. White is its editor. On Mr. White's editorial page this week is an editorial entitled "Newspapers and Lynching." Noting the fact that Alabama newspapers in general are condemning the lynchings that have taken place here recently, the editorial makes a perfunctory gesture of its own against "the taking of the law into the hands of individuals without permitting the courts to handle same." With that done, the editorial goes on to impeach its small gesture and prove it perfunctory. "We do not approve of mob rule," it declares, "but we cannot get all hot and bothered over the lynching of brutes that attack white women." "Southern white men—real Southerners," it declares, "are not going to sit by and permit such as this to happen."

* * *

It may be that Mr. White is qualified to speak for "real Southerners" and for "real war veterans," but we hope not. His editorial, in our opinion, is a defense of lynching and an incitement to more of it. Inasmuch as he has written it in a periodical which purports to speak for the veterans of Alabama, for the men who are believed to represent the flower of our patriotism and civilization, he places these veterans in a position which requires them either to affirm or denounce what he has said.

* * *

Does Birmingham Post No. 1, of the American Legion, agree with Mr. White? Does Gorgas Post? Do the posts in Bessemer, Shades Valley, Fairfield, Ensley, Homewood and Tarrant City? Does the newly organized "Alabama" post? Does the Birmingham Chapter of the Disabled American Veterans? Do the Spanish War veterans' posts? Do James A. Simpson, Steadham Acker, George van Dyke, Frank Wright, Rufus Bethea, Lewey Robinson, Ralph Parker, Judge Eugene Hawkins, Jack Watt, Fred Gibson, Harry E. Smith and other distinguished veterans whose pictures appear with praise in the current issue of Mr. White's paper? We are not inclined to believe it, yet Mr. White has made the question worth asking each of these individuals and groups and all the others for whom his paper is supposed to speak.

For "the brutes that attack white women" no punishment is too great. Southern law and Southern opinion are agreed that death, the law's ultimate penalty, shall be imposed upon them. But to make murderous capital of their crime and of the natural feeling against such a crime, to leave their identification and punishment to the lowest elements in our society, to act as if this state were no better qualified to administer its laws and impose its legal punishments than the sorriest mining camp in some early Western ditch, to play into the hands of those who would make martyrs of every Negro criminal for their own Communistic schemes, to encourage the sort of blood lust and stupidity that murdered the paralyzed and unoffending Dennis Cross—is to dishonor the white women, the white men and the white civilization of Alabama. And to identify the war veterans of Alabama with such a dishonor is an inexcusable affront.

Gaffney, S. C. Ledger
October 14, 1933

Not A Lynching.

Charleston News and Courier.

Four men have been arrested on the charge of taking a negro out of "jail" in Ninety Six and beating him to death. The Associated Press carefully avoids in the dispatch printed yesterday morning reference to this infamous act as a "lynching." It was no lynching, and a considerable number of offences in the South are classed as lynchings which in fact have nothing in common with slaughter by a mob or a community uprising.

When Gus Walker, the Chicago gangster, was slain by "three killers" last Monday, it was a crime of revenge as was the slaying of the man in Ninety Six on Sunday night.

The word "jail" in this state is usually given to a county prison in a courthouse town, and is a building of some strength and security. The village of Ninety Six is not a courthouse town. It is not at all likely that the keeper of the jail in the city of Greenwood would have allowed four men who had had a quarrel with a negro to come into the jail and talk with him.

The chief of police of Ninety Six admits that he "let the four boys (those who had quarreled with the negro) talk to the negro last night after he had been locked up." Unfortunately, officers of the law in villages sometimes have vague and loose notions of official duties.

LYNCHING AT RICHLAND

To the Editor of The Telegraph:

Attached is an editorial clipped from today's issue of The Macon Telegraph.

I admit that lynching is not a thing to be proud of and I would not even try to justify such an act.

However, you have done an injustice to the law abiding and innocent citizens of this city in your editorial. You have stated that the Negro was lynched by a white mob because of his attack upon a Negro girl.

You have either been misinformed as to the true facts in the case or have chosen to ignore them. I trust that the former is your position.

After the attack upon the Negro girl her mother reported it to our night patrolman and asked him to make the arrest. The officer went to the Negro's house and while there was murderously assaulted by the Negro. In a surprise attack the Negro struck the officer over the head with an iron bar, stunning him so that he could not defend himself. The Negro then beat him into insensibility and left him as dead.

The officer came to his senses enough to stagger from the house in a few minutes and was brought to the doctor's office by another Negro.

The Negro who was lynched was a notoriously known bad character. This was not the first time that he had run afoul of the law. The Negroes did not like him as he was continually causing trouble and it was known that he had made threats as to what he would do if the officers ever tried to arrest him again.

It is said that he admitted to the lynching party that he intended to kill the officer and thought that he had succeeded.

It was for this attack upon the officer that the Negro was lynched by a white mob and not for his attack on the Negro girl as you have suggested.

I hope that you will see fit to publish this letter in whole or in part, or in some other way make a correction in your paper for you have certainly given this community a much blacker name than it deserves.

ANOTHER queer thing is how 5,000 men, women and children could lynch a Negro at Princess Anne, Md., without the sheriff or any of his deputies recognizing a single one of their fellow citizens who broke into the county jail to get their victim and then made a festival of the sadistic goings on that followed. A mob member is plumb hard to recognize, that's all.

IT IS good to see a citizen of Richland, Ga., clear up the lynching there a few days ago. It seems the Negro was not lynched for criminally assaulting a Negro girl, as at first reported, but because, after the assault had been committed, he struck a policeman on the head with an iron bar.

Montgomery, Ala. Journal
October 23, 1933

TUSCALOOSA CONTROVERSY

The personal nature of the controversy raging in Tuscaloosa between the solicitor of the county and a prominent minister of the gospel is unusual and unseemly, but perhaps it is the only way that the public can be aroused to insist on improved conditions. The solicitor, a candidate for re-election, has publicly challenged the minister to "come out on the political battlefield and fight it out." The pastor's retort is that "if the matter requires fighting out along the local front I will fight it out to the end."

Reaching its climax in differences of opinion over the recent lychings in the county, there is a large section of Tuscaloosa's citizenship that feels proper efforts have not been made in the matter of law enforcement and the solicitor has been charged with major responsibility for the condition. The solicitor charges that the "pulpit is being used to spout political venom."

It is regrettable to see such charges being made against church leaders. But it is perhaps merely a reflection of the depth of feeling aroused over conditions in Tuscaloosa and out of it an aroused citizenship will no doubt see that abuses are corrected.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
November 3, 1933

MOB LYNCHES NEGRO FOR THREATENING WHITE

Bennie Thompson, negro, of Ninety-Sixth, S. C., who had been arrested for threatening a group of white men with a knife was taken from the jail at Ninety-Six, S. C., during last Monday night, beaten to death and his body left on the roadside where it was found early that day.

Sheriff E. M. White said the jail door was broken open and the negro taken from the jail while the jailor, who had gone to the station to meet a train, was away.

Burley Leopard, a textile worker who caused the negro's arrest by reporting he and others had been threatened wth a knife, was arrested.

Sheriff White said he found blood in Leopard's car and that the textile worker declined to make any statement regarding it.

Pearson, Ga., Tribune
October 26, 1933

LYNCHING STUDY REPORT BLAMES HYSTERIA HERE

Inquiry By Racial Commission Announced; Says I. L. D. Caused Agitation

CLAIMS LITTLE ACTION BY COMMUNISTS HERE

Declares White People Have Failed To Show Vigorous Stand Against Mobs

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., Nov. 3 —(AP)—The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching made public here today a summary of its report upon the situation in and about Tuscaloosa, Ala., where within the last three months three negroes have been lynched.

This report, which came from the commission's investigation staff, of which Dr. Arthur Raper is the head, was made at the request of Dr. W. W. Alexander, executive director and George F. Milton, of Chattanooga, chairman of the Commission to Study Lynching of the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation, a southwide group which for years has sought to reduce race tensions and to better racial conditions.

The summary follows:

"Since August 12, mobs in the vicinity of Tuscaloosa, Ala., have taken the lives of three negroes and left a fourth for dead. Careful investigation of the situation, reveals these facts:

"1. One of the four mob victims was undoubtedly, two others probably, the fourth possibly innocent.

"2. Unquestionably the police officers of Tuscaloosa county have not performed their duty in safeguarding these prisoners or protecting them from violence. x x x

"3. In spite of the vigorous charges which the circuit judge made to two grand juries, Tuscaloosa county's law-enforcing agencies have taken no effective step to punish the lynchers.

"4. While only a few white individuals in the Tuscaloosa neighborhood resent the tragedy of errors, the community's white citizenship has variously accepted the sorry train of events as inevitable, excusable or commendable.

"5. The extreme community hysteria was the result of the superaddition to the ever-present latent white group phobia against the black man—a phobia in large part traceable to the group insistence upon the right of economic exploitation—of the newer but equally consuming fear of communism injected by the attempts of the International Labor Defense to force its way into the case. Much of the hysteria observed in the Tuscaloosa vicinity is directly traceable to a pervasive, unreasonable fear, even on the part of some of the most intelligent people, that communist agents had actually organized conspiracies of violence, outrage and insurrection among the large negro population of the area.

"The most careful search has failed to reveal any insurgent spirit whatever among the negro population, or even any sustained effort on the part of the communists to gain negro support. Certainly the Tuscaloosa community could hardly have placed itself in a worst light than it did by insisting that the negroes' defense be left in local hands, and then permitting them to be murdered and these crimes against society to go unavenged.

"The immediate responsibility for this situation and probably for the lynchings themselves, rests upon a local secret organization, with an elaborate system of espionage and intimation.

"6. The commission sincerely hopes that the judicial and prosecuting authorities of Tuscaloosa County will on their own iniative effectively renew their investigations. If the local authorities fail, the commission feels that the best hope for justice rests upon the supreme court of Alabama, which is empowered by the state constitution to impeach officers who signally fail of their duty, and in the governor of the state, who has authority to remove officers so impeached.

Columbia, S. C. Record
November 2, 1933

THE NATURE OF LYNCHING.

South Carolina, to its shame, has not been innocent of lynchings although its record in this particular field of lawlessness has been better in recent years than that of some other states.

And there are some South Carolinians, who even though they would not participate in a lynching may defend lynching and lynchers. There are communities in South Carolina the law-abiding citizens of which have been given the opportunity to purge themselves of the ignominy of a lynching and did nothing. They might have punished the lynchers, but they prefered to forget them. Forgetting was simpler.

But these folw who defend mob law or wink at it do not know what they do. They do not know what a lynching looks like.

At Princess Anne, in Maryland, a few days ago a negro was lynched. It was not the most gruesome of lynchings, but it was gruesome and degrading enough, as the eye-witness story of the orgy, told by an unidentified Baltimorean to the Baltimore Sun, reveals. And it demonstrates more clearly than any argument the fact that a lynching is a crime against the state first and the victim secondarily; it proves that there are always more victims than one to a lynching.

"I had read about lynchings," the witness tells, "and I had an idea that they were regular drunken brawls. That crowd at Princess Anne was sober. I saw only three men you could say were drunk in all that mob of 5,000. And they weren't the leaders. The men who pulled on the rope that dragged the negro through the streets were sober.

"I'd bet my shirt the men who actually broke into the jail hadn't had a drink. They seemed to save up and do their drinking after it was all over . . . There wasn't any laughing in that crowd. And, except for what little light there was from one pair of automobile headlamps, it was pitch dark all around the jail. Half the policemen don't know what or who hit 'em.

"I can't describe the kind of howllike noise that went up from the mob when the jail door gave way. I guess the best description would be—it was something like the noise in the cat house at a big zoo when the keepers begin passing out the day's meat.

"When they dragged the negro through the streets at the end of a rope, the crowd fell in alongside and behind, running along. I saw high school girls and their boy friends parading along with the rest of the crowd. I didn't see any young children. The boy who went around waving the negro's ear was in his twenties and kinda stupid-looking.

"The women in the mob didn't make much noise, not anywhere near so much noise as the women I've heard at wrestling matches in Baltimore.

"The men dragging on the rope were all in their thirties, I should say. They weren't young fellows. And they were all pretty well dressed. They weren't farm hands in overalls. As they ran and dragged, they kept whooping it up in a way I can't describe. It wasn't funny—I mean, it wasn't in fun.

"When they strung the negro to the tree they kept yanking the body up and down, up and down, letting it strike the ground, and then yanking it up again. Each time they yanked the howl would go up again and somebody'd yell, 'Is he dead yet?'

"I can't tell you how it made me feel, I know I looked up there and saw the negro hanging from the rope in the darkness and I said to myself, 'Are you living in the year 1933?'

"I don't ever want to see anything like it again.

"And, do you know, by midnight there wasn't a soul around. Everything was quiet like Sunday evening. The body was still lying in the middle of the state highway. For about three hours it had been lying there, and for most of that time I saw men and women walk up to it and kick it and step on it and walk away—a regular stream of 'em.

"The state police were pretty sore when they had to go get the body and hide it so the souvenir hunters wouldn't get at it. . . .

"When I left Princess Anne before noon everything was 'business as usual.' There wasn't anything crest-fallen about the people you saw on the streets. You'd think nothing had happened at all."

Lynching isn't to be defended, even tactitly. And no state may feel free of the threat of it unless and until its citizenship turns against it in the disgust it inspires in the hearts of men who remember the injunction from Mount Sinai, "Thou shalt not kill." No state may breathe freely and call itself civilized until those who might be tempted to go howling through the night like beasts to slay know that the slaying will be followed by arrest, trial, conviction and punishment. For the first step in the prevention of lynchings is the punishing of lynchers. "The wages of sin . . ."

Lynchings - 1933

Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4036

Quick Justice the Remedy

Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tenn. 12-?-33

Recent lynchings have brought renewed agitation for a federal anti-lynching statute. The movement is gaining momentum daily. At least three members of the Senate have publicly announced that they will introduce such legislation when Congress convenes.

A vigorous and bitter fight over the passage of some form of federal anti-lynching legislation is a foregone conclusion. That is the history of attempted anti-lynching legislation.

A federal anti-lynching law will not stop lynchings. The only corrective was set forth by President Roosevelt in his Wednesday night address, when he said:

"This new generation is not content with preaching against that vile form of collective murder—lynch law—which has broken out in our midst anew. . . . A thinking American goes further. It seeks a government of its own that will be sufficiently strong to protect the prisoner and at the same time to crystallize a public opinion so clear that all governments will be compelled to practice a more certain justice.

"The judicial function of government is the protection of the individual and of the community through quick and certain justice. That function in many places has fallen into a bad state of disrepair. It must be a part of our program to re-establish it."

Thus the president not only puts his finger on the cause of lynching, but also indicates the only intelligent corrective.

The system of "quick and certain justice" in this country has broken down. It is in worse shape than when Chief Justice Taft severely indicted it several years ago.

The history of lynching goes back almost to the dawn of man.

It has been common in all countries when unsettled conditions existed or anarchy threatened.

Crime prevalence in this country denotes an unsettled condition and a state bordering almost on anarchy. The people, having witnessed the whelping of racketeering and its development, and the patent failure of law-enforcement authorities to deal with organized crime, have lost faith.

Faith will be restored and lynching will cease when the "quick and certain justice" spoken of by the President is provided.

Anti-lynching laws already exist in state codes. They are ineffective. In Ohio and Indiana such laws provide for the removal of the sheriff of the county in which a lynching occurs. In Ohio and South Carolina such laws permit relatives of the victim to proceed against the county for financial redress.

A federal anti-lynching law, imposing even greater penalties, would only be adding to the already long list of impotent punitive laws. Even those who have done genuinely constructive work along anti-lynching lines concede the danger and unfairness of such a statute.

Those who are advocating the addition of a federal anti-lynching law are attacking the problem in the wrong manner. Intelligent Americans will seek the preventive pointed out by the President, knowing as they do that no punitive law, or prohibition, will successfully dictate the moods of a people, nor restrain them when they feel that they are being grievously outraged.

Roosevelt Raps Lynchings And Rebukes Rolph

Mob Violence Is Branded Vile Form Of Collective 'Murder' By President

Wants Sure Justice

Advertiser

Voices Firm Faith In New Generation In Address Before Church Council

12-7-33

(The full text of President Roosevelt's address before the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America will be found on page 2.)

Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6—(AP)—President Roosevelt in an address tonight called lynching "a vile form of collective murder."

The President also indirectly rebuked Gov. James Rolph, of California, who recently expressed approval of mob action in San Jose, Calif., which resulted in the death of two men.

"We do not excuse those in high places or in low who condone lynch law," Mr. Roosevelt said.

He did not, however, in his speech before the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America directly refer to the California lynchings or to similar incidents recently in Missouri and Maryland.

Mr. Roosevelt expressed faith in the "new generation" as a preliminary to his strong condemnation of mob violence.

"This new generation, for example," he said, "is not content with preaching against that vile form of collective murder—lynch law—which has broken out in our midst anew. We know that it is murder — and a deliberate and definite disobedience of the commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill.' We do not excuse those in high places or in low who condone lynch law.

"But a thinking America goes further. It seeks a government of its own that will be sufficiently strong to protect the prisoner and at the same time crystallize a public opinion so clear that government of all kinds will be compelled to practice a more certain justice.

Atlanta Journal

"The judicial function of the government is the protection of the individual and of the community through quick and certain justice. That function in many places has fallen into a sad state of disrepair. It must be a part of our program to reestablish it.

12-7-33

In his first public utterance since returning from Warm Springs, Ga., where he spent a Thanksgiving vacation, the President said the government was seeking the goal the churches look toward and that "from the bottom of my heart I believe that this beloved country is entering upon a time of great gain."

Montgomery, Ala.

"That gain," he said, "can well include material prosperity if we take care that it is a prosperity for a hundred and twenty million human beings and not a prosperity for the top of pyramid alone."

"We recognize the right of the individual to seek and to obtain his own fair wage, his own fair profit, in his own fair way—just so long as in the doing of it he shall not push down nor hold down his neighbor," he went on.

"And at the same time, we are at one in calling for collective effort on broad lines of social planning—a collective effort which is wholly in accord with the social teachings of Christianity."

"This younger generation is not satisfied with the exposure of those in high places who seek to line their own nests with other people's money, to cheat their government of its just dues or to break the spirit of the law while observing its legalistic letter," the President said. "This new generation seeks action—action by collective government and by individual education, toward the ending of practices such as these."

Mr. Roosevelt said a new definition of prosperity meant not only greater material prosperity but a "prosperity socially controlled for the common good. . . .

"Toward that new definition of prosperity the churches and the governments, while wholly separate in their functioning, can work hand in hand."

The President arrived at the vast hall in time to listen to a program of the Westminster Choir. He was introduced by the Rev. Albert W. Beave, president of the council.

Woman Heckler Shouts Defiance At Anti-Lynching Group in N. Y.

Constitution 12-4-33 Atlanta, Ga.

NEW YORK, Dec. 3—(AP)—Over the defiant "no" of a lone woman heckler who called herself "Madame X," a mass meeting of Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and negroes adopted a series of resolutions today condemning mob violence.

The resolutions denounced "the recent lynchings and the laudation thereof by Governor Rolph, of California," urged Governors Ritchie, of Maryland, and Park, of Missouri, to continue their efforts to punish lynchers, and called for a fair trial of the Scottsboro defendants.

Pale with anger and shaking her fist, the minority member of the meeting took up a position at the foot of the dais in the great hall of the College of the City of New York and cried that New Yorkers should "wash their own dirty linen" before questioning the acts of citizens of other states.

Charles H. Tuttle, former United States attorney and chairman of the meeting, who had accorded the young woman the right to speak, sought to quiet her tirade but she turned upon him with: "You filthy thing."

"Throw her out," shouted the crowd, but the young woman, tall and spare, held her ground, frequently trying to interrupt the other speakers.

Assailing Tuttle for inaction at the time of the Seabury investigation and of the Lindbergh kidnaping, she said:

"Mr. Tut-Tut-Tuttle is what your name ought to be."

Beyond suggesting that she be called "Madame X" and saying she was from the middle west she declined to identify herself.

Other speakers included Bishop William T. Manning, Bernard S. Deutsch, president-elect of the board of aldermen; Dr. Frederick B. Robinson, president of the College of the City of New York; Alfred J. Talley, representing Cardinal Hayes; Dr. David de Sola Pool, rabbi of the Spanish and Portugese synagogue, and A. Clayton Powell, who said he represented 12,000,000 negroes in America.

Bishop Manning read a telegram which he said he had received from the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Gould, pastor of the First Congregational church, San Jose, Cal., where the two alleged kidnapers of Brooke Hart were lynched a week ago tonight.

It said the ministers of San Jose and vicinity "have publicly and unanimously declared their emphatic condemnation of a mob lawlessness which resulted in lynching."

With the voiced approval of the audience, Bishop Manning sent a reply saying: "We unqualifiedly condemn Governor Rolph for the betrayal of trust and the incitement to mob lawlessness of which he stands guilty before the state of California and the people of the United States."

Tuttle termed the San Jose episode as "a challenge to greater swiftness, certainty and common sense in our administration of the criminal law."

Despite recent judicial reforms, he said no permanent advance can be made in the war on crime "until we take our public prosecutors, like our judges, out of politics; until the political allies and protectors of organized crime are brought to the bar of justice, and until our legal procedure has been made more flexible and relieved of outward fetishes."

Powell warned that "if they don't stop the lynching of white criminals, they soon will lynch governors and newspaper reporters and photographers, as they tried to do last week in Maryland."

Constitution 12-4-33 Atlanta, Ga.

Three Theological Students Arrested Protesting Minister's Praise Of Rolph

NEW YORK, Dec. 3.—(AP)—Theological students today picketed the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Heavenly Rest in protest against an endorsement by its pastor, Dr. Henry Darlington, of Gov. James Rolph's commendation of the San Jose lynchings. The demonstration resulted in three arrests.

Although Dr. Darlington recanted his endorsement at the morning service, the students—18 young men and two young women—paced up and down the sidewalks of Fifth Avenue bearing placards denouncing his stand.

Police arrested two men and one of the girls on disorderly charges preferred by Mrs. Mary Brown, who tore to bits two of the signs and, in the excitement, slipped and fell to the pavement.

The young woman, Miss Lillian Migrath, 21, of Butler, N. J., preferred a charge of assault against Mrs. Brown, but the desk lieutenant at the precinct station to which they were taken refused to receive it.

The other two arrested were Louis Goldberg, 25, of Brooklyn, and William Chamberlain, 27, of Lakeside, Mich. All have been ordered to appear in Harlem Court Monday morning.

The picketers are students at the Union Theological Seminary and said they were members of the Intercollegiate League for Industrial Democracy.

Dr. Darlington, during the reading of church announcements prior to his sermon, told the congregation he had come to the conclusion he should not have sent his telegram to Governor Rolph of California, in which he had said, "Congratulations on the stand you have taken."

"It was the result," he said today, "of being deeply stirred at the time, and upon further consideration of the facts, I have come to the conclusion that it should not have been sent.

"It is the duty of all good citizens to uphold the law, and I do not condone in any way the attempts of groups or individuals to take matters into their own hands."

He made no further mention of the subject in his sermon and members of the vestry later said there would be no additional comment.

Lynchings-1933 Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4037

Opelika, Ala., News
October 19, 1933

DR. HENRY M. EDMONDS DENOUNCES LYNCHINGS

Forceful, determined and with no hint of compromise was Dr. Henry M. Edmond's recent sermon in denunciation of the recent lynchings in Alabama and in the South and if the advice of the Birmingham minister is headed we shall, in a large measure rid the Southland of the stench of these inexcusable murders. Cold blooded murders they are, for such deaths can be called by no other term.

Dr. Edmonds, pastor of the Independent Presbyterian Church of Birmingham, made the following statement during his discourse:

"My conviction is that it costs cvilization too much to turn over the work of our courts to young, ignorant, undisciplined, irresponsible, cowardly, non-tax-paying, sadistic, vagrant and self-appointed agents.

"It costs too much to expose men, women, young people and children to the sight of mobs howling, dancing and singing about their mutilated, burning human victims.

"It costs too much to expose possible innocence to a crowd gone crazy, lustful and unreasoning as a forest fire.

"It costs too much to turn madness loose to burn down schoolhouses, hotels, office buildings, jails.

"Of course, the kernel of the matter is it costs too much to relinquish the principle of orderly trial based on evidence."

To those who knew the true situation, and it must appear even to the casual reader, that many of the persons slain by ignorant mobs are innocent. If they are guilty of such heinous crimes as to inspire the demand for life, there are few cases on record in which they escape justice in the normal process of court procedure.

Intelligent people everywhere should take lynching seriously to mind, and consider it such a matter of importance that it becomes a personal antogonist, the blot to be wiped from the Southern escutcheon.

Columbia, Tenn., Daily Herald
October 20, 1933

LYNCHING AND LAW

A negro was lynched in Maryland the other night, and there being some dispute as to whether Maryland is a Northern or Southern state, perhaps it will be affirmed and denied at length that this was "another Southern lynching."

But it makes but little difference where the lynching was committed—it was a crime. There may be "politics" in the statement of Governor Ritchie putting the blame on the circuit judge and attorney general of the community in which the lynching occurred, but it is evident if real precautions had been taken, if officers sworn to enforce the law had acted wisely and courageously, there would have been no lynching.

And although it may be that the negro deserved to die, certainly he deserved to die from due process of law, and not by the illegal actions of a self-constituted mob.

On the other hand, the one real reason for the lynching spirit in this particular instance was the fact that in a nearby county a white man was killed by a negro more than two years ago, and the case is still in the courts, despite a conviction.

Justice should be meted out by the courts, but there is no reason why it should not be meted out with at least reasonable speed. When a murder is committed, there is every reason that the criminal be punished legally, and in the quickest possible time. It is the delay that so often occurs in the courts, which to the layman appears so unnecessary that helps in keeping alive the spirit of Judge Lynch, to the detriment of the well-being of the judicial system as a whole.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
October 12, 1933

Adds to Our Shame

The story of two more Negro lynchings in the South adds to our section's shame.

Execution by mob law and mob violence is as beastly a performance as anything the vilest of victims could have done.

Its practice is expression of qualities unworthy of the civilization and character that we claim.

The strength of a mob pitted against a single man is cowardly.

The rage that thus murders a man is that of a beast.

The sense of justice that can be appeased by a thing so brutal is itself that of a brute.

The old contention that no well born or high class man of the South takes part in these insensate orgies fails in face of the fact that the descendants of the old slave owners of the South, and friends of the Negro, as they undoubtedly are by birth, understanding and tradition, while taking no part in the wretched and beastly business of lynching, yet do not put a stop to it.

The press, the pulpit, the leaders of the outraged community of every profession, denounce "the lynchers fore and aft," as John Temple Graves writes in the Birmingham Age-Herald, with an investigation by the grand jury, expressions of proper indignation, and proper plans made "to push the case."

War veterans of the east have expelled Governor Rolph of California from their "national advisory board" because [illegible] too hastily approved the lynching of [illegible] kidnapers at San Jose.

It should be remembered that what a man thinks, not what he says, tells what he is.

Tens of millions in this country THOUGHT what Governor Rolph SAID, although their second thought may have modified their first, which was "thank God those kidnapers are dead."

Governor Rolph said what he should not have said, occupying high office, but he said what at least 98 per cent of those that voted for him thought when they first heard of the lynching.

If public officials were never guilty of a more serious offense than telling what they really think, there would be no need to worry.

To condone mob violence is a dangerous mistake. Governor Rolph knows it as well as his critics do. But he and others, when they heard of the lynching, thought first of the unfortunate young man kidnaped, taken to the edge of the water, knocked on the head repeatedly with a brick, in spite of piteous appeals, bound with wire and, while still alive, thrown into the water. That thought was not calculated to arouse sympathy for the kidnapers.

However, one violation of law, thoughtlessly approved, may lead to others a thousand times more dangerous, and that should be remembered, even when a lynching happens to please us.

Worst of all in that horrible mob outbreak, revealing the savagery that lives so close to the skins of "civilized" men, was the statement of a young man that had bragged about leading a group of the lynchers: "We gathered up most of them in the speakeasies, that is why so many of the mob were drunk."

Fifi Dorsay and Maurice Hill—perhaps you know who they are the writer does not know—were married "as a climax to the first trial honeymoon on record."

It wah not actually the first "trial honeymoon" on record. The first one was the Adam and Eve trial, in the Garden of Eden. That did not work out well, but you can blame nobody but the snake. Adam and Eve did not choose each other.

No honeymoon or marriage "experiment" can be expected to work out well, for it always indicates doubt in one or both, and that is enough to spoil the experiment at the start. The least a bride can expect is that her husband shall believe her to be the only woman on earth, as Eve was.

It is not yet realized that flying is inexpensive. While saving precious time, it costs no more for gas or oil than automobiling. Ben Smith of New York, after having made a few millions in Wall Street wisely selects gold mines for his business. He selects the right kind of gold mine, not the kind offered you by mail as "the opportunity of your life."

Mr. Smith, stopping here on the Hearst Ranch landing field, on his way via San Francisco and Seattle to British Columbia, where he has a nice mine, urged:

"Come on, you will be up there in nine hours, and I will show you, on the Fraser River, absolutely the most beautiful country in the world."

Negro Bishops Rap Rolph, Praise Ritchie

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7.—(AP)—The conduct of Governor Rolph, of California was criticized and that of Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, was both commended and condemned today in a discussion of lynching by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

A resolution introduced by Bishop W. J. Walls, negro, said the "unfortunate assertions" of Governor Roplh were being counteracted by the "patriotic efforts" of Governor Ritchie.

Bishop John A. Gregg, of the African Methodist Episcopal church, Kansas City, opened the discussion with the statement that every negro in America thanked God today for President Roosevelt's condemnation of lynching as expressed before the council last night.

The resolution offered by Bishop Walls said: "Governor Rolph has forced the issue and America can no longer seem to hide her soul on lynching nor supinely hope for time and chance to furnish the cure for this growing national disease."

The Rev. Leonard White, of Salisbury, Md., district superintendent of the Wilmington (Del.) conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, condemned Governor Ritchie for sending troops to arrest alleged participants in the lynching of a negro and defended Maryland's eastern shore people. He asked that judgment be suspended until the facts were known, saying if the whole story were known the governor would not be praised.

Warning From California

As ruthlessly as they executed the victim of their criminal plotting two California kidnapers were executed by outraged citizens of San Jose. California has issued a warning to kidnapers that they cannot fail to heed. It will do more good than all the statutes penalizing kidnaping that have ever been written.

The crime against young Brooke Hart followed the successful prosecution by the government of conspirators in earlier kidnapings. It was obvious that convictions did not provide the expected deterrent.

Nor did the fact that the California penal code provides death for murder, death for kidnaping, and death for a double-felony, deter the assailants of Brooke Hart from carrying out their criminal mission.

The mood of the California mob is a reflection of the mood of most Americans, sick at heart of the law's delays, justifiably uncertain of its efficacy, and determined that there shall be an end to depredations which have brought this country the reputation of being the most lawless in the world.

RICHMOND, VA.
TIMES DISPATCH
NOV 29 1933

Back Ritchie!

LEVEL-HEADED citizens of Maryland should stand back of GOVERNOR RITCHIE in his efforts to bring to trial the alleged members of the Princess Anne lynch mob.

Local sympathy—running wild and flaming high—is on the side of the lynchers. The troops sent to guard the prisoners were forced to hurl tear gas bombs on the screaming crowd.

Mob law must be put down. Justice must be administered by the courts. Courageously, ignoring popular demand, GOVERNOR RITCHIE does his duty. The nation is fortunate to have RITCHIE of Maryland to set up at this moment in contrast to ROLPH of California.

THE RITCHIES, THE ROLPHS AND OUR CURRENT SOCIAL ORDER

Advertiser
Montgomery Ala
12-2-33

Newspaper writers continue to make critical examinations of the recent spectacular lynchings here and there over the land.

Be it said to the credit of the press, the great majority of American editors have roundly condemned Governor Rolph of California and warmly praised Governor Ritchie, of Maryland.

The Dothan Eagle expresses the best spirit of American journalism when it says in a leading editorial:

> While the demagogic Rolph of California was gabbling to the country that he not only endorsed lynch law but would pardon any member of the San Jose mob arrested, the superb Ritchie of Maryland was calmly ordering out State troops to arrest nine known members of the Princess Anne mob which recently staged a lynching.
>
> Which of these State executives is the more admirable? Give your better self a break and let your intelligence answer.
>
> To our way of thinking, one typifies the low impulses of savagery, while the other is representative of the wisdom, the order and the decency of civilized men.
>
> One is a dismal and disgusting demonstration of loose thinking—or no thinking at all—of a mind rendered utterly chaotic through emotions, while the other is a noble example of clear thinking and a high order of courage.
>
> The California dunce immediately was the hero of the hour, and probably could muster California's overwhelming vote for the Presidency; but the Maryland mob which sought to wrest the prisoners from the State militia shouted, "Lynch Ritchie!"
>
> And that, ladies and gentlemen, is what happens when reason is dethroned by blind and brutal passion.
>
> We are told that rage is "mental imbecility," and that it is "essentially vulgar." These mobs were controlled by rage, not reason, and no civilization can prosper under mob lawlessness. Civilizations grow under law, order, justice and reason. "Nothing can be lasting when reason does not rule," said Claudian. "He is next to the gods whom reason and not passion impels," said Rufus. "Reason is the glory of human nature, and one of the chief eminences whereby we are raised above the beasts, in this lower world," said Dr. Watts. "Wise men are instructed by reason; men of less understanding by experience; the most ignorant by necessity, and beasts, by nature," said Cicero. But Sir W. Drummond uttered this lasting truth: "He that will not reason is a bigot; he that cannot reason is a fool and he that dares not reason is a slave."
>
> A mob does not stop to reason. Therefore it is a bigot, a fool and a slave.
>
> Probably the greatest rebuke has come from the father of the Hart boy who was kidnaped and killed. Said he: "I am so overcome with my own grief that I am unable to think of that other terrible thing. My sympathy goes out to the families of those two men."
>
> From this man comes the real essence of all that is decent and charitable in the human make-up. His intelligence is not dethroned even by the emotions of a broken heart. He has the genuine sympathy of the American people, and he has the respect of every sober-minded citizen.

The mob hasn't a leg to stand on in debate. All the evidence is against it. The excuse that the courts have "failed" is met by the fact that mobs have failed even more ignominously, though they have had a longer day in history in which to show what they could do.

There is nothing new or novel about mobs. The jury is much newer and fresher. The mob is as old as crowds. The jury is a comparatively new social device.

The jury at least begins its labors by taking an oath and acquiring a sober mien. The mob takes no oath to perform its duty fairly and justly. It rages and storms and terrorizes.

Governor Rolph is more of a poet than a philosopher, we fear. As a logician he would be compelled to recognize the ultimate possible consequences of his doctrine and practice.

Let the mobs of California understand that government is on their side, let them work their will freely as occasion arises, and in time a large enough mob might conceivably be organized to march upon Sacramento and string up an unpopular Governor and members of an unpopular Supreme Court.

If direct action is to be officially condoned in the field of jurisprudence, inevitably direct action will become the means of redressing political wrongs, both imaginary and actual.

MANY WILL CHANGE THEIR MIND

The Rev. Dr. Henry Darlington, rector of the Church of the Heavenly Rest in New York, surprised the world last week by sending a telegram to Governor Rolph of California commending him on his praise of the San Jose lynchers.

Not that the world was surprised because the Rev. Dr. Darlington applauded Rolph's stand. Not many persons outside of New York—and not very many persons in New York—knew this minister. But the world was shocked to learn that a preacher had commended the Rolph attitude.

Sunday the Rev. Dr. Darlington stood up in his pulpit and said: "I should not have sent the telegram to Governor Rolph. It is the duty of all good citizens to uphold the law and I do not condone in any way the attempts of groups or individuals to take matters into their own hands."

Many persons who have commended the Governor of California will change their minds.

But most persons will not be placed in what might be considered so embarrassing a position as was that of the New York minister who doubtless was overcome by emotion when he dispatched the laudatory telegram to the California lynch exponent.

The minister doubtless was thinking of the brutality of the murder for which the two lynch victims were punished when he voiced approval of the Rolph attitude. At the moment he saw only that one case.

But Sunday when he stepped into his pulpit, as a spiritual leader and as a first citizen, he condemned mob law because he had had time to think over his first emotional outburst, to realize that his first "approval" of the California outbreak was motivated by the desire to see society rid itself of crime—but that his "approval" was shortsighted. He realized that to protect themselves against crime men first must protect their government and that the lynch spirit tears down government, law and order.

One wonders how many persons who congratulated the Governor of California for his utterances will change their mind, and how soon?

Many who spoke out in favor of the lynchings last week will change their mind

Advertiser
Montgomery Ala
12-6-33

RICHMOND, VA.
TIMES DISPATCH
NOV 28 1933

The California Lynching

IN the spirit of the Vigilantes who meted out extra-legal justice to bandits and other undesirables in the old West, a mob of Californians took the law into its own hands Monday night and hanged the two men who had confessed to the brutal kidnaping and slaying of BROOKE HART.

Two important conclusions may be drawn from this episode.

One is that the public has become greatly aroused by the activities of kidnapers throughout the country, and that it is in no mood to trifle with these criminals. The killing of young HART was a particularly fiendish affair, and the mob reacted fiendishly. Instead of letting the law "take its course," it resorted to the always indefensible technique of lynching.

The second conclusion is that mobs react similarly wherever they are located, whether in the South, the North or the West. The South has been the principal transgressor in the matter of lynching, and it has been rightly criticized for its preeminence in this regard. Those in other sections who have been so zealous in denouncing the South should now turn with equal fury on California.

Certainly few, if any, Southern governors in history have been as blatant in their praise of lynchers as GOVERNOR ROLPH of that State. Instead of issuing a sizzling excoriation of the mob which hanged the two kidnapers and promising to do his utmost to see that the guilty parties are brought to justice, ROLPH announced that he will pardon anyone arrested for participation in the lynching. In this connection he said:

> I am checking San Quentin and Folsom prisons to find out what kidnapers they have. I am thinking of paroling them to those fine, patriotic citizens of San Jose who know how to handle such a situation. . . .
>
> That was a fine lesson to the whole nation. There will be less kidnaping in the country now. They made a good job of it.

If any governor of an American State has delivered so direct an incitement to violence and lawlessness as GOVERNOR ROLPH of California delivered yesterday, it would be difficult to call his name.

Certain elements in Maryland have been seeking the impeachment of GOVERNOR RITCHIE because of his failure to prevent the recent lynching there. The impeachment of GOVERNOR ROLPH would seem to be much more in order.

The Maryland executive offered to remove the prisoner to Baltimore for safekeeping and the local authorities refused. ROLPH has brazenly invited the entire State of California to pitch in and lynch kidnapers wherever they may be found. Is that what he calls abiding by his oath to uphold the Constitution?

Newport, Tenn. Plain Talk
November 28, 1933

TWO DESERVING PEOPLE

While we do not as a rule approve of mob killings and lynching parties, it appears on the surface of the facts that have been given to the public that a big dose of medicine such as the above is very good for the killers of 22 year old Brooke Hart of San Francisco. It seems that the cold-blooded pair did not want young Hart for any articular reason, and so they cut off his arms and legs, mashed in his head, and hid all that was left of him in the waters of San Francisco Bay. After perpetrating the crime, they sent ransom notes to the parents requesting $40,000 ransom for Hart's return. By a miraculous stroke of justice, the men were taken by officers and confessed to the crime. A mob formed outside the prison where the men were being held as soon as the news of the finding of young Hart's body was made public. Although we suppose it is the jailor's duty to guard his prisoners from mob violence, we think that in a case like this we'd go to sleep on the job and relax completely. When the mob got their hands on them it was perfectly all right with us, and we are sure we wouldn't be able to identify anyone in the crowd even if it did happen to be a neighbor of ours. Those birds, to our way of thinking, deserved all that they got.

White Press, Southern.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

4038

WHY DO MARYLAND POLICE CARRY GUNS?

Greensboro Record.

A rather singular circumstance in the lynching of the Negro, George Armwood, at Princess Anne, Md., was that State police, well armed, were present at the scene and, according to all accounts, could have repelled the invaders of the jail in which the prisoner was lodged had they chosen to fire on the mobsters.

State Police Captain Johnson and his men, though bearing weapons, preferred to risk their lives in hand-to-hand, fist and skull fighting with the mobsters than to fire on them. Thus, when half a dozen officers faced by a mob of some 5,000 persons refused to use their arms, it can hardly be said that they offered resistance. Surely this Maryland officer and his men knew what their duty was and what was expected of them in the circumstances.

This incident is, strangely paradoxical, in a way. In most cases police officers are too quick with the trigger finger. But here were armed officers who permitted a lawless mob to have its own way without firing a shot.

Why should Maryland be put to the expense of arming her State troopers with real weapons? Why not give them pop-guns or bean-shooters?

The action of the Maryland troopers reminds us of a circumstance in North Carolina's latest lynching, the one in Pender County. There the sheriff, after a mob had taken a prisoner away from him and his deputies and lynched the former, told investigating officers he just "didn't know what to do" under such circumstances. The Maryland officers did put up a fight of a sort, whereas the Tar Heel sheriff and his men not knowing what to do did nothing.

The use of firearms in law enforcement is seldom necessary. But there is a time to shoot. Such a time comes when mobs start taking the law in their own hands. When leaders of a mob bent on lynching are met with hot lead the lynching usually fails to come off.

SAVANNAH, GA.
PRESS

OCT 21 1933

CRUEL AND UNFORTUNATE.

The lynching of a negro in Maryland Wednesday night was cruel.

The crime for which the man was murdered was a revolting one as his victim was an old lady of 80 years. The perpetrators of the killing were men and women and the rage of the community was evident.

It seems that Governor Ritchie was criticised for having permitted the removal of the prisoner from Baltimore to the interior. The Governor argues that he had no authority except to advise the sheriff as the latter was supreme in taking charge of the prisoner. Evidently a crime of this kind is liable to create indignation in the neighborhood and it seems that extraordinary caution should have been taken at least to keep the prisoner in Baltimore.

Governor Ritchie, whose administration in Maryland has been wonderfully fine, trusted the assurances of the sheriff and local judge that the prisoner would be perfectly safe in Princess Anne, in Somerset County. This was doubtful. It seems that Governor Ritchie should have been suspicious.

The whole proceeding, as outlined in telegraph, was disgraceful and reflects upon Maryland, the governor and the local authorities.

It looks now as if the authorities which removed the prisoner from Baltimore or which allowed the removal are partly responsible for delivering him into the hands of the mob.

Such events have taken place in Georgia in times past. We have in mind one lynching where the prisoner was not only killed but burned and pieces of the rope and funeral pyre were distributed among the crowd as souvenirs.

Raleigh, N. C., News & Observer
October 20, 1933

MOB LAW TOO PREVALENT

The lynching of a Negro on the Eastern Shore of Maryland is fresh evidence of a spirit of lawlessness liable to break out at any time during these days of tension. Only a few weeks ago an atrocious lynching took place in South Carolina. There was less excuse for the South Carolina lynching, as it appeared to have been done with the connivance of officers, but the Maryland mob none the less took the law into its own hands.

The Maryland Negro was accused of attacking a 71-year-old woman. It can be understood how such a crime would infuriate her neighbors, but it cannot excuse the lynching. For if mobs are permitted to take the law into their own hands, then a government of law ceases. Only brute force would then count. Such a condition of things is unthinkable in a civilized age.

Lynchings have been all too prevalent in America. While Southern States have led in the number of lynchings in the last 40 years with only five exceptions every American State has had one or more lynchings. Maryland has had a score of lynchings in that time, all except three having been Negroes.

North Carolina's record isn't one to cause pride as more than three score have occurred in the last 40 years, but its record shines by comparison with other Southern States. No other Southern State has a record that approaches that of North Carolina. Virginia comes the nearest with 83 lynchings.

ROCKY MOUNT, N. C.
TELEGRAM

OCT 23 1933

Watched With Interest

Responsibility for a particularly brutal lynching of a Negro in Princess Anne county, Maryland, has been laid on local authorities by Governor Ritchie, although he has instructed the Attorney-General to assist and, if his offices are required, to conduct an investigation that will lead to the apprehension of mob leaders and mob members. Maryland has an unsavory reputation for lynchings and for mob violence against Negroes suspected of more revolting crimes, but the fact does not minimize the duty of the State and county authorities in this instance. In the past authorities in other Southern states where Negroes had been murdered by mobs have been unable to bring perpetrators to justice, either because of the excessive cleverness with which the crimes are committed or because of the excessive inability of officers of the law to cope with crimes of this nature. We might add that in as far as we know the term cleverness cannot be applied to any crime committed by mass action. The burden of proof rests with local authorities.

The manner in which North Carolina and Edgecombe county authorities went about the investigation of a lynching that occurred in Tarboro in 1931 is generally known. All that was done could be summarized with a word: Nothing.

The country at large is watching with more than casual interest the outcome in Maryland. Governor Ritchie has declared that the lynchers must be made to answer in court. Princess Anne county authorities, according to the Baltimore Sun, are playing up until this time the conventional role, that of doing as little as possible. Nobody is able to remember another's face; in fact, nobody knows that a lynching really has taken place. Every has heard it but nobody saw it. Yet, a Negro was dragged from a jail after a judge, a native of the community, made an address to a number of people, some of whom must have been his acquaintences, hanged near the judge's front door, dragged through the streets and burned.

We are watching with interest what will happen, but we strongly suspect that the final chapter, when it is written, will not differ materially from others that have been written in the South.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
October 20, 1933

RITCHIE ASSERTS HANDS WERE TIED

Powerless To Have Prevented Negro's Lynching, He Says

BALTIMORE—(AP)—After protests against the lynching of a Negro at Princess Anne and demands for action against members of the mob and Somerset County officials reached his office, Gov. Ritchie asserted he was powerless to act.

His statement followed adoption of resolutions by the executive committee of the Socialist party in Maryland calling for impeachment of the governor "for criminal neglect of duty" and the removal of Judge Duer and State's Atty. Robins, of Somerset County.

The Socialist resolutions also asked for the arrest of the two officials of Somerset County where George Armwood, Negro accused of assaulting a woman, was lynched by a mob Wednesday night, and their prosecution "on charges of second degree manslaughter."

Atty. Gen. Lane said in reply to an opinion from the chief executive, "Gov. Ritchie had no authority in the matter. As a matter of fact, under the Maryland law neither did the judge nor the state's attorney."

He said the individual responsible for the custody of a prisoner was Sheriff Dougherty.

John Richardson, held as an accessory after the fact, early Friday was lodged in the Baltimore City Jail for safekeeping. He had been held in the Princess Anne Jail for aiding in Armwood's escape after the alleged assault.

No date has been set for a coroner's inquest at Princess Anne into the death of Armwood. Three Baltimore detectives who were sent to Princess Anne to make an investigation returned to Baltimore after spending less than a day at the scene of the lynching.

Birmingham, Ala., News
October 20, 1933

Men, women and children were in the screaming, cursing, frenzied, almost insane mob that lynched a Negro in Maryland Wednesday night. The Associated Press account of the mob's conduct reads like nothing human. It was an animal orgy of men and women drunk with blood lust and hate. It is answer enough, surely, to those who think the administering of justice can ever be entrusted to self-appointed private citizens. The Maryland mob was no group of stern men determined upon a grim duty. It was a motley of temporarily inhuman beings making a festival of their lowest and most brutal instincts, with the crime of which the Negro was accused for their excuse. If he was guilty of the crime, the law would have punished him with the death he deserved. The mob accomplished nothing but the punishment of everything human and civilized in its own members. It remains to be seen whether Maryland will be more alert and successful now than Alabama in dealing with lynchers.

* * *

Without meaning to be too personal, we can say that the picture of Crawford Johnson, Sr., which appeared in The Birmingham News Wednesday, was even more eloquent than the story which accompanied it. The story recited his acceptance of the "special gifts" chairmanship for the coming Community Chest drive. It mentioned his civic and business achievements and his presidency of the Community Chest in its first year. It described the "special gifts" solicited in advance of the general drive from individuals in a position to donate the larger amounts which ordinarily account for about 65 per cent of the chest total. But the picture told more than this, for it was the picture of a practical and successful business man in whose very face is written all the solicitude, kindliness, sympathy, humor and quiet resolution that have made him a great citizen and recognized patriot.

Miami, Fla. Herald
October 21, 1933

AVOIDABLE LYNCHING

AN EDITORIAL in The Baltimore Sun Wednesday morning commended the prompt action of the authorities in bringing to Baltimore for safekeeping a negro who had attacked an aged white woman in Somerset county. The newspaper said it was quite possible that the state was saved the disgrace of a lynching by the decision to get the man out of the reach of an angy mob. It pointed out that it was the duty of authorities to bear in mind the threat of violence and do what circumstances demand. "The sensible people of Somerset and the Eastern Shore assuredly are gratified that the vengeance of hotheads was averted."

A news item in the same edition of the paper announced that George Armwood, the negro, was taken from the Baltimore city jail back to the Princess Anne jail in Somerset county at the behest of the county authorities. He was surrounded by state police. John B. Robins, state's attorney, was quoted as saying he anticipated no trouble on the part of the populace.

On the same Wednesday night Armwood was removed from the jail by a mob o. a thousand men, women and children, and lynched. He was hanged to a tree and later the body was burned. The vengeance of hotheads was not averted. Maryland was disgraced. This was directly due to the poor judgment of Somerset authorities and the willingness of the state to risk the neck of the negro after he was safely imprisoned in Baltimore. Certainly the law must have known the feeling that existed. It should have realized that removing the man back to the scene of the crime was an invitation to violence; that it was providing bait for the mob.

The aftermath is now developing. For some reason the Socialist party has assumed the lead in condemning the powers for the lynching. It demands the impeachment of Governor Ritchie for "criminal neglect of duty," which is not altogether clear. A governor must depend upon the advice of his subordinates. The Socialist committee is on firmer grounds when it asks the removal of Judge Duer and State's Attorney Robins of Somerset county, and calls for their prosecution "on charges of second degree manslaughter." Communists said the governor should order the arrest of the two officials.

Knowing the situation that existed the county authorities erred grievously in asking that the negro be returned to their jurisdiction and the state blundered in granting the request. The Maryland outrage was one that could have been easily avoided by a little sense on the part of those in control.

WEST VIRGINIAN
FAIRMONT, W. VA.

OCT 22 1933

Letters to the Editor

A LYNCHING

Fairmont, W. Va.,
Oct., 20th, 1933.

Editor The Sunday Times-West Virginian:

Dear Sir:—

The headlines in the local newspapers of the past few days carried tragic stories of the lynching of a negro on the eastern shore section of Maryland for an alleged criminal attack on an 81-year-old white woman.

To allow such a state of affairs to exist is deplorable and reflects law and order. This is the second of such lynchings within a short period in this particular section of our Republic. Can it be a product of our so-called southern culture? Or is it the fault of our educational system? The latter seems nearer the truth. I am familiar with the state of Maryland and not a few of its people. A surprisingly high percentage of the inhabitants are practically illiterate, particularly in the Eastern Shore sector.

Gov. Ritchie has failed as a protector of the people and should be impeached regardless of his feeble excuse of having no authority over such matters. If he doesn't who does? The political machine is now in action passing the "buck" down to the Babbit sheriff, who in turn passes the blame onto those outside his jurisdiction, thus making

(Please turn to page seven)

Maryland safe for "democracy" at forthcoming elections.

The criminal attack—if any—on this and other white women is to be placed on the doorstep of us white brethren who have exploited and denied the negro his constitutional rights. Such attacks are naturally motivated by revenge and the inherent animal nature of both black and white.

The wrong of it all! Celebrating a century of progress now, when in reality we have not advanced one step on the road to civilization in the past thousand years. Current events the world over prove this.

Unfortunately we concern ourselves only about a cure for the effects of crime and never give a thought to the cause. A new sane economic and social order would eliminate all crime.

G. G. O'KANE.

ROANOKE, VA.
TIMES

OCT 27 1933

A FARCE INQUIRY.

The guffaws of laughter that have greeted the obvious perjury of witnesses has made of the Maryland investigation of the lynching of George Armwood a travesty on justice scarcely less than was the lynching itself. When the judge addressed the crowd before the lynching in an effort to dissuade it from attacking the jail, he said "I know nearly all of you." Now officer after officer has taken the stand and testified under oath that he could not recognize a single person who took part in that attack.

Leaders of the mob are quite open about the affair. They justify their lynching of Armwood by the fact that the courts have fiddle-faddled for more than two years over the case of Euel Lee. That case does seem to give a degree of excuse for mob violence, for whatever the crime of Lee and whatever the evidence against him, it does seem that in two years the courts could have determined whether he was guilty or not. The dilatory practice of the courts in yielding to pleas for delay in one case furnished the spark which enraged the crowd in the other.

Governor Ritchie finds himself powerless. He has no control over local officers. And local officers seem unwilling to exercise any control over the farce that goes on in the name of justice when one witness after another suddenly loses his memory as to who were the leaders of the mob. The Governor now says he believes there is a strong sentiment in Maryland for an anti-lynching statute similar to that enacted during Governor Byrd's term in Virginia. The Baltimore Sun urged such a law at the last session of the Maryland Legislature, but Governor Ritchie at that time paid no attention to the recommendation, and the Legislature took no action.

Under the Virginia statute, the Governor has full authority to assign special prosecutors and to employ agents to arrest those participating in lynching parties. Lynching is defined as murder, and the representatives of a person suffering at the hands of a mob may recover civil damages from members of the mob.

Something of the same sort is evidently needed in Maryland. The incapacity of the local officials was amply demonstrated when the Negro was taken from jail and lynched. It has been demonstrated again in the kind of "investigation" they have held.

TUSCALOOSA LYNCHINGS

The Southern commission for the study of lynching has made public a report on the action of four mobs which within three months killed three Negroes and left a fourth for dead in and near Tuscaloosa, Ala. The commission found evidence that one of the victims was undoubtedly innocent and that two others were probably innocent and the fourth possibly innocent.

The Tuscaloosa County officers are charged with not doing their duty in protecting their prisoners from violence, and the law enforcing agencies of the county, it is alleged, have taken no effective step to punish the lynchers.

The commission [illegible] the white individuals of the county rese[illegible], while a few of [illegible] action, the general attitude is to accept the mob as inevitable, excusable or commendable.

The commission's report has knocked the props from under the statement so frequently heard during the past few years that an insurgent spirit has been created in the Negroes by Communist agents, a careful investigation failing to reveal any such spirit or Communist effort to arouse it.

The report constitutes a severe indictment against those charged with the prosecution of criminals and who have failed to bring members of the mobs to justice and against those who are responsible for the hysteria which has been brought about as a result of talk of Negro insurgency. It constitutes a challenge to the prosecuting and judicial authorities of the community to punish those guilty of killing these Negroes and, in case they fail to do so, to the State Supreme Court to impeach those authorities.

Certainly, the conditions which have obtained in and near Tuscaloosa have been most deplorable. Such acts of violence contribute nothing to the permanent solution of the race problem. It is only when the two races can live in understanding that they can enjoy peace and security. A lynching can undo in one night what progress has been made by leaders of both races during a decade toward that understanding and mutual confidence.—Nashville Tennessean

White Press, Southern

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

4039

Birmingham, Ala., News
August 23, 1933

Alabama Must Crush The Menace Of Lynching

If there was ever a time in Alabama's history to strip for action, that hour has struck. The audacity of a Decatur mob in twice attempting to wrest a prisoner from the custody of Sheriff Giles at Huntsville is painfully significant. The only way in which such effrontery can be dealt with is for the state's full power to be exerted in crushing lynching movements wherever they may show up.

The truth of the matter is that this commonwealth is facing a portentous crisis. Evidently there is abroad in the state a spirit of disrespect for law which will bring additional shame upon Alabama unless in every quarter there springs up a resolve to repel and crush this menace. Public opinion must become a cohesive force, and public authority, state as well as county, must show an alertness and courage that will frustrate all subversive enterprises.

Sheriff Giles, of Morgan, deserves the congratulations of all well-balanced Alabamians for the skill and heart he has manifested in dealing with the problem as it was presented to him. We may be sure that there will be no violence at Huntsville sufficient to take any prisoner from this sheriff. Colleagues similarly placed in other counties have before them a shining example of official competence.

But this is not likely to be enough. The state government must realize that the emergency requires its service and strength. County lines mean nothing when lynchers are on the move—that was clearly shown on Tuesday, as it has been shown on prior occasions. The situation calls for the concern and help of the powers that be at Montgomery. Nothing should be left undone to make the law prevail in Alabama.

Hawkinsville, Ga., Dispatch & News
September 28, 1933

ASSAULTS INCREASING

There has been an unusual number of assault cases of late. Particularly in Alabama, and to a lesser extent in Georgia, have the reports increased.

In Alabama several negroes have been lynched and, if our memory be correct, each of them was charged with an attack. Our neighboring state has been the scene of several exceptionally brutal crimes. Two or three have occurred around Birmingham, one at Tuscaloosa, and others in different parts of Alabama, including the famous Sottsboro case.

The Scottsboro case has become one of the most famous in recent years. Two girl hoboes while riding a freight train through Alabama were allegedly attacked by nine negroes. The negroes were subquently tried and most of them sentenced to death. They have never been executed, with change of venue, alleged new evidence and one thing and another preventing their death. They are still in jail, the majority of them awaiting another trial.

Georgia has had its share too. Just Saturday there was an all night hunt through the swamps of Jasper and Jones Counties for one Mack James, wanted on a charge of assaulting and slaying a white woman in Banks Connty. He has already served one sentence and part of another for assault and there was a reward of $500. for his capture.

It is a most difficult problem. It has never been satisfactorily handled and there appears little indication of much improvement. The methods used by England to reduce crime don't seem to work in this part of the United States. England you know, is extremely severe in dealing with criminals. It makes no difference whether the person is a man or woman — if he is guilty he pays and pays quickly.

England's population is largely Anglo-Saxon. Ours is about one half African and while we have somt excellent members of that race we have a fair share of renegades.

We are not condoning the occasional assaults committed by white men, either Two Macon youths are serving life sentences on attack charges. They were spared death through an act of the governor.

A speedy trial and execution of the criminal where the evidence is conclusive would tend to reduce the number of assault cases. The increase has been noticeable and a decrease is greatly desired. Criminals should be treated as such and maudlin sympathy is out of place in dealing with them. Because of the difficulty with which the problem is approached we are prone to leave it alone. Intelligent direction of our county officers and courageous decisions by our judges will not completely end such crimes but will greatly help.

CHARLOTTE, N. C.
NEWS

SEP 26 1933

Hairtrigger Lynchers.

Hitherto it has been understood, a sort of no gentlemen's agreement, that black brothers merited a lynching at the hands of their superiors only when they had committed a really serious or unmentionable crime against the children of Shem and Japheth. When white men in South Carolina lynched a Negro for having struck one of their friends we began to fear that the code was being revised. Now that Alabama turns up with a roadside execution inspired by what seems to have been a misdemeanor, we are sure of it.

This brings on complications. The officers of the law in Southern towns and cities are forewarned of trouble when a Negro commits a lynchable crime, so that they may spirit him away to an unannounced citadel where he will be safe until it comes time for the state to dispatch him. If, as seems to have become fashionable in Alabama and South Carolina, the exalted race commences to lynch Negroes just because it disapproves of their conduct in general, it may be necessary to equip every rural jail with cannon and machine guns, which would involve an enormous expense.

Obviously there is no way by which those whose impatience with crime among the Negroes leads them to deal out death so impartially can be made to pay for whatever increased protection they make necessary. It is no use to seek to learn their identities through investigations, for it has been shown time and time again that investigaions prove nothing except the futility of investigations. Maybe if we should order the machine guns first and dispense with the investigations later the thing would be a standoff.

HUNTINGTON, W. VA.
ADVERTISER

AUG 29 1933

In Alabama

(Springfield, O., News)

The worst setback which the movement against lynching has received this year comes in Alabama which for three years has kept its slate clean of any serious racial disturbance. Three Negroes were in the hands of the law and about to be tried. The International Labor Defense intended to provide counsel. A county judge made indiscreet remarks about its interference. There was a hint of trouble and the sheriff started to remove the prisoners from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham. Enroute the mob appeared and took them. Two were later found dead and the fate of the third is still undetermined.

The one hopeful feature of the lynchings is the grand jury investigation ordered by the governor. The attorney general will prosecute it. Too often hitherto mobs have committed their crimes with little if any interference from the law either before or after the deed. Authorities have yielded their prisoners without show of resistance and made no effort to apprehend and punish the mob leaders. Alabama can atone to some extent by driving through its purpose in the Tuscaloosa case. If justice for mobs were swift and certain the country might long since have wiped out utterly the blot of lynching.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.
TRIBUNE

SEP 26 1933

LYNCHING AGAIN

SIX men posing as sheriff's deputies in Tuscaloosa take a Negro accused of accosting a white woman into the woods and riddle him with bullets. That's Tuscaloosa's second lynching party within six weeks. And that's near Alabama's renowned state university.

From 1929 until well along in 1933 the white South earned good opinion through the country. Under economic stresses that reduced hundreds of thousands, both white and black, to dire want, the Southern States held the lynching to low figures. A relapse toward savagery has recently been noted. A few Southern communities are threatened with loss of all that has been gained for humanity and justice in years of crusading against lynching. These Tuscaloosans are smirching not only their own reputation but that of the entire South.

DOTHAN, ALA.
EAGLE

SEP 23 1933

A LESSON IN HOW TO STOP LYNCHINGS

Fifteen days after two Negroes robbed a Montgomerian and attempted to criminally assault his woman companion, they had been hunted down, captured, tried, convicted and sentenced to the electric chair, where they belong.

This is the most effective means at our disposal to discourage mobs.

Delay, red tape, appeals, delay, and more delay in one case of this kind after another, is the greatest single reason for mobs taking the law into their own hands. There are other reasons, of course, such as the intolerable nature of the crime and meddling by such organizations as the I. L. D.

But SWIFT and CERTAIN legal justice in every case of this character will make lynching a rarity.

Birmingham, Ala., News
October 2, 1933

Tuscaloosa Citizens Accept The Challenge

Last Wednesday The Tuscaloosa News published on its front page a strong editorial calling on the law-abiding citizens and the representative organizations of that community to face the challenge of lawlessness raised by the recent lynchings and other crimes. That article was reproduced by this newspaper, and accompanied by an editorial in which The Birmingham News praised it as a fine example of newspaper leadership and as a hopeful indication that the good people of Tuscaloosa would rise up and crush the lawlessness which has besmirched their community and their state.

Friday's issue of The Tuscaloosa News carried on its front page an account of the reception accorded the editorial which shows that the response has been most gratifying. The people of Tuscaloosa have answered the appeal to public opinion with a flood of congratulations and pledges of support.

"Praises and pledges, congratulations and commendations are still pouring in upon The Tuscaloosa News today for its stand taken editorially Wednesday against prevailing crime conditions in this city and county," the paper reports.

"Citizens from every section and representing every walk of life have telephoned, written or personally expressed themselves to representatives of The News, pledging their wholehearted and unqualified support of the front-page editorial published Wedesday entitled, 'Shall We Accept the Challenge?'"

An official of The Tuscaloosa News says that "never before in the history of this newspaper has any editorial or other article received such a spontaneous, spirited and united response from the citizens of this community."

The response, we are told, has been practically continuous since 15 minutes after Wednesday's paper left the press. Wednesday night it was necessary for the publisher of The Tuscaloosa News to remove the receiver from the telephone at his home in order to permit sleep. "The office phones have been ringing and members of The News personnel have been stopped on the street repeatedly by citizens wishing to extend their congratulations to the newspaper for its action." Expressions were received from every part of the city, every section of the county and from a number of former Tuscaloosa residents who are now living elsewhere.

The Tuscaloosa paper had declared that "failure of the law-abiding to accept the challenge of the lawless cannot longer be construed as anything less than condoning the flouting of the law, and to that extent becoming party to the crimes committed." The sweeping response to its challenge is a complete vindication of the courageous stand taken by The Tuscaloosa News, and of the feeling it expressed in these words: "So far as The News is concerned, our conscience and our self-respect demand that we no longer accept the judgment of some of the finest and most honorable leaders in our public life that 'the less said about the problems we face the easier it will be to solve them and the better it will be for all."

The people of Tuscaloosa are preparing to signify their acceptance of the challenge by action as well as by words. A meeting has been called for Tuesday night at which a crusade against crime will be launched. From this meeting all Alabama will hope, and is justified in hoping, that salutary action will be forthcoming.

The law-abiding people of Tuscaloosa, who of course constitute the vast majority, are plainly indignant and aroused. They are now meeting the situation confronting them in splendid fashion. It is a gratifying and an encouraging thing to see them thus rise up against the evils that have blackened the good name of their community. They can be assured that in the endeavor public sentiment throughout Alabama will be behind them and lending strength to their arm.

All honor to the upstanding people of Tuscaloosa, and all success to their undertaking! And the highest praise especially to The Tuscaloosa News for its vigorous and courageous leadership in the cause of law and order. It took leadership of just this character to solidify public sentiment in Tuscaloosa.

The developments vindicate the belief which The Birmingham News has firmly held that the great majority of Tuscaloosans bitterly deplored the recent lynchings and were eager to redeem their community's reputation. This newspaper has never doubted that they would respond to the sort of appeal that has been made.

LYNCHBURG, VA.
NEWS

OCT 18 1933

WHEN IS LYNCHING NOT LYNCHING?

A South Carolina Negro was placed in jail under charges of commission of some minor offense. Shortly after being placed there he was taken away allegedly by connivance of the chief of police, by a group under the leadership of the white man who had brought the charges. He was beaten to death.

South Carolina has a law which provides that relatives of persons lynched may recover damages of not less than two thousand dollars from the county in which the lynching occurred, and the widow of the Negro taken from the jail at Ninety-Six and beaten to death has instituted proceedings against the county of Greenwood.

The question of fact to be determined by the court it would seem to a layman, would be whether Bennie Thompson was in jail and whether he was taken from jail by a group of men and whether he was beaten to death. But not so. The question of fact the county attorney will ask the court is whether Thompson's death was a lynching or a murder.

The layman, of course, knows the difference between a murder and a lynching. If he doesn't all he has to do is to look in the dictionary. But laymen are not going to settle this question; it is going to be settled by lawyers. And by jurors that will forget all about being laymen and may forget all about dictionary definitions accepted in all quarters.

Lynchings-1933
6
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4048

Columbia, S. C. State
April 23, 1933

"The Tragedy of Lynching."

Unhappily, the practice of lynching, along with other crimes, still remains a blur and smudge upon this country... particularly the South, although not so disproportionately upon the South as is generally reputed and rather persistently reported. But it must be admitted that the crime defined generally as "lynching" is more prevalent in the South than in other sections.

There are any number of explanations both as to seeming prejudice in the South for what is usually called lynching, and as to other crimes, of equal foulness and horror, and of far greater frequency, in other sections. But that is no justification for lynchings. We merely interject a few comments upon the unfair selection of a crime wherewith to blacken the reputation of the South, when much of the labor devoted to censuring this section could profitably be employed in suppressing mob-murders, gangster killings, and the shooting of strikers and protesting laborers and veterans in other sections.

No section, one is almost glad to reflect, has a monopoly of crime. And while every good citizen and every organ of decent opinion in the South gladly joins in all efforts to suppress lynching, a protest is due the stressing of lynching as so terrible a smudge upon the South when as terrible crimes with more numerous fatalities occur in other sections, and because this is done by the careful classification of lynching to fit the peculiar crime that is committed in certain parts of the South.

A little more on this later; and we hasten to approve the admirable report on "The Tragedy of Lynchings" prepared largely by Dr. Arthur Raper, Secretary of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, and printed by the University of North Carolina Press. The thoroughness of the investigation may be accepted when it is known that it was conducted under a Commission composed of eleven well-known men of the South, among them: Dr. W. J. McGlothlin, President of Furman University; Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina; Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute.

This volume, it is said in an announcement of the publication, "is the result of two years of painstaking investigation and study of lynching phenomena, and lays bare to the public a vast amount of authentic information on this subject never before available. It surveys the general lynching situation over a period of forty years, presents exhaustive case studies of each of the twenty-one lynchings of 1930, and also includes studies of a number of cases in which threatened lynchings were averted.

The main interest of the book centers in the lynching case studies, which set out in detail all available information as to the history and character of the several mob victims, the alleged crimes for which they were lynched, the composition and actions of the various mobs, the conduct of officers of the law, community attitudes toward the lynchings, and the steps taken by officers and courts to identify and prosecute participants.

So painstaking and sincere a study of this shocking crime can not fail to be of immense interest and value. It will, doubtless, aid greatly in the stamping out of this offense against law and civilization and the people of the South. Much has already been done toward the accomplishment of this, as is shown by the statistics of lynchings, and it is to be hoped and expected that the black crime will be entirely suppressed in a few years... sooner perhaps than the slayings and other crimes of the gangsters and mob-leaders will be swept from the calendar of crime in certain other sections.

The table of lynchings runs back to include 1889 and stops with 1932. In 1889 the crime record includes 81 white and 95 Negro victims, with a total of 176. The banner or the black years were 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, with the crimes reported as: white victims 71, 100, 46, 56, and 59; and the Negroes as 121, 155, 155, 134, and 112, respectively. By 1932 the record had fallen to two whites and six Negroes.

The statistics show that the crime is not so preponderatingly committed against the blacks as is widely supposed, when all the circumstances are considered. These figures and the later ones also show that the horrible crime is being slowly conquered and the vile hasty passions and race prejudices that are responsible for its commission are gradually being subdued. There is, we think, abundant grounds for hope. In 1930 there was recrudescence of lynching, but this died out by 1932.

We think that a word or two is always necessary to be said whenever a broadside and counterblast is thus issued against lynching in the South. The immense and excellent work done by Tuskegee, Alabama, may be readily understood. Here the Negro, ably represented, stands at bay. He is defending his race, as he should; but some allowance must be made for the fervor and ululations of the chase of the criminal white lynchers. All success to the war on lynching, from whatever quarter the pursuit, but a great deal of the emphasis, and bruited indignation, no less than the crime itself, is due to race prejudices and race protection.

The term "lynching" is, we think, largely misapplied and ignorantly used. The author or supervisor of this book loosely speaks of the "jungle law." Lynching in some form is as old as the human race. It can not justly be limited to the dictionary definitions, which demand some sort of illegally constituted court... due to the origin of the name from Judge Lynch of Virginia. Perhaps the vast majority of lynchings have not the slightest "taint of legality," like Roosevelt's rape of Panama. They are almost always impromptu crimes of infuriated men, dispensing with all forms of thought or law, except to dodge a sheriff's posse trying to prevent the crime. But why should the vast mob murders of striking miners, the shooting down of men and children in the daylight in the crowded streets of New York, Brooklyn, and Chicago, be classed as lynchings, in their essence?

There are more and as horrible murders in such cities as Memphis, Atlanta, Birmingham, as there are lynchings in the entire South, taking year by year, yet the outcry is ten times as great and shrill against the lynching of a single brute, especially if a Negro, in Texas or Georgia, as for a black year of murders in any of the big cities in the nation.

We must suppress lynching, of course; but don't let us be shouted and stampeded into a war upon lynching of black brutes, as if it were the single heinous slaughter of human beings in our country.

Montgomery, Ala. Advertiser
April 16, 1933

BARBARISM IN THE SOUTH

The soft-voiced, easy-moving folks who live on this side of the Mason-Dixon line always have been accused of being more barbaric than the people of other sections.

They say we Southerners value human life more cheaply than do our Yankee brothers.

They say the people down here yield more quickly to the mob spirit, that Southerners are more quick to take the law into their own hands—sometimes at the cost of justice.

They say that the history of floggings, lynchings and murders in the South has been deplorable.

Why do they say all this?

There are many explanations to be offered. Custom and tradition, geography, and racial heritage go to make plausible excuses for the South's weakness for taking human lives and for its historic tendency toward mob spirit.

But when they say that the South has been much given to homicide in the past, they speak no more than the truth. And when they say that today the murder and lynch rates in the South are shameful, they tell a truth that hurts.

General homicides are not so easily controlled by society as are lynchings.

Public opinion can aid in lowering murder rates. But popular opinion can put a complete stop to lynchings.

A recent investigation of lynchings in the United States headed by a group of Southern white men, showed that from 1889 to 1930 there were 3,724 persons lynched in this country. Four-fifths of them were Negroes.

Lynchings have been decreasing in recent years, the investigations showed. But they have become more peculiar to the South.

That is to say, the whole country is becoming less tolerant of lynching, but the South is more slow to stop it and the rate of these types of deaths actually rises in the South when compared to the decreasing rates in other parts of the country.

In his book "The Tragedy of Lynching," Dr. Arthur F. Raper says that of the 21 men lynched in 1930 at least two of them were innocent of the crimes for which they were seized and put to death.

That innocent men sometimes are murdered by angry mobs, of course, is the most striking argument against lynching. But there are numerous other reasons why lynchings cannot be condoned, and the answers are well known.

Occasionally there comes news of mob violence in other parts of the country. Negroes have been lynched in New York. White men and Negroes have been put to death by mad mobs in every section of the country.

But the Southern States are still shadowed by records of mob violence for which no excuse or no defense can be offered.

We have no records before us but it seems that Alabama has been more or less successful in holding barbaric spirits in check during the last decade.

Lynchings are rare in this State. We cannot recall a single lynching in Alabama within recent years. Alabama Governors, one and all, have steadily fought the mob spirit, and the press of the State has denounced it in season and out.

While it is true that the persons who have flocked to lynchings in the past have been of the tougher element, law-abiding citizens in a manner "condoned" the violence by failure to discourage it, or bring pressure on the mobsters.

This is not at all true of Alabama today.

Alabama will not tolerate mob violence.

There was passed in the eleventh hour of the Legislature a bill which will make it possible to send persons to prison for at least 10 years for mere conspiracy against the life of another.

Until that bill became law persons who plotted the death of another were guilty only of a misdemeanor.

The new law makes it a felony for two or more persons to conspire to "rob, murder, rape, etc."

Whether the author of the bill or members of the Legislature realized that the law could be construed so as to make it a weapon of law and order against lynching attempts or other forms of mob violence, as well as for punishment of professional criminals is not known. But the law can be put to that purpose.

Rome, Ga. News-Tribune
April 21, 1933

SOMBRE RECORD IS UNFOLD[illegible]

THE story of mob violence in t[illegible] covering the past forty-one ye[illegible] lated by the Southern Commission [illegible] Study of Lynchings, makes dismal rea[illegible]

According to the figures submitted by [illegible] commission, lynchings have accounted for 3,724 deaths during the period covered, the greatest number being credited to Georgia, with 465, while Mississippi is placed second with 464, Texas third with 364, and Louisiana fourth with 349.

This is a ghastly record, and in view of the fact that a Chattanooga publisher is at the head of the commission, the claim of sectional misrepresentation cannot be raised, nor does there appear to be any valid ground for questioning the conclusions.

A gratifying fact is that there has been some decrease in mob violence in recent years, and certainly there will be much greater decreases if the recommendations of the commission are followed. Chief among these recommendations is for greater vigilance on the part of the officers of the law. Next and equally important is the suggestion that education be fostered with greater diligence, both among whites and blacks.

To achieve increasing results along either line will be possible only through militant and aroused public sentiment. Lawlessness is a tremendous liability and the South, with its fine culture, its splendid educational institutions, its great religious denominations and its exhaustless natural resources, should not be hindered by the acts of minorities who lack proper respect for law.

Samuel [illegible] in tr[illegible] Angel[illegible] For[illegible] nou[illegible] ter[illegible]

Guntersville, Ala., Advertiser
May 17, 1933

NO LYNCHING IN 40 STATES DURING 1932

Forty states of the union passed through 1932 without a recorded lynching, as shown by the Honor Roll of States free from this evil, have been announced by the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches.

In publishing the list Dr. George E. Haynes, Executive Secretary, said that in 1932 there were forty states that held places on the Honor Roll of the Federal Council of Churches through having had a record of freedom from lynchings during the year. This is an increase of one state over 1930 and over 1931; it is three fewer than 1929. The total number of lynchings during 1932 was eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept. Five states—Arkansas, Kansas, Kentucky, Ohio and Virginia—formerly on the Honor Roll, lost their places in 1932. Six other states—Alabama, Maryland, Missouri, North Dakota, Tennessee and West Virginia—which had lost their places on the Honor Roll in preceding years, regained them in 1932. The state of Mississippi is on the Honor Roll this year for the first time. Florida is now the only state that has not at some time been on the Honor Roll. There were three states recorded as having lynchings in both 1931 and 1932.

A growing tendency toward prevention of the evil is indicated in two significant developments. One is the fact that, according to records given by the department of Records and Research of Tuskeegee Institute, there were thirty-one instances in 1932 in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, four of them in northern and twenty-seven in southern states. In 1931 there were fifty-seven such preventions. Another trend that grew stronger last year was the vigilance of the press, of the churches, and of the people of the several states who try to protect their own territory from acts of lynchers. Notable along this line was the activity of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, which has state councils in all of the thirteen southern states.—Fort Payne Journal.

Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel
June 11, 1933

GET THE LYNCHERS

THE LYNCHING of two white prisoners dragged from Scott County jail by a small mob at night, is a blot on Tennessee's record for law observance. It is the first time in years that there has been a lynching in East Tennessee. Knox Countians still recall the two attacks on the jail here in recent years and the frustrated attempts to get two negro prisoners.

While the two men riddled with bullets near Huntsville, Tenn., were charged with two murders each, they were entitled to a fair trial. The crowd which took the prisoners from jail on a "one way ride" are no better than the prisoners they murdered. A vigorous investigation should be started immediately and all in the mob should be prosecuted.

Governor McAlister should be prepared to make a special investigation and supply special prosecutors if they are needed.

Georgiana, Ala., News
June 1, 1933

Last year only eight lynchings occurred in the United States, the smallest number known since records have been kept. The next lowest was 10 in 1929. Of the eight lynched in 1932, six were negroes and two were white men. In the year 1892 the frightful total of 255 persons were put to death by mobs, 100 of them being white. So, in one respect at least, we appear to be becoming more civilized.

DALLAS, TEX.
NEWS

JUN 8 1933

LYNCHING AND THE CLERGY.

To The News:

A new book, "The Tragedy of Lynching," by Arthur F. Raper, reviewed in a recent issue of The News, charges that preachers manifest indifference toward lynching. Dr. Raper is not the first to hand such a challenge to the ministry. Three or four years ago a negro writer, Walter White, in a volume entitled "Rope and Fagot," which is a rather bitter attack upon lynching and lynchers in general, is even stronger than Dr. Raper in his indictment of men of the cloth in relation to lynching.

On behalf of Southern preachers, it may be said that they, as well as the rest of us, have been bred in an atmosphere charged with race prejudice. Even in isolated rural communities preachers have lost much of their former power to shape and control public sentiment, but as teachers and guides of the people their responsibility still remains, and they should take the lead in condemning all forms of violence and pleading for better race relations.

The press is probably the most potent force in influencing public opinion, and, as pointed out by Dr. Raper, it does not always live up to its obligations in regard to the crime in question. This applies especially to country papers in districts where lynchings have occurred. However, the larger papers generally ring true in their comments on these outrages.

It is encouraging to note that, year after year, the number of lynchings reported shows a steady falling off, justifying the hope that such shameful manifestations of public frenzy may ultimately cease to curse our land.

W. R. HENDERSON.

Route 2, Gilmer, Texas.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
STATE

APR 24 1933

When Lynching Is Not Lynching.

The answer is rather easy: When it occurs in any section except the South.

Lynching, in the view of the people that are most bitterly and most effectively assailing it, is a Southern crime. The same set of circumstances, as may be shown, occurring elsewhere, the familiar offense of defiance of law and the taking by the mob of the execution of the law into its own hands, instead of awaiting the slow and uncertain processes of grand juries and of courts and petit jurors, will be cataloged as mob excesses, violence, gangster murders, and the hasty shooting of inoffensive folk by sheriffs' posses, constables, national guardsmen, and regular soldiers under officers who are nervous and under-equipped in mentality—all of these figure large in the sensational reports of crime and violence, but never as lynchings, unless they happen to occur in the South.

In an editorial article Sunday the dropping out of a "not" made it appear that we were really joining in this sort of discriminating against this section in the matter of crimes of violence. The South has enough to answer for in this respect, without helping whitewash criminals of the other sections, and confining lynching to hot tempered mobs of this section. The passage should have read as follows:

"Why should NOT the vast mob murders of striking miners, the shooting down of men and children in the daylight in the crowded streets of New York, Brooklyn, and Chicago, be classed as lynchings, in their essence?"

In New York, some years back, the writer of this was a witness of a real effort by a mob composed of some of the best folk of the metropolis to lynch, that is, hang, several Negroes on Broadway, in daylight, in front of the New York Herald and elsewhere in places almost as conspicuous. A Negro had wounded an Irish policeman, who was slowly dying. When the wounded policeman died after nine days, the people of New York, in the vicinity in which he was known, flared up like a fire new stirred. A mob on Broadway tried to hang every Negro man it met, and the police had a tough time of it in preventing a number of lynchings. For something like an hour or two the mob-spirit held that part of New York in its grip. It looked like a civil war [illegible] gun shootings, brickbats flying, [illegible] police in lines that stretched [illegible]ss the width of Ninth avenue [illegible]hing up and clearing the way with a fine play of night-sticks.

This was one of three or four lynchings witnessed by the writer, and it was far and away the most lawless and vicious of any.

Yet neither this mob outb[illegible] many another as bad or [illegible] have blackened the reputa[illegible] sections, has been clas[illegible] As they say in po[illegible] tariff, there is need for another "classification."

A good lynching, like good wine, needs no Southern bush.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, (Southern)

4041

Our Lingering Barbarism

The South has got to wash its hands of the blood-guilt of lynching.

This deadly blight upon our civilization has been tolerated long enough, and it is good to know that leaders in Southern life and thought are doing what they can to put an end to it.

One of the most remarkable books of recent years is The Tragedy of Lynching, by Dr. Arthur F. Raper. It embodies the results of long study and careful investigation by a commission of Southern men, headed by George Fort Milton, editor of The Chattanooga News. The entire commission consisted of Southern men of high character.

This report shows that from 1889 to 1930 3,724 persons were lynched in the United States. Four-fifths of them were Negroes.

In recent decades, we are told, lynchings have been decreasing in number, but they have been becoming more and more a Southern phenomenon and a racial one. That is to say while we frequently try to excuse ourselves by pointing to a lynching in some other part of the country, the South remains the chief offender.

The old excuses do not even stand up under investigation. It is not to protect Southern womanhood that the lynchings most frequently take place. In five-sixths of the lynchings, rape was not even charged, and in many cases the charges were proved false after the victim was dead.

Telegraph

Dr. Raper finds that of the twenty-one men lynched in 1930, two were certainly innocent, and eleven cases were at least doubtful. In five cases Dr. Raper is not even sure that any crime whatever was committed.

4-15-33

We are reminded of the shameful fact that while it is usually the riffraff of a community which takes part in a lynching, after the crime the better element condone the crime and make no real effort to bring the offenders to justice.

Macon, Ga.

The investigation shows that lynchers are seldom punished. In 1930, although at least 10,000 persons must have participated in the twenty-one lynchings, there were indictments in only six cases and conviction in only two. In Thomas county two men were given life sentences, and in Sumner county, Texas, where a mob burned down the court house in the effort to get at a Negro prisoner, two men were convicted—of arson and rioting.

Georgia has sins enough of her own to answer for, but it is at least a hopeful sign that she stands almost alone in such an instance as that where the judge of the superior court at Douglas, Coffee county, sentenced eleven lynchers to a term in the penitentiary, and they served their time. This is at least one bright spot on the escutcheon of the state, and while it does not atone for all the crimes of the past, and all the lynchers who have gone unpunished, it should not be passed over when we are making up the record.

The Raper report explodes the plea that lynchings take place because the courts are lenient to Negro prisoners. For the year and a half ended in the middle of 1931 there were eighty-one executions in ten Southern states. Thirteen were of whites, all convicted of murder. Sixty-eight were of Negroes. Fifty-seven of the latter were convicted of murder, eight of rape and three of burglary.

This important volume closes with evidence that lynchings can be prevented, when the sheriff and his aids are determined to do so. The record is produced of the number of attempts at lynching which were prevented and the inference is that in every case, with anything like public sentiment behind law and order, they would not take place.

Unless we are to be branded for all time with the stigma of barbarism, this crime must end. It is not some holier-than-thou Yankee who is telling us of our faults, but leaders among our own people.

It is high time to heed the warning.

Jackson, Tenn. Sun
Tuesday, February 14, 1933

Lynchings On Decline

At a time when encouraging news is relatively scarce, it is worth noticing that the number of lynchings in the United States during 1932 fell to eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept.

This is especially worth comment, since a prolonged economic depression usually intensifies those antagonisms and prejudices which lead to lynch law. The year 1932 might logically have been expected to produce an exceptionally large number of lynchings; that the number actually fell below the lowest total previously recorded indicates that a very genuine and encouraging shift in public sentiment is taking place.

Bradenton, Fla., Herald
Friday, February 17, 1933

Lynchings On Decline

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BARBARISM IN THE SOUTH

The soft-voiced, easy-moving folks who live on this side of the Mason-Dixon line always have been accused of being more barbaric than the people of other sections.

They say we Southerners value human life more cheaply than do our Yankee brothers.

Advertiser

They say the people down here yield more quickly to the mob spirit, that Southerners are more quick to take the law into their own hands—sometimes at the cost of justice.

4-16-33

They say that the history of floggings, lynchings and murders in the South has been deplorable.

4-16-33

Why do they say all this?

Montgomery Ala.

There are many explanations to be offered. Custom and tradition, geography, and racial heritage go to make plausible excuses for the South's weakness for taking human lives and for its historic tendency toward mob spirit.

But when they say that the South has been much given to homicide in the past, they speak no more than the truth. And when they say that today the murder and lynch rates in the South are shameful, they tell a truth that hurts.

General homicides are not so easily controlled by society as are lynchings.

Public opinion can aid in lowering murder rates. But popular opinion can put a complete stop to lynchings.

A recent investigation of lynchings in the United States headed by a group of Southern white men, showed that from 1889 to 1930 there were 3,724 persons lynched in this country. Four-fifths of them were Negroes.

Lynchings have been decreasing in recent years, the investigations showed. But they have become more peculiar to the South.

That is to say, the whole country is becoming less tolerant of lynching, but the South is more slow to stop it and the rate of these types of deaths actually rises in the South when compared to the decreasing rates in other parts of the country.

In his book "The Tragedy of Lynching," Dr. Arthur F. Raper says that of the 21 men lynched in 1930 at least two of them were innocent of the crimes for which they were seized and put to death.

That innocent men sometimes are murdered by angry mobs, of course, is the most striking argument against lynching. But there are numerous other reasons why lynchings cannot be condoned, and the answers are well known.

Occasionally there comes news of mob violence in other parts of the country. Negroes have been lynched in New York. White men and Negroes have been put to death by mad mobs in every section of the country.

But the Southern States are still shadowed by records of mob violence for which no excuse or no defense can be offered.

We have no records before us but it seems that Alabama has been more or less successful in holding barbaric spirits in check during the last decade.

Lynchings are rare in this State. We cannot recall a single lynching in Alabama within recent years. Alabama Governors, one and all, have steadily fought the mob spirit, and the press of the State has denounced it in season and out.

While it is true that the persons who have flocked to lynchings in the past have been of the tougher element, law-abiding citizens in a manner "condoned" the violence by failure to discourage it, or bring pressure on the mobsters.

This is not at all true of Alabama today. Alabama will not tolerate mob violence.

There was passed in the eleventh hour of the Legislature a bill which will make it possible to send persons to prison for at least 10 years for mere conspiracy against the life of another.

Until that bill became law persons who plotted the death of another were guilty only of a misdemeanor.

The new law makes it a felony for two or more persons to conspire to "rob, murder, rape, etc."

Whether the author of the bill or members of the Legislature realized that the law could be construed so as to make it a weapon of law and order against lynching attempts or other forms of mob violence, as well as for punishment of professional criminals is not known. But the law can be put to that purpose.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
TIMES
APR 3 1933

CALIFORNIA THE SCENE OF AN ORIENTAL LYNCHING

Lynchers are responsible morally in accordance with the degree of their enlightenment, although necessarily, they are responsible legally regardless of their culture.

Alleged confessions of a group of Filipino residents of California reveal that a young Filipina who was charged with unfaithfulness to her husband, an invalid, was buried alive by members of a secret society, one of whom is quoted as saying: "It was justice."

The so-called unwritten law is rather common in primitive tribal forms of government.

An Australian bushman may, under tribal conventions, or laws, kill his unfaithful wife, or his unchaste daughter.

When he has done so—as often as not, perhaps upon insufficient evidence of guilt—he is puzzled if the white man's government prosecutes him for murder.

The reasons for his execution, if he is sentenced to death, are not apparent to him, or to his fellow tribesmen.

In a novel, published some fifty years ago, a Kentuckian who believed that his daughter had become the mistress of his gardener, a German nobleman gardening incognito, said: "There's but one thing to do, *Lyd*. Shall I do it, or will you?"

"I shall do it, Father," said the girl.

Colonel Ransome kissed her goodby, and left his gleaming bowie knife on her dresser as he departed from the room.

The girl was entirely innocent, but circumstantial evidence was convincing, to her father, and to the neighbors. To explain seemed impossible and *Lydia* dispatched herself with the paternal bowie knife.

The Colonel went about his business feeling better than he would have felt had his daughter, her name tarnished, lived, through her own, or his, unwillingness to do what convention demanded should be done, by someone.

Major defects in administration of unwritten law by an individual or by a group, are that the victim often is not guilty, and that the punishment sometimes does not fit the crime.

The degree of moral guilt is in accordance with the culture of the person, or persons, who commit the murder, although the law may, and must, proceed upon the principle that ignorance is no excuse.

Montgomery, Ala. Journal
April 1, 1933

MONTEVALLO A. A. U. W. PROTESTS LYNCHING

Among items of business transacted by the Montevallo branch of the American Association of University Women at a meeting Tuesday was the endorsement of an anti-lynching petition presented by Dr. Hallie Farmer for the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

The petition declared lynching to be "an indefensible crime destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved."

Deland, Fla. Sun
Thursday, February 16, 1933

LYNCHINGS ON DECLINE

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IN MY OPINION

By COLEMAN HILL

Macon Telegraph 1-12-33 Macon, Ga.

In last Friday's Telegraph appeared an article by W. A. Covington called Lynchings and Prohibition.

The intent of the piece, I think, was serious. Its thesis was that the decrease in the number of lynchings during recent years was directly attributable to the legal measures against manufacture and sale of intoxicants.

Such a theory seems, to me, a tissue of pure fantasy. It emanates from miasmas in the brain of its author. It has no foundation, so far as I can learn, in discoverable fact.

Other Possible Causes

Understand at the outset that Mr. Covington and I are in agreement on one hypothesis: that the mob spirit is intensified by alcohol, and that drunken men often have been in the forefront of the lawless groups who set out to make their own vengeance.

Further, I cannot accompany this prophet. We part company even on his basic assumption that whisky is no longer easy to come by. He projects the vision that liquor cannot now "be had from the man in the alley with a tin cup, or the bell-hops in the hotel." Evidently Mr. Covington has been going up the wrong alleys and staying at the Martha Washington.

Essentially this gentleman falls victim to the "post hoc, ergo propter hoc" fallacy. With logic equal to his own I could proclaim that the decline of lynching had been caused by: (1) invention and spread of the talking-picture; (2) decline of the British pound; (3) rise and general use of the radio; (4) paving of our main highways; (5) workings of the Treaty of Versailles; (6) interest in contract bridge, or golf, or football; (7) discovery that the guppy is a pleasant household pet; (8) rule of the Republican party; (9) introduction of electric refrigeration; (10) freeing of the Irish people; (11) establishment of the Five-Year plan in Soviet Russia; (12) the influence of Mahatma Gandhi; (13) —but why go on? You get the idea.

The matters I mention are phenomena that have been synchronous with the decline of lynching. It is as reasonable to call any one of them the stimulus to this decline, as to admit Mr. Covington's thesis.

• • •

Yet I Don't Think This Is So

As a matter of fact, I have far better grounds for assuming that the decrease in lynching results from our slackening religious devotion than Mr. Covington has for crediting the accomplishment to prohibition.

Walter White, in his book Rope and Faggot, the most authoritative and comprehensive study of lynching yet published, writes:

"In permitting color to be used as a cover and a justification of the emotions of cruelty which religious fanaticism engenders, Christianity stands indicted among the religions of the world. It is no accident that in those states with the greatest number of lynchings to their discredit, as is seen in the table on pages 248-249, the great majority of the church members are Protestants and of the evangelical wing of Protestantism as well."

Knowing that lynching has declined in recent years, and assuming (with some justice, I think) that the sway of the church has similarly lessened among us, I maintain that a good argument can be advanced for this obvious and unscientific deduction.

• • •

Before the Drought

Unfortunately I have no year-by-year statistics on lynchings in this state, so I am unable to compare our indulgence in the crime with the spread of local prohibition. I do, however, have figures on national lynchings from 1889 through 1930.

In 1892 occurred the greatest number of them. From that year on the decline has been steady, though not uniform.

In the absence of necessary figures, I adopt the next best course.

In 1919, the year before national prohibition became effective, 83 persons were lynched in the United States. In 1930, the latest year for which I have statistics, the mob claimed 21 victims. This represents a decline of 75 per cent in eleven years.

If I take the "big" year, 1892, and compare it to 1903, a date as distant from it as 1930 is from 1919, I find a drop from 255 lynchings to 103. This is a decrease of 60 per cent.

The difference of 15 per cent may be explained as reasonably by the diffusion of the Negro race during the 1920's, by the spread of education among the poorer whites, by the superior mobility of law-enforcing officials,—by any number of other factors, as by the citation of prohibition.

The big fact is that a decline in lynchings was apparent long before prohibition descended upon us. The contribution of the Eighteenth Amendment to this tendency seems to me to have been negligible.

• • •

A Two-Timing Villain

Mr. Covington's vision doubly implicates liquor in the crime of lynching; first as the inspirer of "Negro rapists," again as the inflamer of the mob.

If the latter were a potent force, why should we not have innumerable lynchings in the North where, admittedly, drinking is more widespread than in these blessed regions; or in Europe, where alcohol knows only slight restrictions; or in South Africa, where spirits are in general, legal use and a race "problem" closely similar to our own exists?

Nor can Mr. Covington's cautious and faltering statement about the rapers ("Some 35 or 40 years ago, I read an editorial in one of the leading dailies of Georgia, saying that it was claimed that 95 per cent of the Negro rapists in this country who were lynched claimed under the knife and the torch that they were drunk when their crimes were committed.") bear close inspection.

As it happens, only a quarter of the mob's victims have been accused of rape or attempting to rape. Yet the decline in lynchings for other causes has been as marked as for this customarily-given reason.

Would Mr. Covington suggest that liquor was an inciter when a Negro brought suit against white men, refused to pay a note, sought employment in a restaurant, joined the Non-Partisan League, uttered disrespectful words against President Wilson, jumped a labor contract, or became suspected of conjuring? All of these are among the "crimes" for which black men have been murdered by the mob.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, (Southern)

4042

Newberry, S. C. Observer
Tuesday, February 14, 1933

LYNCHING MORTGAGES.

The mob law that widely prevails in Northwestern states for preventing the foreclosure of mortgages goes the full length of defiance of law. Not only is foreclosure in any real sense prevented but the mortgage debt is paid off with a few cents or dollars and the farm and its equipment handed back to the farmer. It is true that a deficiency judgment may lodge against him and his property be taken for the debt after the present condition of anarchy subsides.

We are not discussing the justice or injustice of the unfortunate situation regarding farm mortgages. We have, perhaps a narrower object in view. Southerners are abused throughout the world for their lawlessness in lynching even the most heinous descrators of womanhood. We call attention to the widespread lawlessness in the Northwest to emphasize that others besides the inhabitants of the Southern states take the law into their own hands when suffering from intolerable conditions for which they believe the law affords no remedy.

ANNISTON, ALA.
STAR

FEB 16 1933

DECLINE IN LYNCHINGS ENCOURAGING BIT OF NEWS

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This is especially worth comment, since a prolonged economic depression usually intensifies those antagonisms and prejudices which lead to lynch law. The year 1932 might logically have been expected to produce an exceptionally large number of lynchings: That the number actually fell below the lowest total previously recorded indicates that a very genuine and encouraging shift in public sentiment is taking place.

Orlando, Fla., Sentinel
Thursday, February 23, 1933

LYNCHINGS ON DECLINE

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Americus, Ga. Recorder
Wednesday, February 15, 1933

A LESSON FOR MOBS

How unjust it is to judge of guilt on the strength of superficial circumstantial evidence was illustrated some time ago by the case of a 11 year old boy murdered in Arkansas, presumably for a small amount of money he carried.

It was known that shortly before his death he had been in company with a one-eyed negro boy, who also was missing. Search for the negro was begun, with open threats of summary vengeance. After several days the negro boy was found not far from where the white boy was killed. But he was also dead, with indications that he gave his life in common battle with the white lad's murderers.

Now suppose that the two boys had separated before the white boy was killed. And suppose the mob had captured the negro lad, whose sightless eye would have identified him beyond question. There would have been just one more lynching of a negro, despite his pleadings and protestations of innocence.

This should be a lesson for any who may be tempted to take part in mob murder.

TRIBUNE
Bay City, Tex.
APR 7 1933

NO LYNCHING IN FORTY STATES DURING 1932.

Forty states of the union passed through 1932 without a recorded lynching as shown by the honor roll of states free from this evil, have been announced by the department of race relations of the federal council of churches.

In publishing the list Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary said that in 1932 there were forty states that held places on honor roll of tne federal council of churches through having had a record of freedom from lynching during the year. This is an increase of one state over 1930 and over 1931; it is three fewer than 1929. The total number of lynchings during 1932 was eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept. Five states—Arkansas, Kansas, Kentucky. Ohio and Virginia—formerly on the honor roll, lost their places in 1932. Six other states—Alabama, Maryland, Missouri, North Dakota, Tennessee and West Virginia—which had lost their places on the honor roll in preceding years, regained them in 1932. The state of Mississippi is on the honor roll this year for the first time. Florida is now the only state that has not at some time been on the roll. There were three states recorded as having lynchings in both 1931 and 1932.

A growing tendency toward prevention of the evil is indicated in two significant developments. One is the fact that, according to records given by the department of records and research of Tuskee Institute, there were thirty-one instances in 1932 in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, four of them in northern and twenty-seven in southern states. In 1931 there were fifty-seven such preventions. Another trend that grew stronger last year was the vigilance of the press, of the churches and of the people of the several states who try to protect their own territory from the acts of lynchers. Notable along this line was the activity of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, which has state councils in all of the thirteen southern states.

Christian Advocate
New Orleans, La
Feb. 2, 1933

ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN WOMEN FOR THE PREVENTION OF LYNCHING

"Lynch-law—punishment by death without authority and in defiance of law—is the denial of all that civilization represents. This crime peculiarly American, and identified in particular with the South, is one with ignorance, illiteracy, and the debased and primitive society.

"No section of the South is civilized that condones mob violence and the crime of lynching. America stands guilty among nations while her people permit it. Here is reclaiming work for every responsible Southern man and woman."—Mrs. Attwood R. Martin, Ky., Chairman Central Council.

"No official who has ever surrendered to a mob rather than risk his own life as a willing sacrifice can ever regard himself other than as a traitor to his trust. No one who has ever joined in doing to death any human being without trial by jury can ever regard himself as other than a murderer. The only hope of eradicating mob murder lies in the realization of these facts."—Mrs. W. A. Newell, N. C., Supt. Bureau of Christian Social Relations, Woman's Missionary Council.

"We should continue our program of education against mob violence and lynching until there is created a new public opinion in the South, which will not condone for any reason whatsoever acts of mobs and lynchers.

"We believe the forces of law and order are steadily gaining in the fight against the crime and there is reasonable hope that the unholy evil will disappear."—Mrs. L. W. Alford, Chairman, Miss.

PARAGOULD, ARK
PRESS

FEB 17 1933

LYNCHINGS ON DECLINE

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SELMA, ALA.
TIMES-JOURNAL

FEB 16 1933

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ATLANTA GA JOURNAL
APRIL 6, 1933

Volume on Lynchings Comes Off the Press

A book entitled "The Tragedy of Lynching," edited and compiled by members of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching was released Saturday, according to George Fort Milton, editor of the Chattanooga News, and member of the commission. The 500-page book was published by the University of North Carolina Press.

Work on the book has taken nearly two years and lays bare to the public in many instances for the first time information on the subject of lynchings, Mr. Fort said. According to the findings of the commission two of the twenty-one mob victims in 1930 were innocent and eleven others were possibly so.

Alderson, W. Va., Advertiser
Friday, February 3, 1933

AWARDS IN LYNCHING CASE TO BE APPEALED

The administrators of estates of two Negroes, who were taken from the Lewisburg jail on December 10, 1931, and hanged by a mob, were awarded damages of $5,000 each by Judge A. P. Hudson in Kanawha circuit court Monday. The damages were awarded against the Greenbrier county court.

George Banks and Thomas Jackson were taken from the jail and hanged after they were held for the murder of Constable J. H. Myles of Greenbrier county, according to testimony presented before Judge Hudson. Governor Conley ordered an investigation after the lynching but authorities were unable to identify persons instigating the rush on the jail or members of the mob.

Joseph M. Holt, Greenbrier county prosecutor, waived the right to a jury trial and on Monday stated that the decision would be appealed to the supreme court on grounds similar to those alleged in a demurrer overruled by the circuit court.

Mr. Holt termed the law directing damages in the suit as "legislative usurpation" of the authority of the judiciary. The prosecutor characterized the statute as being unconstitutional, charging that the law was in effect a bill of attainder. He said that a trial of jury would have been futile inasmuch as the administrators need only prove the fact of the hanging and that "five persons" engaged in the act, in order to claim damages directed by the statute.

Charlotte, N. C. Observer
Wednesday, March 29, 1933

W. M. U. OFFERS HELP TO AVERT LYNCHINGS HERE

First Methodist Group Pledges Support to Officers.

SENDS LETTER TO IRWIN

Will Lend Aid in Maintaining Order 'in Any Provocation,' Communication Says.

Sheriff John R. Irwin yesterday received a letter pledging the support of members of the Women's Missionary society of the First Methodist church in assisting officers of the law in "every effort to maintain order in any provocation."

The letter, read and approved by Mrs. J. E. Brantley, chairman of social service, follows:

"Our county had neither lynchings nor attempted lynchings in 1932. While we are proud of this record, we do not feel secure as long as lynchings are attempted and committed anywhere. Our county could be the one black county to shame our state and indict our nation this year. That such a tragedy should not befall us, we, the First Methodist church Women's Missionary Society, pledge ourselves to support all officers of the law, both local and county, in their every effort to maintain order in any provocation. We stand for the prompt and orderly processes of law under all conditions. We condemn lynching as a crime which reflects upon our Christian religion. We believe that our American civilization calls for a complete eradication of this crime. We resolve, through our homes, our churches, and our schools, to create a new public opinion which will support and aid every law enforcement official in the discharge of his duty to uphold the laws of the land."

Birmingham, Ala. News
Friday, March 31, 1933

WOMEN'S GROUP RAPS LYNCHINGS

MONTEVALLO—Among items of business transacted by the Montevallo Branch, American Association of University Women, was endorsement of an anti-lynching petition presented by Dr. Hallie Farmer for the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

The petition declared lynching to be "an indefensible crime destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved."

Practically all members of the group present signed the petition, thereby placing themselves on record as believing "that public opinion has accepted too easily the claim of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in defense of womanhood," and pledging themselves as being no longer willing "to permit this claim to pass unchallenged nor allow those bent upon personal revenge and savagery to commit acts of violence and lawlessness in the name of women."

The object of the group in subscribing to the pledge is to assist in creating a new public opinion in the South which will not for any reason condone acts of mobs or lynchers.

Mrs. J. H. McCoy, state director of the anti-lynching movement, spoke of the work of the organization in Southern states.

Members of the group also endorsed a resolution introduced by Senator Black calling on Congress to empower the president to place an embargo on munitions shipments when he deems it necessary.

Miss Anna Irvin was named as delegate to represent the Montevallo branch at the annual convention of the National American Association of University Women in Minneapolis May 15-18. Miss Irvin will have part on the program.

Choice of officers to be elected at the April meeting of the branch, was assigned to a nominating committee which includes Miss Annie Kemp, Dr. Anne K. Gregorie and Miss Eva Golson.

Miss Ellen-Haven Gould entertained with readings.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
April 6, 1933

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Yazoo City, Miss. Herald
Tuesday, March 21, 1933

Last year only eight lynchings occurred in the United States, the smallest number known since records have been kept. The next lowest was ten in 1929. Of the eight lynched in 1932, six were negroes and two were white men. In the year 1892 the frightful total of two hundred and fifty-five were put to death by mobs, one hundred of them being white. So, in one respect, at least, we appear to becoming more civilized.

TIMES
San Angelo, Tex.
FEB 16 1933

Lynchings on Decline

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WICHITA FALLS, TEX.
RECORD NEWS

FEB 17 1933

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PORT ARTHUR, TEX.
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FEB 16 1933

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Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

White Press, (Southern.)

4843

VICKSBURG, MISS.
POST

FEB 17 1933

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ROANOKE, VA.
TIMES

FEB 12 1933

FEWER LYNCHINGS.

In its annual report on lynchings in the United States, the department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches strikes a distinct note of encouragement. Apparently, this blot on American civilization is fast disappearing.

The council's body of inquiry has found that, during 1932, there occurred just eight of these mob murders. Six of the victims were negroes and two of them white men. There was no geographical significance in the report.

This comparatively small number of eight murdered men is to be compared with thirteen for the year preceding and thirty-one for the year before that. It will be seen that the lynching rate has declined since 1930 by nearly 400 per cent.—Richmond Times-Dispatch.

MACON, GA.
TELEGRAPH

JAN 6 1933

Lynchings and Prohibition

By W. A. COVINGTON

On yesterday the papers throughout the country carried the announcement that there has been a falling-off in the number of lynchings in the United States, in the present year. We have had 11, whereas there were 14 in 1931. This is, I think, the low-water mark, reached first in 1930. It seems appropriate to look into the causes of the gradual and steady decrease in this typically American outdoor sport, since 1890.

Some 35 or 40 years ago, I read an editorial in one of the leading dailies of Georgia, saying that it was claimed that 95 per cent of the Negro rapists in this country who were lynched claimed under the knife and the torch that they were drunk when their crimes were committed. Now every Southern man knows a Negro well enough to know this is the truth, and knew it when this editorial was written. So, if this is the truth, one would naturally look for a reduction of the number of lynchings as the legal restrictions have been applied to the sale in the open of intoxicants to Negroes. Now let's see if this reduction has been coincident and proportional to the policy of prohibition. In round numbers there were 100 lynchings per year, at the beginning of the local option movements among the counties of the South. The records kept by Tuskegee institute are not available to me, as I write; but the reduction kept pace, with the increase of dry territory, until the ratification of the Eighteenth amendment, when the number was between 50 and 60. Since that time this reduction has continued steadily, until the present number 11 was reached in 1930. It was 14, last year, and is again 13 this year.

The Atlanta Riots

Here is the reason for the fact that the prohibition movement originated in the South, and moved northward. Here is the reason it was possible to push through the legislature of 1907 our State Prohibition law. It was the first session of a legislature, after the Atlanta riots. It was in November, 1906 that a lot of hoodlums tore loose on the streets of that city, and proceeded to kill Negroes, without regard to age or sex. There was never any suggestion that any of the dead had ever violated any law. And it has never been known how many were killed. Here is one thing that was definitely known: the killers swarmed out from the saloons of Atlanta—to the disgrace of a great community.

I am not saying that every mob is drunk; but I am saying that the accessibility of intoxicants in liberal quantities feeds the mob spirit; and is so much recognized as true, that public selling places of intoxicants are always instantly closed when any kind of lawlessness is in the air. The saloons were shut and so kept for several days, after the breaking out of the Atlanta riots.

Revolutions and Distress

Another thing. We have recently been in the midst of the most cruel financial distress that this country has ever passed through. And one of the remarkable things about it all has been the patience and patriotism of the millions of hungry and cold unemployed, in the great cities of this land. Revolution has nowhere lifted its head. Communistic propaganda has made no progress. The criminal rich have not been disturbed in the possession of their ill-gotten gains. If anyone wants to know why, I rise to remark that it is the absence of big supplies of intoxicants. There has not been enough liquor in any city to fire up a mob of 100,000 or even of 10,000. It can't be had from the man in the alley with a tin cup, or the bell-hops in the hotels. The "big rich", who now purpose to shift their income taxes onto the tender shoulders of the children of the poor had better think long and deeply about all this.

But I have drifted away from the problem peculiar to us in the south. I can never forget a thing that happened, in 1907, when the prohibition bill was being attacked by some of the ablest lawyers in Georgia, at a meeting of the Temperance committees. There were not many doctors of divinity there, but there was one I am not to forget—Dr. W. N. Ainsworth, who came up from Savannah, militantly. At the end of his speech, he pulled something out of his pocket, and said:

"I hold in my hand a pint flask. On the back of it is pasted the picture of a perfectly naked white woman. It was taken off the person of a drunken Negro. It is half-full of a mixture of vile spirits and tincture of cantharides. It is the advertisement of a saloon licensed by our state." At this awful statement, I was sitting so I could see in profile the faces of two of the most prominent members of the Georgia bar. I am not to forget their looks, so long as memory shall endure.

I shall be much surprised if the politicians who talk of party regularity at this time, and announce their purpose to assist a lot of politicians up north to tear down the first line of defense which has been erected around the white womanhood of Georgia, shall find, when they come up for re-election that they have miscalculated as to which is the big side in Georgia.

Prohibition and Crime

Journal & Guide

1-21-33

Norfolk, Va.

IN an amazing article in *The Macon (Ga.) Telegraph* one Mr. W. A. Covington attributes the decline of lynchings in the south to prohibition. As the basis of his proof he quotes a newspaper editorial published 35 or 40 years ago, tells how liquor inflamed the Atlanta rioters, lauds the laws which have prevented the legal sale of liquor to Negroes as an efficacious barrier to liquor consumption, says that "there has not been enough liquor in any city to fire up a mob of 100,000 or even 10,000," and finally quotes the dramatic words of a high churchman, who in the old days, arguing for prohibition held up to the horror of the members of the "temperance committee" a half-pint flask which bore on its whiskey label the picture of a nude white women. Mr. Covington said he would never forget that incident nor the effect it had upon the members of the committee.

The newspaper editorial quoted by Mr. Covington said "it was claimed that 95 per cent of the Negro rapists in the country who were lynched claimed under the knife or torch that they were drunk when their crimes were committed." And Mr. Covington adds that " if this is the truth one would naturally look for a reduction of the number of lynchings as the legal restrictions have been applied to the sale in the open of intoxicants to Negroes."

Mr. Covington is obviously holding to a theory which thousands of thoughtful southern white people have long since learned is impossible of adoption to practical uses. The first defect in the general theory is the far-flung assumption that there would have been no lynchings if there had been no rapists. Carefully gathered and authenticated statistics show that in 44 years, there were 4,306 persons lynched. Of this number 3,412, or four fifths of these were not charged with rape or attempted rape. There is no way of computing the number charged with rape who were innocent. An accused person under the knife or torch would admit almost anything. If the reader does not catch what Mr. Covington means by "the knife," it is castration of one by an infuriated mob.

The next fundamental defect in the general theory was the much propagated idea that the southerner's problem with liquor was only when the Negro was concerned, and that the problem would be solved when the legal sale of liquor to the Negro was removed. To the contrary when the legalized sale of liquor was stopped the criminal element of Negroes—and many not identified with that element previously—became not only consumers of liquor but illicit

retailers of liquor. And some of the best white people were their customers and protectors. Many of the same best white people were and are even to this day not only their customers but their financial backers. There are, to estimate it conservatively, at least a hundred thousand gin-mills and speakeasies operated in the south by Negroes under "protection." Instead of restricting the use of liquor by Negroes, experience shows that prohibition made it vastly easier for them to handle it both for personal consumption and for retail through liquor racketeers who thrive in all the cities and counties.

NOW let us examine another interesting development in crime, which, to follow Mr. Covington's line of reasoning, would show that if prohibition has reduced the classical "cause" of lynchings in the case of Negroes it has increased it among other races and nationalities, which if true, would afford an interesting study in criminology. Figures compiled by the Tuskegee Institute research department show that for the year 1926 (the latest available to this writer) the race and nationality of those committed to penal institutions for rape were: Native whites 4.0, foreign born whites 5.5, Indian 9.4, Negroes 2.6, Chinese, Japanese and all others 2.9. Counting Negroes lynched that year for rape or attempted rape would not increase their figure by one-tenth of one per cent, the records also show.

Further examination of the records reveal more interesting developments as to who is who now in the rape racket of crime. In South Carolina, where the population is almost equal as to races, the report of the state attorney general for the year 1929 showed that during that year 20 whites were tried for rape as against 13 Negroes; that for all crimes 2,146 whites were tried as against 1,931 Negroes.

Still contending that his claim as to prohibition being the cause of the decline in lynching is all wrong, we do suggest that Mr. Covington may find some support for the general idea he has advanced in the following comparison: In the pre-prohibition years 1908-1910 the percentage of whites committed to penal institutions in North Carolina was 36.7 and the percenetaage of Negroes 63.3. In the prohibition years 1926-1927 we find the ratios reversed, the percentage of whites being 61.3 and of colored 38.7. As we see it prohibition has greatly accelerated crime among whites as well as Negroes, although at a much higher rate among the former, but prohibition has had no bearing upon the decline in the number of lynchings.

WHAT has had a considerable bearing upon the decline in lynchings is the tempering, through processes of education, of the social fear which has been chiefly responsible for lynchings. For generations it was a fear of intermarriage, concubinage and the like. During the past decade it has been much subdued, and to some degree dispelled as to its original manifestations, but the same social fear is still rampant and manifests itself chiefly in economic repression. These processes of education have favorably affected the attitude of the law authorities toward lynching; they have to some extent penetrated the timid conscience of the southern church, and they have aroused the intelligent white womanhood of the south against the practice of a barbarous mockery of law in their name. All of these things have combined to bring about a decline in lynchings. Prohibition deserves none of the credit. Prohibition has made two criminals to every one it has cured. It has had nothing to do with temperance or mode[illegible] in the use of intoxicants exc[illegible]tard them.

Pelham, Ga., Journal
Thursday, February 16, 1933

Lynchings In U. S Fewest in History 1932 Report Shows

Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept The Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churchs reported last Sunday.

The number was eight, the department said, as compared with thirteen in 1931, twenty-one in 1930 and ten in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six were negroes.

Clanton, Ala., News
Thursday, February 16, 1933

A LESSON FOR MOBS

How unjust it is to judge of guilt on the strength of superficial circumstantial evidence was illustrated some time ago by the case of a 11-year-old boy murdered in Arkansas, presumably for a small amount of money he carried.

It was known that shortly before his death he had been in company with a one-eyed negro boy, who also was missing. Search for the negro was begun, with open threats of summary vengeance. After several days the negro boy was found not far from where the white boy was killed. But he was also dead, with indications that he gave his life in common battle with the white lad's murderers.

Now suppose that the two boys had separated before the white boy was killed. And suppose the mob had captured the negro lad, whose sightless eye would have identified him beyond question. There would have been just one more lynching of a negro, despite his pleadings and protestations of innocence.

This should be a lesson for any who may be tempted to take part in mob murder.

Raleigh, N. C. News and Observer
Sunday, January 15, 1933

A "REVOLT AGAINST CHIVALRY."

There is a movement which for some time I have intended to endorse in this column: the campaign of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. At present more than 7,000 women are enrolled in this association.

In the South most of the lynchings are of Negroes for rape, attempt at rape or suspicion of rape of white women. Hence, there should be no more impressive opposition to such mob lawlessness than that of the white women of the South themselves. Their organization for such opposition represents the best sort of "revolt against chivalry," when chivalry blindly carries their defenders beyond the law into barbarity. These women, properly, say in effect: "The law fully covers the crime in retaliation for which lynchings are usually committed. Having too long been made the excuse for lawlessness, we condemn lynching and band ourselves together in an earnest effort to stop it and to uphold the orderly procedure of the courts. If there is any avenging to be done, we wish a court and not a mob to do it."

MOBILE, ALA.
~~NEWS ITEM~~ Press
MAR 31 1933

[illegible] WOMEN OPPOSE LYNCHING

Crime Declared Hostile to Every Ideal of Religion And Humanity

MONTEVALLO, Ala., March 31.—The Montevallo branch of the American Association of University Women, at a meeting Tuesday, endorsed an anti-lynching petition presented by Dr. Hallie Farmer for the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

The petition declared lynching to be "an indefensible crime, destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved."

Practically every member of the group present signed the petition, thereby placing themselves on record as believing "that public opinion has accepted too easily the claim of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in defense of womanhood," and pledging themselves as being no longer willing "to permit this claim to pass unchallenged nor allow those bent upon personal revenge and savagery to commit acts of violence and lawlessness in the name of women."

The object of the group in subscribing to the pledge is to assist in creating a new public opinion in the south which will not for any reason condone acts of mobs or lynchers.

Mrs. J. H. McCoy, state director [of] the anti-lynching movement, spoke briefly of the work of the organization in southern states.

Members of the group also endorsed House Joint Resolution No. 93, introduced by Senator Hugo L. Black in the United States senate, calling on congress to empower the president to place an embargo on munitions shipments when he deems it necessary.

Columbia, S. C. Record
May 11, 1933

Mobs and Mobs.

The difference between the Le Mars, Iowa, mob which abducted a judge and an Alabama or South Carolina mob that may lynch a negro is not fundamental; they are brothers under the skin. One may be a mob engaged in punishing, without authority of law, a person accused and perhaps guilty or maybe innocent of crime. The other was a mob engaged in punishing a judge for enforcing the law holding a man to a contract that he made. The important thing is that both were mobs. And the man who defends the Iowa lynchers is defending the spirit that makes all lynching possible. The Record condemns all mobs.

Lynchings-1933 & Discussions

White Press, (Southern.)

4044

TRIBUNE

Asheboro, N.C.

FEB 9 1933

FEWER LYNCHINGS

The number of lynchings during 1932 were less than those in recent years. The figures of the Tuskegee Institute are eight and those of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are seven, the discrepancy being explained because of different definitions used by the two organizations in defining what a lynching is. Figures for previous years running back from 1932 are 13, 21, 10, 11, and 16 in 1927.

Southern sentiment has mobilized against lawless killings, although it is only fair to bear in mind that the South is not the only region where groups take the law in their own hands. Southern women, in particular, have publicly expressed condemnation of lynchings, and their leadership causes the Boston Globe to say that "these women deserve the hearty support of enlightened public opinion everywhere. They are doing for the honor of their States a work which will one day be recognized as heroic." There is also a growing determination upon the part of officers of the law to protect their prisoners in their custody.

Culpepper, Va. Star
Thursday, February 9, 1933

1932 LYNCHINGS IN U. S. FEWEST, RECORDS SHOW

New York, Feb. 8.—Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept, the department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches has reported.

The number was eight, the department said, as compared with 13 in 1931, 21 in 1930 and 10 in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six were negroes.

Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary of the department, said, "A growing tendency toward prevention of the evil is indicated in two significant developments.

"One is the fact that, according to records given by the department of records and research of Tuskegee Institute, there were 31 instances in 1932 in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, four of them in Northern and twenty-seven in Southern States. In 1931, there were fifty-seven such preventions.

"Another trend that grew stronger last year was the vigilance of the press, of the churches and of the people of the several states who try to protect their own territory from the acts of lynchers."

New Orleans, La. States
Monday, February 6, 1933

Lynchings In 1933 Set All-Time Low Record

NEW YORK, Feb. 6.—(By A. P.)—Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept, the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches had reported today.

The number was eight, the department said, as compared with 13 in 1931, 21 in 1930 and 10 in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six negroes.

Dr. George E. Heynes, executive secretary of the department, said "a growing tendency toward prevention of the evil is indicated in two significant developments.

"One is the fact that, according to records given by the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute, there were 31 instances in 1932 in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, four of them in Northern and 27 in Southern states. In 1931 there were 57 such preventions."

"Another trend that grew stronger last year," Dr. Haynes said, "was the vigilance of the press, of the churches and of the people of the several states who try to protect their own territory from the acts of lynchers."

Maysville, Ky. Bulletin
Thursday, February 9, 1933

Lynchings Decrease

New York, February 9.—Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept, the Federal Council of Churches has the Federal Council if Churches has reported.

The number was eight, the department said, compared with 15 in 1931, 21 in 1930 and 10 in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six negroes.

Winchester, Ky. Sun
Monday, February 6, 1933

LYNCHINGS DECREASE

NEW YORK, Feb. 6.—Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept, the department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches reported Sunday.

The number was eight, compared with 13 in 1931, 21 in 1930 and 19 in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six negroes.

[illegible]
Thursday, February 16, 1933

Resolutions On Lynching

To Sheriff Frank Niven of Union County, (Where lynching nor prevented lynching occurred).

Our county had neither lynching nor attempted lynching in 1932. While we are proud of this record, we do not feel secure as long as lynchings are attempted and committed anywhere. Our county could be the one black county to shame our state and indict our nation this year. That such a tragedy should not befall us, we the women of the Woman's Missionary Society pledge ourselves to support all officers of the law, both local and county in their every effort to maintain order in any provocation, we stand for the prompt and orderly processes of the law under all conditions. We condemn lynching as a crime which reflects upon our Christian religion. We believe that our American civilization calls for a complete eradication of this crime. We resolve through our homes, churches and schools to create a new public opinion which will support and aid every law enforcement official in the discharge of his duty to uphold the laws of our land.

Read and approved by the Woman's Missionary Society of Central Methodist Episcopal church, Monroe, N. C. Date, February 13, 1933.

LOUISVILLE, KY., COUR.-JOUR.
Friday, February 24, 1933

FOR THE PREVENTION OF LYNCHING.

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

The annual meeting of the Kentucky Branch of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, open to the public, will be held on Tuesday, February 28, at 3 p.m. at the Second Presbyterian Church, corner Second Street and Broadway.

The crime of lynching is deplored by all who hold sacred the right of every citizen to be tried by law and convicted, if guilty, by a jury of his peers. This is the South's problem, since most of the lynchings occur here. However, not only is the South suffering because of these tragic occurrences, but the standing of our entire country among the nations of the world is being jeopardized, and our missionaries are being embarrassed.

The lynching in our own State at Princeton last June, and the more recent happenings in two Southern States make us realize the necessity that our organization educate public opinion so that there shall not be a recurrence of these acts of violence against fellow human beings. Such is the purpose of the meeting next Tuesday.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Atlanta, Ga., executive director of the association in the South, will be the principal speaker. Mr. Tom Wallace and the Rev. F. M. Powell will speak respectively on the attitude of the citizen and the attitude of the church toward mob violence. Dean McCready will give the invocation and benediction. Mrs. Attwood Martin, chairman of the association for the entire South, will present the newly-elected State chairman, Mrs. G. W. Hummell, who will preside. Governor Laffoon and Mrs. Laffoon, who have been invited to be present, have expressed their keen interest in the work of the association.

MRS. G. W. HUMMELL,
Chairman, Kentucky Council,
Association of Southern Women
for Prevention of Lynching.

Louisville.

Ft. Mills, S. C., Times
April 4, 1933

Last year only eight lynchings occurred in the United States, the smallest number since records have been kept. The next lowest was 10 in 1929. Of the eight lynchings in 1932, six were negroes and two were white men. In the year 1892 a total of 255 persons were put to death by mobs, 100 of them being white.

ANDERSON, S. C.
MAIL

FEB 7 1933

DENY LYNCHING

MARION, Feb. 7.—(AP)—Marion county authorities today denied the statement of the National Association of Colored People that a person was lynched in this county last year and pointed to records which they said proved there has never been a lynching in Marion county. The association listed the death of Henry Campbell, killed in this county last year, as a lynching. Authorities contend Campbell was not lynched but was shot while resisting arrest.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
HERALD POST

FEB 15 1933

Lynchings on Decline.

AT A TIME when encouraging news is relatively scarce, it is worth noticing that the number of lynchings in the United States during 1932 fell to eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept.

This is especially worth comment, since a prolonged economic depression usually intensifies those antagonisms and prejudices which lead to lynch law. The year 1932 might logically have been expected to produce an exceptionally large number of lynchings; that the number actually fell below the lowest total previously recorded indicates that a very genuine and encouraging shift in public sentiment is taking place.

VICKSBURG, MISS.
HERALD

FEB 9 1933

A LESSON FOR MOBS

How unjust it is to judge of guilt on the strength of superficial circumstantial evidence was illustrated some time ago by the case of a 11-year-old boy murdered in Arkansas, presumably for a small amount of money he carried.

It was known that shortly before his death he had been in company with a one-eyed negro boy, who also was missing. Search for the negro was begun, with open threats of summary vengeance. After several days the negro boy was found not far from where the white boy was killed. But he was also dead, with indications that he gave his life in common battle with the white lad's murderers.

Now suppose that the two boys had separated before the white boy was killed. And suppose the mob had captured the negro lad, whose sightless eye would have identified him beyond question. There would have been just one more lynching of a negro, despite his pleadings and protestations of innocence.

This should be a lesson for any who may be tempted to take part in mob murder.

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AUSTIN, TEX.
STATESMAN

FEB 17 1933

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GREENWOOD, MISS.
COMMONWEALTH

MAR 15 1933

Last year only eight lynchings occurred in the United States, the smallest number known since records have been kept. The next lowest was 10 in 1929. Of the eight lynched in 1932, six were negroes and two were white men. In the year 1892 the frightful total of 255 persons were put to death by mobs, 100 of them being white. So, in one respect at least, we appear to be becoming more civilized.

PETERSBURG, VA.
PROGRESS-INDEX

MAR 28 1933

Such Men Would End Lynchings

MUCH COMMENDATION has been expressed of the action of Capt. R. R. Penn, superintendent of the State farm in Goochland county, in rescuing a young Negro from a mob of 600 persons in Powhatan county one night last week. The Negro was accused of an attempted attack on a 15-year-old girl of Powhatan. Capt. Penn courageously faced the mob and forced the would-be lynchers to give him their prisoner and then took the Negro across the river and locked him up in the prison at the State farm.

Capt. Penn creates the impression upon those who know him that he is a man hard to frighten. Certainly, while he may have appreciated fully the danger of untertaking to do that which he did in the case of that accused Negro, recognition of the fact that he might be seriously hurt or killed was not sufficient to deter him from performance of his duty. If every officer of the law in charge of prisoners sought by mobs would display the same courage and high sense of duty as that exemplified by Capt. Penn, lynchings would never occur.

Rock Hill, S. C. Herald
April 5, 1933

ONLY EIGHT LYNCHINGS

Eight lynchings are reported to have taken place in the United States in the year 1932.

This is said to be the smallest number in any of the past five years.

Which as a record is something to be satisfied with only to the extent that it indicates an improvement in the condition.

That there could be more than eight such killings even of confessedly guilty men in other years is something to bring a blush to the cheek of any American who is proud of his country and its government.

And one of the saddest things about this whole business is that some presumably decent Americans have done this horrid thing in the name of justice.

There may have been times and places where it seemed to be necessary thus to execute law. But to believe that such a situation exists anywhere in the United States in this twentieth century is to indict ourselves for the breakdown of the law by our indifference and our weak and futile support of the machinery of its enforcement.

Charlotte, N. C. News
Tuesday, March 28, 1933

Judge Lynch Denied

The entire State, not to mention the frustrated mob itself owes a vote of thanks to Dr. J. W. Reid of Lowell for his courageous behavior in forestalling what likely would have been another lynching in North Carolina. Dr. Reid hid the Negro until opportunity came to turn him over to the officers, who brought him to Charlotte immediately.

Thus it is that justice will be allowed to take the course which all men, upon the slightest reflection, are bound to admit is the only course. We brag of our fondness for liberty, yet if it is to continue to display itself in mobs we'd best find something else upon which to lavish admiration.

Clearwater, Fla. Sun
Friday, February 17, 1933

Lynching on Decline

AT a time when encouraging news is relatively scarce, it is worth noticing that the number of lynchings in the United States during 1932 fell to eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept.

Anniston, Ala. Star
Thursday, February 16, 1933

DECLINE IN LYNCHINGS ENCOURAGING BIT OF NEWS

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West Palm Beach, Fla. Post
Thursday, February 16, 1933

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Selma, Ala. Times
Thursday, February 16, 1933

LYNCHINGS ON DECLINE

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Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

White Press, (Southern.)

4045

Columbia, S. C., Leader
May 6, 1933

CARLTON WRIGHT'S OBSERVATION

Ever grateful should the Negroes of South Carolina feel to Carlton Wright, editor of The Columbia Record during the days when among the pages of South Carolina's history were being written—the days of the Lowman lynchings and abortive investigations. In no uncertain terms did Mr. Wright clamor for the bringing of the lynchers before the bar of justice for besmirching the name of the Commonwealth they doubtless professed to love. Loud was his voice and trenchant was his pen in opposition to those despicable forces that under the guise of sustaining white supremacy cast the most poisonous aspersions upon the honor of the group to which they belonged. Men who, like Carlton Wright, have clear convictions and the courage to fight and suffer for their convictions are not to be found in every editorial chair, although none other should sit in such a high and sacred place.

Mr. Wright impressed us then as being a close student of human affairs, and one who feared not to give his findings currency. In The Columbia Record of last Saturday, April 29, he had something to say which will interest those of our readers who did not read his article. The particular portion to which we refer is this: "I noticed last week the rather fiery debate in the South Carolina Senate with regard to exempting certain property of the Ku Klux Klan from taxation. How absurd and far away it sounds that the Klau is still in South Carolina a 'complete state organization,' with 58 officers. I did not suppose there were left enough guelible suckers in these hard times to support 58 officers or even to pay for having their night-shirts washed, assuming that they are washed occasionally."

When will the white people of the South become educated up to the point where they may realize the truth of he following words written by Mr. Wright? "Civilization in the South will ascend to no great heights, so far as the populace is concerned so long as therea is any considerable body of men and women in it who feel the need of the sort of uplift provided by the Ku Klux Klan. I did not fancy that there had been any notable advancement in South Carolina, but I had supposed that the Klan would cease to be fashionable even in the exclusive circles in which it was 'de rigeur' after the horrible Lowman lnyching in Aiken, and the tragic farce of the so-called 'investigation' that followed it until high political influences switched the investigators off the trail."

Such utterances as these by men of Mr. Wright's insight and indimitable courage are oases in the desent of ignorance, false Christianity, and colorphobia which preempts this Southland—the Negro's El Dorado, if "darky" and "mammy" songs and stories are to be credited with accuracy. When the men of the fourth estate—white and black alike take up their pens as they should to educate people away from suicidal prejudice and toward life sustaining brotherhood this Southland of ours will in reality become "God's own Country" as it is so often erroneously called. Its civilization can never rise any higher than the expression of its press.

ROME, GA.
NEWS TRIBUNE
APR 21 1933

SOMBRE RECORD IS UNFOLDED

THE story of mob violence in the South, covering the past forty-one years, as related by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynchings, makes dismal reading.

According to the figures submitted by the commission, lynchings have accounted for 3,724 deaths during the period covered, the greatest number being credited to Georgia, with 465, while Mississippi is placed second with 464, Texas third with 364, and Louisiana fourth with 349.

This is a ghastly record, and in view of the fact that a Chattanooga publisher is at the head of the commission, the claim of sectional misrepresentation cannot be raised, nor does there appear to be any valid ground for questioning the conclusions.

A gratifying fact is that there has been some decrease in mob violence in recent years, and certainly there will be much greater decreases if the recommendations of the commission are followed. Chief among these recommendations is for greater vigilance on the part of the officers of the law. Next and equally important is the suggestion that education be fostered with greater diligence, both among whites and blacks.

To achieve increasing results along either line will be possible only through militant and aroused public sentiment. Lawlessness is a tremendous liability and the South, with its fine culture, its splendid educational institutions, its great religious denominations, and its exhaustless natural resources, should not be hindered by the acts of minorities who lack proper respect for law.

COLUMBIA S C STATE
APRIL 23, 1933

"The Tragedy of Lynching."

Unhappily, the practice of lynching, along with other crimes, still remains a blur and smudge upon this country...particularly the South, although not so disproportionately upon the South as is generally reputed and rather persistently reported. But it must be admitted that the crime defined generally as "lynching" is more prevalent in the South than in other sections.

There are any number of explanations both as to seeming prejudice in the South for what is usually called lynching, and as to other crimes, of equal foulness and horror, and of far greater frequency, in other sections. But that is no justification for lynchings. We merely interject a few comments upon the unfair selection of a crime wherewith to blacken the reputation of the South, when much of the labor devoted to censuring this section could profitably be employed in suppressing mob-murders, gangster killings, and the shooting of strikers and protesting laborers and veterans in other sections.

No section, one is almost glad to reflect, has a monopoly of crime. And while every good citizen and every organ of decent opinion in the South gladly joins in all efforts to suppress lynching, a protest is due the stressing of lynching as so terrible a smudge upon the South when as terrible crimes with more numerous fatalities occur in other sections, and because this is done by the careful classification of lynching to fit the peculiar crime that is committed in certain parts of the South.

A little more on this later; and we hasten to approve the admirable report on "The Tragedy of Lynchings" prepared largely by Dr. Arthur Raper, Secretary of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, and printed by the University of North Carolina Press. The thoroughness of the investigation may be accepted when it is known that it was conducted under a Commission composed of eleven well-known men of the South, among them: Dr. W. J. McGlothlin, President of Furman University; Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina; Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute.

This volume, it is said in an announcement of the publication, "is the result of two years of painstaking investigation and study of lynching phenomena, and lays bare to the public a vast amount of authentic information on this subject never before available. It surveys the general lynching situation over a period of forty years, presents exhaustive case studies of each of the twenty-one lynchings of 1930, and also includes studies of a number of cases in which threatened lynchings were averted.

The main interest of the book centers in the lynching case studies, which set out in detail all available information as to the history and character of the several mob victims, the alleged crimes for which they were lynched, the composition and actions of the various mobs, the conduct of officers of the law, community attitudes toward the lynchings, and the steps taken by officers and courts to identify and prosecute participants.

So painstaking and sincere a study of this shocking crime can not fail to be of immense interest and value. It will, doubtless, aid greatly in the stamping out of this offense against law and civilization and the people of the South. Much has already been done toward the accomplishment of this, as is shown by the statistics of lynchings, and it is to be hoped and expected that the black crime will be entirely suppressed in a few years...sooner perhaps than the slayings and other crimes of the gangsters and mob-leaders will be swept from the calendar of crime in certain other sections.

The table of lynchings runs back to include 1889 and stops with 1932. In 1889 the crime record includes 81 white and 95 Negro victims, with a total of 176. The banner or the black years were 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895; with the crimes reported as: white victims 71, 100, 46, 56, and 59; and the Negroes as 121, 155, 135, 134, and 112, respectively. By 1932 the record had fallen to two whites and six Negroes.

The statistics show that the crime is not so preponderatingly committed against the blacks as is widely supposed, when all the circumstances are considered. These figures and [illegible] ones also show that the horrible crime is being slowly conquered and the vile hasty passions and race prejudices that are responsible for its commission are gradually being subdued. There is, we think, abundant grounds for hope. In 1930 there was recrudescence of lynching, but this died out by 1932.

We think that a word or two is always necessary to be said whenever a broadside and counterblast is thus issued against lynching in the South. The immense and excellent work

done by Tuskegee, Alabama, may be bruited indignation, no less than the definitions, which demand some sort dodge a sheriff's posse trying to pre-
readily understood. Here the Negro, crime itself, is due to race prejudices of illegally constituted court...due to vent the crime. But why should the
ably represented, stands at bay. He and race protection. "the origin of the name from Judge vast mob murders of striking miners,
is defending his race, as he should; The term "lynching" is, we think, Lynch of Virginia. Perhaps the vast the shooting down of men and chil-
but some allowance must be made for largely misapplied and ignorantly majority of lynchings have not the dren in the daylight in the crowded
the fervor and ululations of the chase used. The author or supervisor of slightest "taint of legality," like streets of New York, Brooklyn, and
of the criminal white lynchers. All this book loosely speaks of the Roosevelt's rape of Panama. They Chicago, be classed as lynchings, in
success to the war on lynching, from "jungle law." Lynching in some form are almost always impromptu crimes their essence?
whatever quarter the pursuit, but a is as old as the human race. It can of infuriated men, dispensing with all There are more and as horrible
great deal of the emphasis, and not justly be limited to the dictionary forms of thought or law, except to murders in such cities as Memphis

Atlanta, Birmingham, as there are lynchings in the entire South, taking year by year, yet the outcry is ten times as great and shrill against the lynching of a single brute, especially if a Negro, in Texas or Georgia, as for a black year of murders in any of the big cities in the nation.

We must suppress lynching, of course; but don't let us be shouted and stampeded into a war upon lynching of black brutes, as if it were the single heinous slaughter of human beings in our country.

LYNCHINGS DEPLORED BY WOMEN'S COUNCIL

Constitution 7-5-33 Atlanta, Ga.

Three lynchings in Georgia recently were condemned in a statement given out here Tuesday by the state council of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

Mrs. W. J. Neel, of Forsyth, Ga., chairman of the council, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly, secretary, issued the statement.

"We can never hope to banish this crime from our country until every citizen realizes that lynching indelibly stamps his community as primitive and savage," the statement read.

"Public sentiment must demand effective legal action by the courts against the leaders of lynchers before this crime is wiped out.

"Sheriff Jud Griffin, of Baker county, according to the papers, has shown courage and patriotism of a high order in his determination to uncover the persons involved in the two lynchings in his county. The time must come when every sheriff will know that a lynching in his county marks him as a weakling who is unable to uphold the law.

"We women are more determined than ever to pursue our program of education against this crime. We do not want anyone to believe that lynchings are for our protection. The causes lying back of two of these lynchings are fights between men. The third lynching had no cause assigned. In all, six persons lost their lives as the result.

"We deplore all lynching. We condemn them unqualifiedly."

The statement was issued through the Atlanta office of the Committee on Interracial Co-operation.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
NEWS

JUL 14 1933

Defining a Lynching

To The News and Courier:

Your definition of "lynching," in connection with the Clinton affair is in my opinion wrong. There are two circumstances attending a killing that make it a lynching. When a killing is done (1) by a mob, (2) in apparent punishment of a crime against the public, it is a lynching.

1. I think you will find in the cases that three persons may constitute a mob.

2. Where there is no private motive for the killing and it is in evidence that the persons doing the killing are not doing so for personal reasons recognizable as provoking personal vengeance, you have a lynching. When a person is taken from the custody of the law and killed under circumstances indicating a substitution of mob punishment for legal trial and punishment, the presumption of lynching arises. When a person is being sought by the law and before being taken is killed with deliberation by a mob, it is a lynching.

So in order to take the Clinton affair out of the definition of lynching, it must be established that the killers had a private motive for their killing. And under the circumstances I would say that the burden of proof would rest on the parties to a damage suit for lynching who allege such private vengeance.

You understand, of course, that it is a lighter accusation to charge a man with murder, with a killing for personal reasons, than it is to charge him with lynching, or murder without reason or excuse. The kind of malice that lynches is considerably more dangerous than the malice of a private murderer.

VAN NORTON.

Conway, July 12.

Chattanooga, Tenn. Times
July 14, 1933

LYNCHING.

They swung him high on a hempen strand
(Blood must wipe out blood).
He had no chance at the witness stand;
The only justice they understand
Is sudden death with a sudden hand
(Blood must wipe out blood).

No chaplain sounded a prayer for him
(Blood must wipe out blood).
No weeping eyes with tears were dim;
Their eyes were hard and their faces grim;
They laughed as they swung him off the limb
(Blood must wipe out blood).

His soul they damned, but their own as well
(Blood must wipe out blood).
They wrote their names in the pits of hell;
His limp, black body rides the swell
Of the wind that sounds alone his knell
(Blood must wipe out blood).

—Stewart Atkins, in New York Times.

Americus, Ga., Recorder
June 22, 1933

LYNCHING HELD 20 YEARS AGO

Horrible Scene Is Recalled Here

Twenty years ago today, Americus was the scene of one of the most horrible lynchings ever recorded in this section of Georgia. Within two hours after Will Redding, colored, had fatally shot Chief of Police W. C. Barrow, he was hung to a telephone pole on the corner of Lamar street and Cotton avenue, and his body riddled with bullets.

Chief Barrow was fatally shot when he attempted to arrest Redding in front of what is now Lott Brothers service station. The negro wrenched the officer's pistol from his hand and shot him in the breast.

A crowd of Americus citizens pursued Redding down Cotton avenue, where he was shot down and quickly taken to jail.

A mob soon formed and stormed the jail, breaking the doors in with sledge hammers. Redding was dragged to the same spot where the shooting occurred and was hanged to the post where more than 1,200 shots were fired into his body.

The body was later taken down covered with kerosene and burned.

Chief Barrow lived six days after the shooting and died at his home on Jackson street, on June 28.

Chester, S. C., News
July 14, 1933

LYNCHING VS MURDER

Governor Blackwood's comment that the killing of a negro who was spirited from the jail at Clinton, was "not a lynching, but a murder," has aroused some comment as to what the difference is between a lynching and a murder.

Governor Blackwood probably had in mind the indication that this killing was not the work of an infuriated mob, but of a very small group of citizens who went about their nefarious business in a calm and deliberate way.

There is, however, no strictly legal distinction between a lynching and a murder. A lynching takes the life of a citizen without sanction of the courts. Civilized society cannot construe such an act as in any other way than a murder.

Individual members of the mob might, perhaps, plead the pressure of passion in mitigation of their crime, but the net effect of the action of a mob, however large, in administering the death penalty upon a prisoner without a proper court trial cannot legally be regarded as anything less than a murder.

In the case of the Clinton negro it appears that there was no "mob." Three or four persons took it upon themselves to seize this negro from a poorly guarded jail and kill him, although his offense was not of a character to arouse any public sentiment that he deserved capital punishment. The perpetrators of this heinous crime have not even the excuse of mob action stirred by passion. It seems to be nothing less than a deliberate, cold blooded murder, and it is certainly to be hoped that the Laurens county and state authorities will leave no stone unturned to apprehend the criminals and bring them to speedy justice.

—Greenville News.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
RECORD

JUL 6 1933

MURDER IS THE WORD.

The slaying of Morris Dendy, negro prisoner taken from the Clinton jail yesterday and beaten, choked and shot to death, was, as Governor Ibra C. Blackwood phrases it, murder and perhaps not a lynching in the ordinary definition of the word. It was not an exhibition of mob violence; there was no mob involved.

But it was murder—useless, cowardly as all lynchings are.

The negro had been arrested but he wasn't charged with any especially heinous crime. At most he would have been indicted for assault and battery, which isn't a capital offense. He had gotten into a row with a white man and struck him with a stick. And then he had tried to escape. In the normal course of events he would have been tried and, if convicted, given a chain gang sentence.

The sudden flaring up of mob violence in the face of some particularly shocking crime, though like all other forms of murder degrading to its participants and subversive of all law and order, is at least understandable. An attack upon a woman and neighbor can excite righteous anger that may lead persons in heat and passion to deeds that forever afterwards they will regret. But there was nothing of this about the killing of Dendy. It was work of four men, premeditated. The slayers ran no risk of opposition from Clinton officers and apparently knew it. They came equipped to force the jail door but expected no battle with police; there was no jailor to interfere with them. They must have known it. And they knew of course that their intended victim was unarmed.

No blame therefore attaches to the Clinton officers who arrested Dendy and placed him in the town jail where he could be held until his slayers or Laurens county officers came after him. There was no reason to expect that their prisoner would fare any worse than any other held on a charge of assault and battery.

But the fact remains of course that Dendy when the killers got to him was a prisoner of South Carolina, held in the custody of South Carolina officers. South Carolina and Laurens county were responsible for him. Now South Carolina and Laurens county are responsible for the apprehension, arrest and conviction of his slayers. The crime they committed was murder. It is a crime against Laurens county and against South Carolina.

Primo Carnera, the new heavyweight champ, has considerable difficulty in trying to speak English. Jack Sharkey discovered, however, that Primo has no trouble in talking with his hands.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, (Southern)

4046

DEMOCRAT
NATCHEZ, MISS.
JAN 12 1933

Fewer Lynchings

Black is the record of the year 1932 except in one or two particulars. One of its few virtues was the relative absence of lynchings, only eight having been reported. Though eight too many, that is the smallest number in years.

Judge Lynch's victims included two whites and six negroes. They were denied the American right of trial by jury for the following alleged or suspected crimes: murder, attempted murder, criminal assault, attempted assault, wounding an officer of the law and dynamiting a store, insulting women and threatening men with a knife.

These eight acts of mob violence left indelible spots upon the escutcheons of as many states—Arkansas, Florida, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Ohio, Texas and Virginia. Nor is the power given them to purge themselves.

More significant than the low number of lynchings was the record of 31 attempted lynchings thwarted by police or other officers of the law. Although seven of the 1932 victims were surrendered to murderous mobs by public authorities there is less tendency for the police, prosecuting attorneys and courts to condone and encourage lynch law.

Mob rule is passing even in the race-troubled states. Lynchings eventually will take their place in history beside the New England witchcraft outrages. The one was as inevitable as the other.

LOUISVILLE, KY
COURIER JOURNAL
JAN 28 1933

PREVENTION OF LYNCHING.

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

We have read your editorials on mob violence from time to time and thought you might be interested to see a copy of the letter that we are mailing to the sheriffs of Kentucky. Similar letters have been sent to sheriffs of twelve other Southern States.

If you think any good might be accomplished by using it in the Point of View column, we shall be glad for you to use it.

MRS. G. W. HUMMEL,
President Kentucky Council Southern Women for Prevention of Lynching.
Louisville.

Last year, for the first time since 1929, Kentucky had a lynching. We had thought, when the movement of Southern Women against lynching was started, that our State needed no such education. Our citizens were committed against this crime. Last year's record shows that we were mistaken.

This year we are joining most heartily in the programme of education of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, which is composed of women from the thirteen Southern States. Our goal is a "Lynchless South in 1933." The women of Kentucky are pledged to educate public opinion in our State against mob violence and lynch law; and, as citizens of the State of Kentucky, to use every available means at our command to accomplish this purpose. If we have no more lynchings here, then we have done all that we can toward bringing about a lynchless South. If we should have a lynching, we can clear ourselves only by a vigorous and successful prosecution in the court.

Because there was no serious legal action against those who were guilty of committing the one lynching in our State last year, the Nation could well conclude that in Kentucky lynching is no violation of law.

Lancaster ...
Tuesday, Febr...

NO LYNCHING IN STATE LAST YEAR

It is with pleasure that we can record no lynchings in South Carolina during the year 1932. This is good. We trust that there shall be none in 1933, or, for that matter, no other year. The people of this state should be willing to permit the law to take its course, and thus avoid the blot which a lynching always gives. Perhaps the cause of lynchings also is being removed. Surely education must mean something, and while we have not yet achieved universal education, certainly the average of better thinking through better training is being raised gradually. Let us frown upon taking of human life. If we could say that no murders had been committed in a year, or even a month in South Carolina we should feel that better days are here again. At least we can hope for the elimination of unlawful killings in our state, and feel that this is an end in view worthy of efforts.—Exchange.

Lawrenceburg, Tenn. Union
Friday, January 27, 1933

Lynchings in Year New Low; Tennessee Free

The report on lynchings in the United States for the year 1932, shows that only eight persons were lynched during the year, which is five less than the number lynched in 1931. In 1930 the records show 21 persons lynched, with 10 in 1929, 11 in 1928, and 16 in 1927.

Of those lynched in 1932, seven were in the hands of the law when taken by mobs, and four being taken by mobs.

The report further states: There were 31 instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings. Of the eight persons lynched, two were white and six were negroes. The offenses charged were: murder, one; attempted murder, one; rape, one; wounding officer of the law, one; dynamiting store, one; insulting women, one; threatening men with knife, one.

The states in which lynchings occurred and the number in each state are as follows: Arkansas, one; Florida, one; Kansas, one; Kentucky, one; Louisiana, one; Ohio, one; Texas, one, and Virginia, one. No lynchings during the year were reported in Tennessee.

Chester, S. C., News
Friday, February 3, 1933

NO LYNCHING IN STATE LAST YEAR

It is with pleasure that we can record no lynchings in South Carolina during the year 1932. This is good. We trust that there shall be none in 1933, or, for that matter, no other year. The people of this state should be willing to permit the law to take its course, and thus avoid the blot which a lynching always gives. Perhaps the cause of lynchings also is being removed. Surely education must mean something, and while we have not yet achieved universal education, certainly the average of better thinking through better training is being raised gradually. Let us frown upon taking of human life. If we could say that no murders had been committed in a year, or even a month in South Carolina we should feel that better days are here again. At least we can hope for the elimination of unlawful killings in our state, and feel that this is an end in view worthy of efforts.—Exchange.

Lexington, Ky., Leader
Sunday, January 22, 1933

THE LYNCHING RECORD

It is of great interest to all our people, and a source of satisfaction, to know that in 1932 there were but eight lynchings in the United States, with population of 125,000,000 and in the midst of a depression calculated to unnerve millions and to drive many to desperation.

There were 13 of these crimes committed in 1931, and 19 in 1930. The record of 1932 is the best which has been made for a long while, certainly the best since 1927.

Seven of the persons lynched were in the hands of the law. Two of the victims after death, were burned. It is gratifying to know, also, in this connection, that officers of the law by prompt and resolute action prevented 31 lynchings which were attempted. Four of these instances occurred in northern and western states, and 27 of them in southern states. In seven cases armed force was used to protect prisoners sought by mobs.

Of the eight persons lynched, two were white and six were Negroes. In two cases the crime of rape or attempted rape was charged against the victims. The other offenses charged were murder, attempted murder, threatening an officer, insulting women, threating men with a knife, dynamiting a store, and wounding an officer.

The states in which lynchings occurred were Arkansas, Florida, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Ohio, Texas, and Virginia. Five are southern states, one, Kentucky, a border state, one western and one northern.

In the case of the Kentucky lynching the governor of the state has utterly failed to do his duty. No effort has been made to use the law which gives him authority to remove an officer who fails to resist a mob seeking to take a prisoner out of his hands. The courts in the county where the crime occurred have failed, likewise, to do their duty. The case remains a blot upon the good name of Kentucky and upon the reputation of its officers, from the governor down.

Lynching is the worst of all crimes on the calendar because in a peculiar sense it is a crime against society and against the law. When a mob takes a prisoner from the hands of the law, from the jurisdiction of the court, and denies him the right to be judged according to the evidence, it strikes at the very foundation of the social order and of justice, established after so many centuries of painful effort and tragic failure. When the mob is loose there is no safety for any individual, all the gains of the past made by the race in its upward march toward social control and the protection of human rights are thrown away, and men relapse into barbarism and once more revert to the law of the jungle. The evil of lynching should be absolutely wiped out in this country. The inter-racial group movement, participated in by the best men and women of the south, both white and Negro, has accomplished much, and will accomplish more.

Newport, Tenn. Plain Talk
Tuesday, February 7, 1933

Statistics show that there were fewer lynchings during 1932 than in previous years. As all other activities showed a decrease for that year there is no reason why the business of lynching should not have followed suit.

Richmond, Va. News-Leader
Tuesday, February 7, 1933

VIRGINIA OPINIONS.

More significant than the low number of lynchings was the record of thirty-one attempted lynchings thwarted by police or other officers of the law. Although seven of the 1932 victims were surrendered to murderous mobs by public authorities there is less tendency for the police, prosecuting attorneys and courts to condone and encourage lynch law.

Mob rule is passing even in the race-troubled states. Lynchings eventually will take their place in history beside the New England witchcraft outrages. The one was as inevitable as the other.—Strasburg Northern Virginia Daily.

LOUISVILLE, KY., COUR.-JOUR
Friday, March 3, 1933

LYNCHING.

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal.

I recall discussing the atrocious Sherman, Texas, lynchings with a young white woman in Boston, Mass in 1930. She was from Texas. I asked her where were the good and cultured white citizens during the display of Nordic barbarism? She said that they were afraid to interfere. I added that they were indifferent, too.

My opinion that the best elements of whites are indifferent to lynching in the South was rudely confounded yesterday. I attended the meeting of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching in the Presbyterian Church, Second and Broadway. No words were spared by the speakers in excoriating lynching. They averred that they were tired of taking the "rap" before the world for the greatest blot on American dignity. T... discountenanced the moth-worn ...se given by lynchers: a black ... attacked criminally a white wom... Above all, they resolved that "... process of the law" must not be ...ulated by establishing a mobocr... instead of a democracy.

The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching has definitely begun the task of causing public opinion in the South to outlaw lynching. Their efforts ought to be applauded by all citizens, white and black, for their work is of the noblest kind.

EARL BROWN,
President, N. A. A. C. P.

Louisville.

NEWS
Clanton Ala.
FEB 16 1933

A LESSON FOR MOBS

—o—

How unjust it is to judge of guilt on the strength of superficial circumstantial evidence was illustrated some time ago by the case of a 11-year-old boy murdered in Arkansas, presumably for a small amount of money he carried.

It was known that shortly before his death he had been in company with a one-eyed negro boy, who also was missing. Search for the negro was begun, with open threats of summary vengeance. After several days the negro boy was found not far from where the white boy was killed. But he was also dead, with indications that he gave his life in common battle with the white lad's murderers.

Now suppose that the two boys had separated before the white boy was killed. And suppose the mob had captured the negro lad, whose sightless eye would have identified him beyond question. There would have been just one more lynching of a negro, despite his pleadings and protestations of innocence.

This should be a lesson for any who may be tempted to take part in mob murder.

TIMES
Taylorsville, N.C.
FEB 16 1933

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in mob murder.

Montgomery, Ala. Advertiser
Saturday, March 18, 1933

SPEAKING OF LYNCHING

John Temple Graves, II, writes in The Birmingham Age-Herald: "It seems to us that New York newspapers ought to try to be as open-minded about the Scottsboro case now as Alabama newspapers are being. In other words, that their special correspondents should not come down, as some of them are, with their minds made up in advance and fill their lengthy dispatches with every bit of unsubstantiated evidence they can find which will suggest intimidation and injustice in Alabama and innocence in the accused Negroes. Since these correspondents are so ardently and properly opposed to lynching, why should they 'lynch' Alabama?"

Just why an Eastern newspaper should send a prejudiced propagandist down here is beyond us. The only reason why New York papers should send staff correspondents to Alabama, at great expense should be for learning the truth—the real truth from men upon whom they know they can rely for accurate and unbiased reports.

The International Labor Defense League would be glad enough to "lynch" the State by distorting facts for them!

MONTGOMERY, ALA.
ADVERTISER
MAR 18 1933

SPEAKING OF LYNCHING

John Temple Graves, II, writes in The Birmingham Age-Herald: "It seems to us that New York newspapers ought to try to be as open-minded about the Scottsboro case now as Alabama newspapers are being. In other words, that their special correspondents should not come down, as some of them are, with their minds made up in advance and fill their lengthy dispatches with every bit of unsubstantiated evidence they can find which will suggest intimidation and injustice in Alabama and innocence in the accused Negroes. Since these correspondents are so ardently and properly opposed to lynching, why should they 'lynch' Alabama?"

Just why an Eastern newspaper should send a prejudiced propagandist down here is beyond us. The only reason why New York papers should send staff correspondents to Alabama, at great expense should be for learning the truth—the real truth from men upon whom they know they can rely for accurate and unbiased reports.

The International Labor Defense League would be glad enough to "lynch" the State by distorting facts for them!

Winter Garden, Fla., Journal
Thursday, March 9, 1933

Answer to Lynchers

"I wish they had lynched him. The law will never do anything." That was the expression we heard from a score of Florida citizens the day after Mayor Cermack was shot by Giuseppe Zangara. It was the expression not only of men-of-the-street but of informed leaders of communities, and coming from them it was revolting. They wished to proceed with the same disregard of law and of civilization that Zangara himself had shown.

In the whole United States during 1932 there were but eight lynchings, one of which was in Florida. It has taken years of the hardest kind of work to rid the South of its disreputable habit of permitting poor white trash to fry niggers in flames; the descendants of plantation overseers would still consider it sport.

The Miami tragedy was scandalous enough without adding a lynching, which would have set a precendent not to be overcome for years. Florida justice was vindicated in the prompt conviction of Zangara and will be strengthened by his prompt sentence to the electric chair. The lynchers have been answered and, we hope, silenced.

SEBRING, FLA.
AMERICAN
OCT 12 1933

DISREGARD OF THE LAW

In Ninety-six, S. C., four white men took a young negro out of the jail and practically whipped him to death. There had been some altercation between the negro and the white men, and subsequently the white men went to the jail and removed the negro from the jail. The men state that they called at the jail to obtain the negro earlier in the evening, but that the jailer refused at that time to deliver the prisoner over to them, but told them to wait until dark and come back and they would find the jail unlocked. The jailer denies the above conversation and alleges that he did not leave the cell unlocked. Be that as it may, we simply have another evidence of the loose respect of the law held by so many citizens today. Unless the American people have a due and proper respect for the law, we are headed straight for oblivion.

Lynchings-1933
C

White Press, (Southern.)

4047

Discussions.

Women Can Spurn Truth

"He insulted a white woman," is the terse and sufficient language pinned to the dead body of a Negro strung up in Mississippi on Saturday. There is no way of learning now whether he did or not. He has been gathered to his fate without the right of being heard, or even to be confronted by his accuser—and there is no sure way of knowing that any such accusation was made against him.

Thus the most sacred of all rights has been trampled under foot. The real cause might have been that some one in the mob had a spite against him. It might have been that he had property that somebody wanted, and maybe he wouldn't sell it. It might have been that some white woman became peeved with him because he would not or could not extend same favor she asked. Many white people thus hold the fate of Negroes in their hands. Especially white women.

It is possible for a white woman to make the charge of having been insulted against a Negro and have him strung up immediately. If he denies it, then he should be hung for "disputing a white lady's word". So, the Negro is on both horns of a dilemma.

This is a dangerous situation. It involves more people than Negroes. Because if people become so hot-headed and unjust toward a Negro, on some woman's unsupported word, it is inch by inch establishing a precedent and practice by which the same sort of "justice" can be meted out to white men who "insult white ladies."

"White ladies" ought to be protected, of course. But the utmost care ought to be taken in seeing that the innocent who are unjustly accused are also protected. A woman can be easily mistaken, especially if she is angered and desires to get revenge. All she has to do is to call her men folk and cry and sick them like a pack on the victim. Several years ago this ruse was used in Georgia to chase a Negro out of a community where he occupied a particularly nice piece of farming land which it was afterward learned white people had been trying to buy from him and which he didn't want to sell at any price. All his life's efforts had been wiped out, his home broken up, his good behavior went for naught. His crops were left in the field, all he had was sacrificed for whatever was offered by the "indignant" whites.

We claim to be a superior race, we white people. Superiority and power carry responsibility—to do justice. We ought to have more sense and understand the danger of destroying the very institutions that we have set up for our own protection, to appreciate them too much, for us to take unnecessary chances with the villainies of mob violence. Plenty of women can be honestly mistaken or take liberties with the truth. In fact, Webster's dictionary describes honor "specifically in men as integrity, uprightness, trustworthiness; in women, purity, chastity."

While we do not wish to be too severe on the women, it should be observed that they don't have to tell the truth to be considered honorable, according to the above. The dictonary does not hold them to the same standard for telling the truth in every case as it requires of the men.

WINTER HAVEN, FLA
CHIEF

JUL 6 1933

REMOVING THE CURSE OF LYNCHING.

The lynching record of the United States for the first six months of 1933 has just been published by the Tuskegee Institute's department of records and research and reveals that there were six such crimes committed against white and colored Americans. This is one more than the five lynched during a similar period in 1932, according to Major Richard R. Moton, principal of the famous institute for negroes at Tuskegee, Ala., founded by the late Booker T. Washington. There were two whites and four negroes in the list and the offenses were: murder 4, rape 1 and unreported 1. Louisiana and Tennessee had two and Georgia and Texas one each. When one reads these records he finds that lynching has decreased appreciably in recent years but that is not much to boast about. So long as there is one death by lynching in America, this country stands guilty of being a party to lawlessness and racial and social hatred and of flagrant violation of the statutes of man and the ordinances of God. "An eye for an eye" might have been justice under the stern mandates of a primitive Hebrew religion, but even then it was administered as a matter of legal justice and not by taking the law into one's own hands, as is always true of lynching. The South is no more guilty of the crime than the North or the East or West but naturally the world looks to the South to take the lead stamping out the evil for it is in the clashes between the races south of the Mason and Dixon line that the lynch law is more often resorted to. The South's leaders in civil and social life have for years been taking the lead in combating lynching and it is largely due to their efforts that the curse has been minimized and lynching brought nearer the vanishing point.

Wilmington, N. C. Morning Star
July 8, 1933

GOVERNOR IS RIGHT

It has remained for South Carolina, the record of which is stained by more than one incident of mob violence, to produce a variety of lynching, which in the language of Governor IBRA C. BLACKWOOD, must be classified as a plain murder.

The "mob" in this instance consisted of but four men. They approached the jail at Clinton, where the accused negro was being held following charges of simple assault on a white man; brushed aside the janitor; knocked off the lock to the cell tier and carried their victim away.

Hours later, the man was found, hands and feet tied, his body mutilated and quite dead.

In the usual sense a lynching occurs when a mass of citizenry outraged by a real or fancied grievance takes the law into its own hands and visits summary venegance upon the object of its wrath. In this instance, however, there was no evidence of mass feeling. The very paucily of numbers in the attacking band bears out Governor BLACKWOOD'S theory that private and personal venegeance was the motive, and this of course is nothing but murder.

Lexington, N. C. Dispatch
July 10, 1933

T.58

HISTORY REPEATS

HISTORY was merely repeating itself at Clinton, South Carolina, when four men broke into the flimsy town jail at night, carried off a negro prisoner and lynched him. Governor Blackwood protests it was simply a murder and not a lynching, but his protestations do not change the course of history nor soften its repetition.

Surely the governor could hardly find logic to discriminate between murder and lynching, certainly not from the standpoint of deliberation and premeditation.

The reported facts at Clinton are that a negro man and a white man, both truck drivers, had an argument that ended when the negro used a stick on his opponent, but not inflicting a serious wound. His offense appeared a mere assault with a deadly weapon. Afterwards he showed some resistance toward arrest, but that was no more than a major misdemeanor. Perhaps he visioned the sort of protection from lynchers he would receive if he submitted to arrest. If he did the forewarning was correct. He was placed in a small town jail, with no jailer but merely a negro janitor to make such poor ministrations as might prove absolutely necessary to anyone incarcerated there. Four men broke into the insecure building at night, took the prisoner out, tortured and slew him.

Any South Carolina officer who would place a negro who had struck a white man, no matter under what circumstances, in an unprotected jail is in fact guilty of negligence amounting to criminality. Keeping in mind that history repeats itself, such officer might almost be considered as aiding and abetting in lynching, or murder, as the governor prefers to state it.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
NEWS

JUL 10 1933

Not a "Lynching"

When four persons kidnap another and kill him, whether by shooting or hanging him, why call it a "lynching?"

It is grossly unfair to Clinton, to Laurens county, to South Carolina, to describe the taking of a negro, secretly, from the town jail in Clinton and the killing of him as the action of a considerable part of any com-

munity, and unless it was that it could not have been a "lynching." It was in fact an assassination, and to speak of it as a "lynching" is to imply that it had popular encouragement, hence to excuse in some degree the assassins. Whether or not they should be, lynchers are not held to be quite the vile and infamous creatures that assassins are.

A quartette is not enough to be a mob. Were every killing by four or five or a dozen murderers who "make their getaway," in Chicago, reported as a "lynching" that town would be the lynching capital also of the uncivilized world.

Not the slightest evidence is offered that the cowardly murder of the negro in Clinton had the aid or sympathy of the people of Clinton or of Laurens county. It was a slaying easily done by four persons who in the darkness abducted a man from undefended prison. They did not "lynch" the man—they "took him for a ride," in the manner of Chicago thugs.

Bamberg, S. C., Herald
July 13, 1933

WHAT IS A LYNCHING?

When four people, allegedly, took a prisoner out of the Clinton town jail and killed him, Governor Blackwood said it was not a lynching, but a murder, which brings up the question of what a lynching is.

Webster's dictionary says that "lynching" is "to inflict punishment upon, especially death, without the form of law, as when a mob captures and hangs a suspected person." Then the same dictionary defines "mob" as "the disorderly element of the populace; the lower part of it; the common mass; the multitude of the masses."

Upon the proper construction of what a lynching is perhaps hangs the decision of whether or not the county of Laurens will be required to pay $2,000 to the family of the negro whose life was illegally taken. The governor maintains that four people do not constitute a mob.

Whether it be lynching or murder, or both, it is up to the county of Laurens to redeem its good name by punishment of the perpetrators of the evil deed.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.
NEWS SENTINEL

JUL 3 1933

DARK AND BLOODY GROUND

A YEAR and a month ago, a Kentucky mob stormed a Caldwell county jail, seized Walter Merrick, a white man awaiting trial for dynamiting and lynched him.

Under Kentucky law it was mandatory upon Gov. Ruby Laffoon to remove jailer Jones. After repeated demands by the American Civil Liberties Union, finally Gov. Laffoon temporarily removed Jones. But he put Mrs. Jones in charge of the jail, pending a hearing. According to the Union, Atty.-Gen. Wootton, Commonwealth Attorney Grayot and County Attorney Hardin all "united to hush up a hideous crime." No attempt, the Union says, was made to search out the lynchers. As was expected, Gov. Laffoon reinstated Jailer Jones.

The Union reminds Kentucky that under Commonwealth Attorney Grayot's administration there have been six lynchings in the fourth judicial district. During that time no man has been convicted for having participated in these crimes.

Under such administration of the law, Kentucky may easily live up to its Indian name, popularly translated as "the dark and bloody ground."

Butler, Ga., Herald
July 6, 1933

A statement deploring the thre lynchings which have occurred i Georgia in the last six weeks wa issued Tuesday by the State Council of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, the result of a special meeting elected by the chair man, Mrs. W. J. Neel, of Forsyth. The statement said there could be no hope of "banishing this crime from our country until every citizen realizes that a lynching indelibly stamps his community as primitive and savage."

Columbia ... ate
July

Black Mark Anyway.

Chester Reporter.

Governor Blackwood says the killing of a Negro prisoner, after he had been removed from the lockup at Clinton by three or four white men, was not a lynching, but a murder, his idea evidently being to stress the fact that the crime was not the work of a large number of people who had been aroused to frenzy, but a vengeful killing by an interested few. At any rate it goes down on the record as a black mark against the state, and judging by what has gone before the efforts of the governor and other officers will not be productive of results, unless the Clinton people as a unit demand that the parties guilty of this atrocious and uncalled-for crime be adequately punished. If that is done, the work of the officers will bear fruit, and other individuals in South Carolina who might be inclined to think they have the right to take the law into their own hands and punish a trifling crime with death will ponder the matter a little more thoroughly before acting.

Anderson, S...
July

WAS IT NECESSARY?

The News and Courier is endeavoring to show that the negro who was taken from the Clinton jail and killed, was not "lynched." The Charleston paper observes that he was merely "taken for a ride" by a small group of men.

Regardless of what The News and Courier may say on the subject, the negro is dead, just as completely dead as if he were thrice lynched, mobbed, murdered or taken for a ride. The gravity of the offense is not lessened by an attempt to remove the stigma of "lynching" from the fair name of the Clinton community; neither is the undesirable publicity for South Carolina reduced.

Negroes are not taken for a ride in South Carolina, they are lynched. The distinguished editor of the Charleston paper knows this. It is impossible to perfume a lynching by calling it some other name.

The question is, was Dr. Ball right when he wrote, years ago, from his home bailwick in Laurens (in the general neighborhood of Clinton) that lynchings are necessary? Does he still believe that?

Homerville, Ga. Weekly
July 6, 1933

LYNCHNGS DEPLORED BY WOMEN'S COUNCIL

Three lynchings in Georgia recently were condemned in a statement given out Tuesday by the state council of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

Mrs. W. J. Neel, of Forsyth, Ga., chairman of the council, and Mrs. M. E. Tilly, secretary, issued the statement.

"We can never hope to banish this crime from our country until every citizen realizes that a lynching indelibly stamps his community as primative and savage," the statement read.

"Publ c sentiment must demand effective [illegible] tion by the courts against the leaders of lynchers before this crime is wiped out.

"Sheriff Jud Griffin, of Baker county, according to the papers, has shown courage and patriotism of a high order in his determination to uncover the persons involved in the two lynchings in his county. The time must come when every sheriff will know that a lynching in his county marks him as a weakling who is unable to uphold the law.

"We women are more determined than ever to pursue our program of education against this crime. We do not want anyone to believe that lynchings are for our protection. The causes lying back of two of these lynchings are fights between men. The third lynching had no cause assigned. In all, six persons lost their lives as the result.

"We deplore all lynching. We condemn them unqualifiedly."

The statement was issued through the Atlanta office of the Committee on Interracial Co-operation.

RICHMOND, VA.
TIMES DISPATCH

JUL 10 1933

Proper Anger

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—In reference to a very recent South Carolina outrage, permit me to ask how long are colored citizens of any Commonwealth expected to sit pusillanimously and supinely by while crimes so cruel, ferocious, inhuman and merciless are permitted to be committed upon them and their perpetrators to go unpunished.

Is it because persecution becomes justice when colored persons happen to be the victims, or is it because they are expected from long usage, to be insensible to torture?

If we weigh in the scales of impartial justice the acts of the deceased and these barbarians, we shall be compelled to bring a far more severe verdict against the latter.

(Mrs.) WINIFRED HARRIS
Richmond.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
September 6, 1933

Other times, other customs! From three different sources this column has received copies of a letter in regard to the lynching of Pippen and Harden which was written to a newspaper recently by our friend, Dave Birmingham. Mr. Birmingham defends the Tuscaloosa sheriff and deputies against charges of cowardice or dishonesty, recalls the hideous crime against Vaudine Maddox of which the Negroes were accused, and quotes the late beloved John Sharp Williams in apparent defense of lynching. But even if Senator Williams believed in lynching, his day was not this day. John C. Calhoun believed in slavery, but neither was his day this day. Henry Grady thought it necessary and wise to use his matchless eloquence for the cause of "white supremacy" in the South, but today there is no real doubt of or threat against that supremacy. The present task is one of "wisdom justice and modera-

ion" in the uses of supremacy.

* * *

In spite of a faithful lifetime of Bible reading we have never yet understood why some words are printed in italics. Thanks to Dr. James Edgar Dillard, of the Southside Baptist Church, we now understand not only this but also the use of the word "ought" for "aught" in Deuteronomy xv 2 which has so troubled Sheffield's Mr. Nathan and us. If Mr. Nathan will please stand by, here is what Dr. Dillard says: "You will note that in the authorized King James version of the Bible the word ought' is printed in italics. This means that the word does not appear in the original text but was supplied by the translators in the hope of making the meaning clear. ..."

Lynchings - 1933
&
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4048

Dothan, Ala. Eagle
November 28, 1933

ANOTHER LYNCHING

Infuriated by a particularly heartless crime, a California mob battered down jail doors and hanged two men who had confessed kidnaping and murdering a youth and then demanding $40,000 ransom from his parents.

The victims' crime was brutal, but the mob's crime was also premeditated murder. The men had confessed. They were in jail, and in all probability they would have been duly and legally hanged. The swift and brilliant work of the California police who trapped the kidnapers and jailed them has gone for nothing. The mob which hanged the men has heaped shame upon their state.

As for Governor Rolph's statement commending the mob, it is nothing short of stupid. Said he:

> This is the best lesson that California has ever given the country. We show the country that this State is not going to tolerate kidnaping. If any one is arrested for the job I'll pardon them all . . . I would like to release all San Quentin and Folsom Penitentiary inmates serving sentences for kidnaping into the custody of those fine, patriotic San Jose citizens who know how to handle such a situation.

Upon assuming office, the Governor swore to uphold the laws of his State. In endorsing mob violence he has violated his oath Of course with such attitude brazenly admitted, it is futile to expect any of the mob to be arrested. California has officially endorsed lynching.

It will be many years before California can live down the disgrace which her Governor has heaped upon her. The more thoughtful citizens can only blush with humiliation.

Maryland recently had a lynching in which the victim was dragged to a public square, killed and his body burned. Demands for an investigation met with the blunt statement from the local prosecuting attorney that leaders of the mob were known but would not be arrested, as the people would forcibly release them from jail.

It is the contention of intelligent men that two wrongs never made a right. The crimes these victims committed were brutal in the extreme, but few crimes can be more brutal than a band of men seizing and killing a helpless victim. This is the method of savages, not of civilized men.

What inspired the California mob? The horror of the victims' crime whipped emotions to a frenzy—but what lay behind that? The Eagle believes, as it has stated before, that the endless dragging of criminal cases through the courts, with one delay and postponement after another, forms a foundation for mob violence. The American people are tired of thugs being jailed for brutal crimes, only to see them recline in jail for months, even years, before disposal of their cases, and then sometimes liberated or given short sentences from which they are soon paroled to prey on the public again. The people are sufficiently tired of this to take matters in their own hands. They are wrong of course, for they are seeking a remedy after the manner of a beast. The real remedy is to overhaul our laws and make criminal trials swift and punishment certain. When this is done mob violence will be a rarity.

This is a job for the lawyers who compose our lawmaking bodies. In the past they have been accused of adding more technicalities to our court system instead of reducing the number, because the more technicalities involved, the more opportunity is afforded lawyers to make money. Often you have heard some individual say: "I never intend to vote for another lawyer for anything except prosecuting attorney or judge." Regardless of whether this is clear thinking, it is nevertheless what a large number of people are thinking. If the lawyers are wise they will pay some attention to it.

This is no attempt to blame mob violence on lawyers; that indeed would be far fetched. We do contend, however, that the lawyers can be largely instrumental in removing the cumbersome red tape from the present methods of convicting and punishing criminals, and in doing so perform a real service for the American people. If it isn't done, mob violence on a grand scale will continue.

WILMINGTON, N. C.
STAR

NOV 30 1933

LYNCHING REACTIONS

LYNCHING of California kidnapers was perhaps the least such offense against the law that ever merited wholesale approval on the part of the public, but the subsequent reaction of Governor ROLPH is well calculated to have serious and far-reaching effects.

Almost on the heels of the announcement from his executive chamber that any person arrested for the crime would be pardoned, the country reverberates with two more instances of mob violence. In Missouri a negro was dragged from jail and cremated. In Maryland, another mob, incensed by the action of Governor RITCHIE in sending troops to arrest participants in a previous lynching, battled with soldiers and finally stormed a hotel in which visiting newspaper men had taken refuge. This gang even went to the extent of mouthing lynching threats against the governor of the state.

Few of the rank and file take the time or trouble to analyze the real danger from condoned lynchings. It is not that the average victim does not richly deserve the punishment meted out, but that the winking at such offenses leads a certain reckless element to presume there is no law, and to wreak vengeance through the same medium of private as well as public enemies.

Needless to say tht spread of such sentiment would result in the overthrow of all law, all order, and the establishment of an era of anarchy.

Often officials err in dealing with this problem. Governor ROLPH erred in making his prolonged statements and then reiterating them. Governor RITCHIE erred in timing his arrest of alleged mobsters at a moment when the sentiment of the country was for the time at least sympathetic with the California lynchers.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
Post

NOV 29 1933

The Maryland Rebellion

Salisbury, Maryland, is in rebellion against the state. Its citizens attacked state officials and state troops, driving them out of town.

The issue is no longer merely the apprehension and punishment of the Princess Anne lynchers. The issue now is whether the state of Maryland will re-establish authority over its rebellious citizens.

The duty of the governor is plain. Local authorities having failed—if indeed they tried—to prevent anarchy and wholesale violence, state troops should be kept there until the reign of law is recognized and respected.

Whether state officials and police by their inaction were partly to blame for the lynching last month is still an open question. Nevertheless Governor Ritchie deserves credit for his belated attempt to use the power of the state to capture the lynch leaders protected by the local authorities.

But the fact that only four of the nine lynching suspects were captured, coupled with the fact that the attorney general and the troops yesterday retreated from the town under attack by another mob, leaves a much more dangerous situation than existed after the lynching.

By yesterday's violence the mob spirit was encouraged. Lawless elements all over the state will grow.

Maryland, like any other state, is made up chiefly of peaceful and law-abiding citizens. The purpose of law is to protect the community from the lawless minority. Governor Ritchie cannot compromise with mob rebellion.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
HERALD POST

NOV 28 1933

THE CALIFORNIA LYNCHING.

"IF ANYONE is arrested for this good job, I'll pardon him."

This is the answer of Gov. James Rolph, chief executive of the state of California, to the protests which followed the sensational lynching of two murderous kidnapers.

"It was the only way to give a lesson to this country. Kidnaping has terrorized other states. It is time this danger is cleaned up. People make their own laws. In the San Jose case, swift justice was absolutely essential." These are quotations from the governor's statement.

The lynching of these two confessed murderers and kidnapers was a horrible thing. But the brutal killing of Brooke Hart was even more horrible.

We cannot condone lynch law, but it is apparent that something must be done if we are to stop these murderous kidnapers. There is no punishment too severe for them. If by the act of the California mob others may be prevented from torturing and killing, then we cannot be too severe with this latest exposition of lynch law. On the other hand, neither can we encourage others to do likewise.

There is no use in adopting a mollycoddle attitude with kidnapers. Murder is too good for them whether it be legal murder or lynch law.

Spartanburg, S. C., Herald
December 1, 1933

Recent Lynchings

What the Daily Mail of London calls "a fresh wave of lynching" swept over the United States during the last fortnight. One outbreak was in Maryland, another in California and a third in Missouri. All are to deplored no matter how great the provocation may have been.

The governor of California commends the lynchers in his state. Governors of Maryland and Missouri condemn. Reports from California tell of a "carnival spirit" that prevailed while the jail was being attacked and two contemptible criminals who had confessed kidnaping and murder were being killed.

To condemn the lynchers is not to condone the crime of their victims. It would be safe to say that the men would have been speedily tried, convicted and punished. The work of the mob denied the state the privilege of doing its duty.

The attitude of the governors of Maryland and Missouri toward the lynchings in their states is to be commended. That cannot be said of the position taken by the California executive or by any other as long as the law against executions by mobs is on the statute books.

MEMPHIS, TENN.
COMMERCIAL APPEAL
NOV 30 1933

Law and Lynching

The South, which for years has borne the stigma of leading in the record of lynchings, fortunately is an innocent bystander in the recent outbursts which have centered attention upon other sections of the country. It is our hope that the lesson the South will learn from these episodes will be, first, restraint from commission of such crimes, and, second, the impressive necessity for swift and orderly administration of justice.

The lynching of kidnapers in California and the acquittal of kidnapers in Minnesota, the lynching in Missouri and the arrest of ringleaders in a lynching in Maryland, are all related incidents.

The public has decided that there must be an end to kidnaping. Those who contemplate the commission of such crimes would do well to measure the possibility of ransom against the possibility of lynching.

The revolting description of the Missouri lynching was not more revolting than the story of the crime perpetrated by the victim of the mob.

There are crimes which arouse public indignation to such a point that the ordinary processes of law are ignored, even by otherwise good citizens. It would be well to prevent the perpetration of crimes that fan the passions of men to such fever heat.

The events of the past week are a reflection upon our civilization. Lynchings were not uncommon in the early days. The pioneers disposed of thieves and other criminals in their midst in that way. Summary punishment gave way as the machinery of law began to function. The criminal was answerable to the law and not to public indignation. As the law functioned unerringly other forms of administering punishment were no longer necessary.

There are laws to fit every crime, but unfortunately justice frequently miscarries and punishment too often is inadequate. It is to be hoped that these recent outbreaks not only will act as a deterrent to the commission of crime, but reveal to the public the folly and the reproach of taking the law into its own hands, when agencies already constituted are available for that purpose; and last, but not least, is the necessity of those charged with the administration of the law to appreciate public impatience with the law's delay and its failure too often to administer adequate justice.

The lessons of the past week have been impressive, if not inspiring. Communities, citizens individually, and the courts of the land should accept these deplorable instances as evidence of the need for individual restraint based on the assurance of speedy trial and unerring justice.

Kissimmee, Fla., Gazette
December 1, 1933

California has at least one to be proud of and that is a governor with nerve enough to come right out and declare he will pardon any of the lynchers—if they are identified and convicted— of the two kidnapers and murderers of Brooks Hart, San Jose youth. No punishment is too severe for this class of criminals and no punishment should be meted out to the men who take the law into their own hands, do away with all the delays and evasions usually attending such cases and make the punishment fit the crime—if such is possible. We congratulate Governor Rolph on his courage and wish that governors of every state in the union would display the same brand.

Pelham, Ala. Eagle
December 6, 1933

MORE ABOUT LYNCHING

The Tifton Gazette in a recent short editorial applauded the lynching of the two California kidnapers. It is one of the few papers coming to our desk which has taken such a stand.

But in a later editorial the Georgia paper hems and haws and takes both sides of the question. "To approve of any lynching is to announce lawlessness. The Gazette does not wish to appear as the defender of lynching and lawlessness," recites Editor Herring piously, but in the same sentence he adds: "but we do believe there are times when a lynching appears justified."

Just what does the Gazette mean? It stands up, takes a deep breath and before exhaling both condemns and anoints lynching.

Which doesn't make sense.

That paper, however, goes on to say a few timely things regarding courts and justice:

> It is possible for a criminal with sufficient money to get away with almost any kind of crime in this country. The examples are so numerous and widespread that it would be odious to attempt to cite them here. Any reader cna recall numerous instances.
>
> A criminal commits a heinous crime. He employs a smart criminal lawyer and the case is postponed on some pretext. Finally a trial is held and a conviction secured. Then there is an appeal from one court to another, and then a new trial. Probably in the interim some important witness has died or disappeared, and justice is deaf, dumb, blind, crippled and helpless.
>
> Some poor fellow without a penny or a friend, who steals to satisfy his hunger, may be arrested, tried, convivted sentenced and sent to the gang within a day's time but it's not that way with the worst criminals. They may get caught, but they seldom serve a sentence. There are too many loopholes and ways out. It often seems that the laws have been written for the benefit of the criminal and not for the protection of society.

The Eagle heartly subscribes to the foregoing, but when The Gazette adds that the California and Missouri mobs were warnings to the courts for quick disposal of criminal cases, we can only point to the facts, (a) that the two kidnapers were trapped by officers within four days of their crime, had confessed and surely would have been legally executed within a short time, and (b) the Missouri victim had been promptly captured by officers, had confessed and would have been legally executed within a short time.

In neither of these cases was there probability of delayed punishment; in both cases the agencies of law acted brilliantly and swiftly, and in both cases law, government, order and deecncy were lynched along with the victims.

No lynching anywhere, at any time, or for any reason can possibly be explained away with logic. The mob itself is illogical. It acts through prejudice or passion, but at all times in a rage. There is no reason remotely connected with it.

There is a way to correct the inefficiency of our courts. We should do it legally, sanely and with calm and wisdom. This is the way of the civilized man. To attempt it by mobs bent on lynching is the way of the barbarian.

Tennessean
NASHVILLE
TENNESSEE

DEC 3 1933

Who Draws the Line?

Governor Rolph of California, asked to comment on the lynching in Missouri in the light of his approval of the lynching in California, refused to do so. "The cases are not parallel," said he, "kidnaping was not involved in the St. Joseph lynching." By the same token, of course, an attack on an innocent woman was not involved in the California lynching. By indirection, in other words, Governor Rolph has emphasized the dire results of sponsoring and approving lynch law and mob rule under any circumstances. Once violence has taken any part of the place of order, that is to say, who shall draw the line? Who shall decide which offense against society is serious enough to be handled summarily by the crowd and which shall be left to the considered judgment of organized society? Such questions are plain and direct, but they should be answered in full before the individual in any way lends his approval to the application of mob rule and lynch law.

White Press, Southern

4849

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

Enterprise, Ala. Ledger
August 18, 1933

BLOOD ON THE GREAT SEAL OF ALABAMA.

Two of the three young Negroes charged with the raping and murder of a Tuscaloosa white girl are dead.

They were lynched.

They were killed by a group of armed zealots who had become impatient with slow justice. Their bodies were riddled with bullets by Alabama hot heads who took the law into their own hands for fear that outside interference would block the course of justice.

And because this group, inflamed with hatred and fear—hatred of influences which invited hate, fear that the machinery of justice was to be clogged by sinister efforts—seized the three prisoners and shot two of them to death, Alabama must suffer shamefully in the eyes of the world.

The people of Alabama must suffer shame they do not deserve. The people of Tuscaloosa, the home of the State University, the cultural center of Alabama, must suffer shame they do not deserve. All because a handful of passion-stirred Alabama white men endowed themselves with the rights of court and hangman to put to death three men who deserved the protection of the State, the people and the courts of Alabama.

Lies have been spread abroad about the people of Alabama and their courts, gross lies of injustice, conviction of the innocent, legal murder by the courts.

But the lynching of the three Tuscaloosa Negroes is not a lie.

The two bullet-riddled bodies and the absence of the missing third Negro are evidence of mob law which none can dispute and for which none can apologize.

Alabamians have more reason to deplore the lynching of these Negroes than any outside critic.

The people of Tuscaloosa have more reason to condemn the conduct of the hot-headed vigilantes than have others.

Only a few Alabamians are responsible for the blood stains on the map of the State—stains that cannot be washed away so easy as the greasy black mud thrown by the zealots from afar who are known to be malicious fomentors of hate.

But all Alabamians must suffer the storms of protest which are sure to come. All Alabamians must suffer for the conduct of those few who took the law into their own hands.

But the maggoty beaks of the belled buzzards of the International Labor Defense League are stained with the blood of the two Negro boys whose torn bodies this morning lie in newly-turned graves!

The International Labor Defense League at last has accomplished what it has long sought.

It has made martyrs of three Alabama defendants in a criminal case—dead martyrs to a mock cause.

The ILD has tried for more than two years to disgrace Alabama in the eyes of the world. It has tried to foment class and racial strife. It has tried to make ignorant men sacrifice themselves in the name of martyrdom.

Dan Pippen, one of the Negro boys whose bodies now lie in graves, was 18. He did not want the International Labor Defense League to "defend" him. He did not want to be a martyr. And he and his family knew that the ILD was more interested in the making of martyrs than in the freeing of Alabama prisoners.

The Negroes knew that the ILD would only use his case to foment hatred.

Sebring Fla., American
August 23, 1933

A RECORD SPOILED

Alabama's three-year record in regard to lynchings has been spoiled by the recent double lynching at Tuscaloosa, and once again thunder from the notorious Scottsboro case is heard. Not since 1930, when a white man and several negroes were killed in a disturbance caused by argument over a small bill, have there been any lynchings in Alabama.

But in the meantime occurred the Scottsboro case, with all the wrangling occasioned in large part by the activities of outside organizations, and it is quite evident that the Tuscaloosa affair can be traced to that.

In Tuscaloosa three negroes were up for trial, and the International Labor Defense, which was active in defending the Scottsboro case negroes, sent lawyers to aid them. The people of that section would not have been human if they had not resented it. They did. The resulting trouble could be blamed on the entrance of the I. L. D. lawyers in the case, they are imperiling not only the lives of other negroes, but the racial relations in the south. It will not be surprising if Alabama, seeing its system of justice blocked, resorts to other acts of violence.—Ocala Morning Banner.

Durham, N. C. Sun
August 15, 1933

The Alternative

Another dark page has been added to Alabama judicial and social history. Two Negro murder suspects have been lynched. A third escaped, but the mob's intent in his case was also summary death.

Dissertations on mob justice are common enough to need no additional exposition here. Enough to say that North Carolina would not welcome like conditions in this state.

The North State has kept its lynch law record remarkably clear in this generation. Which prompts us to advance the theory that capital punishment may have a great deal to do with it. The answer will be that Alabama invokes the death penalty, but there have been complications, including the Scottsboro case. Then, too, what might the record not be in Alabama, were there not even the death curb?

It has been said that murderers often escape in Carolina. And some do. But a great many burn. At least, when an atrocious murder has been committed, of such calibre as to excite popular feeling, the potential mob is restrained by the assurance that the courts will deal properly with the case.

If North Carolina abandons the death penalty, we wonder if it will not invite worse.

MONTGOMERY, ALA.
ADVERTISER
AUG 17 1933

ALABAMA CONDEMNS MOB MURDER

Mob violence in itself is a crime. It provokes rather than restrains other crimes. As an enemy of the law it casts aside the restraints upon human passion which our English-speaking people have rationally developed during their long history. It represents not the orderly will of the majority as expressed through the mandates of law, but the inflamed and irrational hatreds of the few.

The most extreme form of mob violence is lynching. The taking of the life of a human being without affording him a hearing at the bar of justice is not merely to deprive him of his natural rights. It is more. It disrupts the harmonious relationships of the community and results in hatreds that lead to further disrespect of the law and of its normal procedures. It too often results in the growth of antagonistic minorities whose presence creates alarms and fears. It deprives the members of a community of their sense of security and their confidence in the ability of the community to afford every accused individual a fair trial in advance of the admnistration of justice.

Lynching is an affront to the dignity and sovereignty of the commonwealth. A small group of individuals set themselves up as arbiters superior to the state and its laws. They conceive themselves as endowed with wisdom greater than that possessed by a well-developed organized judicial system. Yet it is obvious that the lynching mob is not governed by calm and rational thought, but by sheer and unrestrained emotion built upon pre-conceived ideas which the mob is unwilling to subject to the scrutiny of recognized legal procedure.

As our civilization has developed, lynchings in the United States have shown a steady and marked decrease. This decrease has been especially marked in recent decades. State and local governments have come to realize more and more that the majesty of the law and their own dignity must not be violated by the lawless violence of minority groups.

The mob faces backwards. Its point of view is not only criminal, but belongs to a dark and receding past now happily almost forgotten. No modern community can afford to tolerate lynching. No fair-minded and law-abiding community, bent on protecting all its citizens, will permit such a crime to go unchallenged. No sovereign state can allow such a violation of its peace and dignity to go unpunished.

Thus did Judge Henry B. Foster conclude his charge to the special Tuscaloosa County Grand Jury called to investigate the lynchings of Dan Pippen, Jr., and A. T. Harden.

Judge Foster spoke not merely for the Circuit Court of Tuscaloosa County, not

merely for the State Courts of Alabama. He spoke for the courts of civilization, for all courts in which justice is guaranteed for all—for the humble and lowly as well as the rich and powerful.

No editorial brands lynching for what it is as does Judge Foster's direct charge to the men called to investigate and bring to justice the hot heads who brought shame on the people of Alabama. No truth is stated plainer than in Judge Foster's charge.

Withering editorials deploring the mob murder have appeared in newspapers throughout the country—but no outside condemnation of the lynchings has been as withering as that of the Alabama press.

John Temple Graves, II, in The Birmingham Age-Herald says: "The Blocton lynchings have brought upon Alabama more shame than can be covered by any alibi. It is probably true that Pippen and Harden would not have been murdered if the International Labor Defense League had not attempted to interfere in the case."

"But," says Mr. Graves, "the disgrace which every civilized Alabamian must feel today for this crime against the law and good name of his State cannot be covered by such an excuse. . ."

The Birmingham News, as most other Alabama newspapers condemns the crime and reminds Alabamians that though the International Labor Defense may share in the guilt—that the actual murder was done by Alabamians. The Birmingham Post calls for protection of the Negro who escaped the mob and the relentless prosecution of the men who killed the two prisoners.

Regretting the unfortunate happening, The Opelika Daily News concludes its leading editorial with:

> Unthinking ones may in some instances condone mob violence and even proclaim their satisfaction in certain cases. Those who think, and maintain deep allegiance to their state never seriously feel this way. The popular sway of the imagination often follows eagerly incidents surrounding such occurrences. The feeling of vengeance and outrage sometimes gets the best of us in our unguarded moments. Cool reflection, however, checks the emotion and we quickly find ourselves again. Law and order MUST PREVAIL or all of us are lost.
>
> There will be much said and written about Alabama on the heels of this unfortunate Tuscaloosa occurrence. And if we be truthful, it will to some extent be justified. But we can largely erase the blemish by a thorough "cleaning up" process, and by properly safeguarding life in the future. This lynching doesn't reflect the predominent thought; it doesn't represent the true idealism of the state.

Says The Talladega Daily Home: "There can be no justification for flaunting the jurisdiction of the courts and committing murder even to show such a despicable outfit as the I. L. D. whose concern is not for the Negroes, that it is not wanted in Alabama. . ."

The Anniston Star asks in its editorial caption: "Were Officers Negligent in Protecting Prisoners?"

The Anniston paper says: "Aside from the fact that the officers might have obtained National Guard troops to aid in guarding the negroes, it seems that there was needless delay in getting them out of Tuscaloosa when threats were being heard and there were persistent rumors that an attack would be made by a mob on the jail Saturday night. It has been suggested that the prisoners should have been taken away for safekeeping when the trial was continued the other day after a disturbance arose as a result of the presence of the I. L. D. attorneys. But, anyway, there had been reports throughout Saturday, according to press dispatches, that an attempt would be made to take the negroes from jail that night and the officers had plenty of time to prepare to meet the attack."

Judge Foster in his charge to the Grand Jury asked that indictment be brought against any person or persons either directly or indirectly responsible for the lynchings.

No outside protests are these. No squawks from half-baked sentimentalists fro mafar, are these pleas; no criticism by ignorant and misled outside critics are these indictments. They come from Alabamians who realize the shame that has been brought down on themselves and their fellows by their own neighbors.

Let us forget the embarrassment we have suffered at the hands of outsiders now that the outside world has agreed that the I. L. D. shares our blame. Let us forget that others do share the blame.

The Advertiser perhaps has used more space warning the outside trouble-makers to stay out of Alabama than any other paper in the State. It will continue to do so when it believes such warnings should prevent trouble.

But right now The Advertiser is concerned with Alabama setting its own house in order.

Respectable Alabamians have spoken. They have cried out against the mob murders.

A State that does not or cannot offer protection to the most lowly of its residents does not deserve the right to call itself a sovereign State.

OUTSIDE BLAME IS NOT ENOUGH

It is not enough that Alabamians should point to the blood on the beaks of the belled buzzards of the International Labor Defense League in trying to place the blame for the murder of the two Tuscaloosa Negroes.

It is not enough for Alabamians to shout "shame" and mutter of "outside interference," "blood thirsty agitators."

It is not enough for Alabamians to cry: "This never would have happened if the I. L. D. had not tried to besmirch our people and our courts with its unwanted interference and its lies."

It is not enough for Alabamians to point across the State line to the Cause of the murders.

It is true that the blood of the murdered boys does stain the beaks of the I. L. D. scavengers.

It is true that outside interference of conscienceless agitators was responsible for the lynchings.

It is true that the two murdered Negroes would be alive today if the I. L. D. had not tried to interfere in the case—even against the will of their victims.

It is true that the cause of the deaths lies across the State line.

But this cannot wash the blood from the hands of Alabamians.

This does not exonerate the State in the eyes of the world and in the eyes of its own people.

We cannot escape our own shame by pointing an accusing finger at our partners-in-crime.

It matters not that the hot heads who seized the three Negroes and killed two of them were goaded by slaps in the face by self-appointed martyr makers.

Decent Alabamians, though their breasts may scorch with indignation at brutal crimes, cannot and will not condone lynchings.

Alabamians resented the interference of outside agencies in its courts because they wished to exercise the right to try and punish criminals as the people of this State believe they should be tried and punished—and that is the foundation of justice in these United States. Every other State reserves the right to conduct its own courts. Why should Alabama be made a trampling ground for those who wish to foment hate or fight against capital punishment?

But resentment cannot burn so deeply into the consciences of Alabamians as does shame, not the shame of persons or organizations outside the State—but shame which only Alabamians can suffer.

The third Negro taken from the officers in their flight to Birmingham has been found—alive.

The State of Alabama, the Sheriff of Tuscaloosa County and the people of Tuscaloosa are responsible for the life of this man.

Because this Negro escaped from a mob which riddled the bodies of his fellow prisoners with bullets every care should be exercised in safeguarding his life. No ordinary precautions should be taken to protect the Negro. For if harm should come to him after the lynching last week the explanation that ordinary precautions were taken merely would indict those responsible for the prisoner's life in the eyes of the world.

He should be under guard every second. He should be guarded by conscientious, courageous men every second.

Governor Miller has taken more than ordinary precautions. He has placed the prisoner under the care of National Guardsmen.

The State, for justice, for decency, for its own good name, must investigate thoroughly the lynching of the two Negroes and bring to justice the mobsmen who brought the shame which all Alabamians must share.

Columbia, S. C. Record
August 17, 1933

Attacking Alabama Courts.

In Alabama three negroes, charged with the murder of a white girl, were taken from officers by a party of armed men. The bodies of two of them riddled with bullets, were found Monday, 23 miles from Birmingham to which deputy sheriffs had been taking them for safe keeping.

Sheriff R. L. Shamblin, whose men had been held up on the road by the lynchers, blames the lynching upon feeling aroused by "the interference of the International Labor defense lawyers."

And in a sense, of course, he may be right. It ought not to be so, but Alabama citizens do not take kindly to outside intervention. In the Scottsboro case imported attorneys and the obvious attempts of Communist agitators to make the trial a cause celebre for propaganda purposes proved a serious handicap. That it was not fatal to the negro defendants is due chiefly to an Alabama judge who happened to be bigger than either the invading agitators or the local victims of race prejudice. The interfering interests might have learned a lesson from it, but they never do.

But the lynching of the two negroes—one escaped—in the Tuscaloosa case does not harm the outside agitators, but even rather plays into their hands, supplying them with ammunition with which to attack Alabama justice. The lynching is a reflection upon the Alabama courts; it is a confession that the lynchers have no faith in Alabama juries.

Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4050

Dothan, Ala., Eagle
August 28, 1933

NOT SURPRISING

A white woman, and the mother of seven children, was criminally assaulted in the city of Decatur Monday shortly before noon.

Later a mob formed, but foresight on the part of the Morgan county sheriff prevented trouble, for the Negro had been removed to the Huntsville jail in the neighboring county of Madison.

Yesterday another mob, apparently from Morgan county, headed for Huntsville, but the courage and coolness of Madison county officials saved the Negro's hide for the second time.

This is fine work on the part of two North Alabama sheriffs, and they are to be congratulated by all decent Alabamians.

But the whole thing is regrettable because it is palpably the aftermath of the Scottsboro case (which was tried once at Scottsboro and once at Decatur, and which is still pending) and of the Reeltown riots and the Tuscaloosa rape and murder case—all of which were perfumed by the presence of I. L. D. lawyers.

There is no place in civilized society for mob law. Responsible men admit this at all times, and practically every man will admit it in normal times. But unfortunately, there is a large number of men in every community and in every State in the Union, who, upon occasions are controlled by prejudice and plain, white-hot anger. Such men become inflamed by the stupid abuse of such organizations as the I. L. D., and they take the law into their own hands. It is regrettable, but it is a fact. And so long as such organizations as the I. L. D. continue to feed the flame of prejudice, these men will continue to attempt to take the law into their own hands.

The trials of persons—white and black alike—for criminal assault or murder, should be both prompt and fair. Because they have not been prompt in the past, and on some occasions they were unfair, there is a growing tendency to let Judge Lynch dispose of them. In the minds of the mobs, he is, at least, prompt.

If the courts invariably handled such cases promptly, there would be less tendency to let Judge Lynch handle them. Dilly-dallying, delaying, and the I. .L D. propaganda concerning the Scottsboro case inflamed this mob spirit. When the dilly-dallying is stopped and the meddling of the I. L. D. is prohibited, we may reasonably expect less attempts to lynch accused rapers.

Until then, the newspapers, the judges and the intelligentsia may as well save their breath in pleading for the "law to take its course." The "law" is becoming too slow and cumbersome to suit the friends and relatives of outraged white women.

BLOOD ON THE GREAT SEAL OF ALABAMA

Advertiser 8-17-33 Montgomery Ala.

Two of the three young Negroes charged with the raping and murder of a Tuscaloosa white girl are dead.

They were lynched.

They were killed by a group of armed zealots who had become impatient with slow justice. Their bodies were riddled with bullets by [illegible] heads who took the law into their own hands for fear that outside interference would block the course of justice.

And because this group, inflamed with hatred and fear—hatred of influences which invited hate, fear that the machinery of justice was to be clogged by sinister efforts—seized the three prisoners and shot two of them to death, Alabama must suffer shamefully in the eyes of the world.

The people of Alabama must suffer shame they do not deserve. The people of Tuscaloosa, the home of the State University, the cultural center of Alabama, must suffer shame they do not deserve. All because a handful of passion-stirred Alabama white men endowed themselves with the rights of court and hangman to put to death three men who deserved the protection of the State, the people and the courts of Alabama.

Lies have been spread abroad about the people of Alabama and their courts, gross lies of injustice, conviction of the innocent, legal murder by the courts.

But the lynching of the three Tuscaloosa Negroes is not a lie.

The two bullet-riddled bodies and the absence of the missing third negro are evidence of mob law which none can dispute and for which none can apologize.

Alabamians have more reason to deplore the lynching of these Negroes than any outside critic.

The people of Tuscaloosa have more reason to condemn the conduct of the hot-headed vigilantes than have others.

Only a few Alabamians are responsible for the blood stains on the map of the State—stains that cannot be washed away so easily as the greasy black mud thrown by the zealots from afar who are known to be malicious fomenters of hate.

But all Alabamians must suffer the storms of protest which are certain to come. All Alabamians must suffer for the conduct of those few who took the law into their own hands.

But the maggoty beaks of the belled buzzards of the International Labor Defense League are stained with the blood of the three Negro boys whose torn bodies this morning lie in newly-turned graves!

The International Labor Defense League at last has accomplished what it has long sought.

It has made martyrs of three Alabama defendants in a criminal case—dead martyr to a mock Cause.

The ILD has tried for more than two years to disgrace Alabama in the eyes of the world. It has tried to foment class and racial strife. It has tried to make ignorant men sacrifice themselves in the name of martyrdom.

Dan Pippen, one of the Negro boys whose bodies now lie in graves, was 18. He did not want the International Labor Defense League to "defend" him. He did not want to be a martyr. And he and his family knew that the ILD was more interested in the making of martyrs than in the freeing of Alabama prisoners.

The Negroes knew that the ILD would only use his case to foment hatred.

Dan Pippen, whether he was innocent of the crime or guilty, wanted to save his own life. That was what he wanted, freedom, escape from the electric chair at Kilby Prison.

But the boy's plea failed to stop the belled buzzards. They continued to circle over Alabama and Tuscaloosa.

And this morning Dan Pippen is a martyr—dead.

All the blame cannot be placed on the outside organizations which have tried to blacken the State.

The actual lynchers were Alabamians. And that fact we cannot escape.

But if the ill-odored scavengers had not entered Alabama those prisoners would have been alive today—perhaps awaiting death sentences or life imprisonment, but alive nevertheless.

The belled buzzards, leaving vermin in their paths across the State, have scored their first great victory.

They have left blood on the Great Seal of Alabama.

But their maggoty beaks are stained with the life blood of Dan Pippen, Elmore Clark and A. T. Harden.

The State of Alabama can and must investigate the deaths.

Justice must be dealt the men who took the law into their own hands.

Alabama cannot deal through the courts with the sinister interests which share the guilt.

But Alabama once more can plead with the decent liberals who have interested themselves in justice to keep the belled buzzards out of Alabama.

Thomasville, Ga., Times-Enterprise
August 18, 1933

The Alabama lynchings will create no little talk but not as much as if there was not so much else to talk about in these times.

Eutaw, Ala., Democrat
August 17, 1933

UNFORTUNATE, INEVITABLE

We are sorry to hear that the distressful but inevitable event happened in Tuscaloosa Saturday when the three negroes charged with the unmentoinable crime were taken from the Sheriff and shot to death. It is regretted because we as Alabamians will be put in the wrong light before the world by a certain class of Newspapers. It should be remembered that the negroes were arrested and brought to trial and would have been allowed a fair trial, if the International Labor Defense had not appeared and begun to practice the same tactics as at the Scottsboro trial. We do not believe Alabama has a court or a judge that would not give a negro a fair trial and allow him any lawyer he may secure. But that lawyer must also remember that our courts exist for the purpose of punishing crime as well as for defense of the accused. Whenever an ILD lawyer goes beyond the bounds of fair and legal practices to defend his client, and begins to abuse a jury, and thereby a whole county he not only defeats justice by arousing the very prejudice which he loudly claims he is fighting, but he arouses a race and class feeling which only a fool will deny exists. If the Tuscaloosa incident were the last case of this it would be bad enough, but the trouble is, the thing may happen every time there is a murder or rape case to be tried in the South.

All informed people and the better class of negroes know that the ILD lawyers of New York care nothing whatever for the negroes.

Since writing the above, it is learned that one of the negroes, Clarke, when shot, fell under the other two, and miraculously escaped with three flesh wounds. After the mob left he made his way to a negro house and secured aid and food. Sheriff Shamblin was informed and the negro was brought to Tuscaloosa. He says the members of the mob were masked and he didn't recognize any of them.

‡‡

They are retained and paid by a fund coming from many sources. They want to make a show for the money, and think the more trouble the better show.

A crime may be committed in any county in the state, so that we are all subject to a visitation from these harpies. And it is hard to persuade people to "keep cool" when they are doing everything in their power to arouse hot passions. Ours is a small paper, and will hardly be quoted outside of our county, but if those I L D are "smart" they will learn to conduct their cases over the radio.

‡‡

According to Sunday's Montgomery Advertiser, Gov. Miller was not successful in selling those state warrants to the New York bankers last week, and also was unable to get help from the R. F. C. in Washington. so he has returned to Alabama and will ask local capital to take up the warrants. From that situation, we do not see how the teachers will be helped in opening the schools next month. If the holders of state warrants can get them changed to interest bearing warrants they will at least be receiving interest on their money. But is the state debt paid?

‡‡

The 1932 milk crop brought over a billion dollars more to the farmers than the wheat crop, and $1,800,00 more than the cotton crop. The chicken crop brought over twice as much as the wheat crop and $100,000,000 more than cotton. This might indicate where wheat and cotton farmers could obtain some relief.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
AGE HERALD

AUG 15 1933

Alabama's Shame

Alabama bows its head in shame before the lynching of the Tuscaloosa County Negroes. For several years the state has had reason to be proud of its record in regard to illegal executions. For most of the last 10 years the state has had a clean bill in the annual lynching report from Tuskegee Institute. But the record meant nothing to those brutes who Sunday counted themselves at once judge and jury and executioner.

Lynchings are partly the result of a state of public mind. For several years Alabama was apparently creating such a mental state as would discourage lynchings. In the face of the Tuscaloosa outrage, earnest citizens may well ask themselves why this mental state has undergone a change for the worse. Why has lynching come back as a vulture to cast its black shadow over the land? Why does justice lie prostrate where once it held up its head?

Race relations in Alabama in the last two years have been badly shaken by the wide repercussions of the Scottsboro case. The belief of the Southern-born white man that he knows best how to handle those relations has been attacked in such a way as to arouse fierce antagonisms. He resents any interference that tends to upset the delicate balance which he believes exists between the white man and his black neighbor. In the Tuscaloosa case he saw what he believed was an unwarranted, uncalled-for and sinister attempt at intervention by agencies not moved primarily by love for the Negro. It is not difficult, therefore, to find the motives and causes of the lynching, dark though they may be.

But explanation of the lynching is not condonation. Blame for it rests upon many. The guilt falls primarily upon those slinking dastards who committed the lynching. They should be hunted down relentlessly and then shown that Alabama can, with due legal processes, administer justice fairly but inexorably.

Manifestly, in the light of what took place, the sheriff and other officials did not take sufficient precautions for the safety of their prisoners. The national guard was used some days before to give protection for a couple of I. L. D. attorneys, but the Negro prisoners had only a few deputies over them. The state should investigate to determine if any officials were guilty of contributory negligence. They should not go unpunished if they were.

But the guilt falls also upon the International Labor Defense, which, according to the evidence, sought to enter the case uninvited and unwanted. Giving the I. L. D. every vestige of credit for unselfish purposes in the matter still would not relieve it of the stigma of using improper methods and thereby contributing to this lynching. Its meddling hands are blood-stained, and the only pity is that it cannot legally be accused of the lynching.

This tragic blot on the state should serve to lead the Negro to a realization that his best interests lie with working hand in hand with those who know him. He should see that these so-called friends of his set back the improvement which the South has been steadily accomplishing in race relations. For him and for the true white spirit of the South, the spectre of these Tuscaloosa lynchings should be a reminder of the common problem and of the danger of upsetting the balance of relations.

Oneonta, Ala., Democrat
August 17, 1933

Another Lynching in Alabama

Another lynching has occurred in Alabama.

It was late Saturday night or early Sunday morning that three negroes were taken from the officers near the Jefferson-Tuscaloosa line and two of them lynched by a mob. The other one may have been lynched too, but his body has not been found.

The negroes had been indicted in Tuscaloosa county recently for the murder of a young white girl some months ago. They had employed John W. McQueen, until recently President of the State Bar Association, and other eminent lawyers to defend them.

When the case of one of these negroes was called for trial recently two lawyers from New York and one from Birmingham appeared on the scene to represent the defendant. The defendant and his parents declared that they had not asked these attorneys to appear in the case to represent them. The judge ruled these attorneys out of the case and they left Tuscaloosa under protection of the National Guard. The case was continued.

The case of another one of the negroes was set for next week. Information reached Tuscaloosa that these New York lawyers would again attempt to force themselves into the case. Rumors that a mob might attempt to interfere caused the Judge to order the prisoners removed to Birmingham. When this was attempted the negroes were taken from the officers and two of them shot to death.

This trouble was all caused by outside attorneys interfering with the lawful procedure of our State Courts. It is generally admitted that the defendants would have been given a fair and impartial trial if the New York lawyers had kept out of the case.

There had been no threats of mob law. The defendants had been arrested and placed in jail. They had been indicted by a Grand Jury. They had employed the best council to be had in that section. Everything was going along orderly until these Yankee lawyers appeared, and to them may properly be charged the cause for this unlawful lynching.

It is to be deplored that another lynching has taken place on Alabama soil. Men sometimes "lose their heads" when our courts are being interfered with in the protection of Southern women.

For the sake of the negro as well as the white citizens of this State it is hoped that these race agitators will stay out of Alabama in the future.

MIAMI, FLA.
HERALD

AUG 15 1933

INVITATION TO MOBS

LYNCHING of three negroes accused of killing a white girl in Alabama will feed the fires of social prejudice by exciting professional uplift societies in New York, but those professional meddlers never seem to learn to keep their shyster lawyers out of the South.

Like the lynching of Leo Frank, the Alabama negroes were taken from police officers and disposed of after international labor defense lawyers had begun meddling in the case. There are some crimes where speedy justice must be had and if it appears that justice is being impeded by technicalities and trickery, there is a tendency of men to take its administration from inept courts.

The rule of the mob is never right but it cannot be effectively answered except by greater force, or by removal of the thing that incited its lust. To men of the South, the interference of oily lawyers from New York in assault and murder cases involving negroes appears like a direct insult.

The South knows how to take care of its negroes, much better than the North does. If the South were permitted to handle such cases unhampered, there would be fewer lynchings and expressions of mob rule. Until professional meddlers seeking notoriety can be kept from making capital of defending negroes for crimes of passion and violence, there will be that wholly unnecessary invitation to mob rule.

Lynchings-1933

Discussions.

White Press, southern.

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Headland, Ala., Farmer
August 17, 1933

Tragedy Walks This Way

Alabama is getting some more unwanted advertising and some more unnecessary and offensive advice. The Scottsboro Case had hardly lulled when the Tuscaloosa Case opened furiously.

Again, as in the Scottsboro Case, the International Labor Defense, little caring whether its would-be clients were innocent or guilty, and caring not at all whether they were released or electrocuted, came rushing upon the scene with a lot of prejudicial and mischief-making talk. The Scottsboro argument had been pretty much that "These Boys are innocent, but what difference does it make if they should happen to be guilty?" Since the defendants were "Negro Youths," it followed as a matter of course, or at any rate as a matter of ILD logic, that they could not, in enlightened reason, be guilty of any serious crime, considering that "pore white trash" were the accusers. Not alone the International Labor Defenders, but so-called Liberal Opinion of the North as well, take the position that the Negro (always in capitals) in his contacts with "illiterate Southerners," like the Kings of old, can do no wrong.

With or without merit in common and written law and justice as the Scottsboro Cases may be, the Tuscaloosa Case goes infinitely farther, reaches the climax in brutishness, and parallels the former only as to race and color of victim and accused.

The Tuscaloosa case opens in the starkest tragedy with a haunting setting. According to the daily papers, Vaudine Maddox, a 21 year old white girl, leaves her home in rural Tuscaloosa to visit nearby relatives. Two days later her body, badly bruised and with the head crushed, is found in a ravine near her home by two younger sisters, attracted to the scene, as it is delicately stated, "by birds congregated at the point." The blackest of crimes, certainly, is here, outraging an instinct that is elemental and deep in the white man.

Three negroes, Clark, Pippen and Harden, are charged with the crime and placed on trial for their lives. Whereupon the ILD rushes upon the scene, thinking to "distinguish" its organization as it did at Scottsboro, by shouting all sorts of inane and incendiary flapdoodle. Without stopping to examine the facts or listen to the evidence, these fanatics concluded that here was another of those instances of the white tyrant oppressing negro labor. The mutilated body of the country girl lying exposed in the ravine meant nothing to them. "What of it?" it seems they were inclined to ask. The trial of these three negroes for murder, it appears, was merely another of those plots hatched out by Southern landlords to intimidate the blacks so that they might that much the better rob them of their earnings! That is the substance of the ILD's charges in this and other cases. Their strategy is to fix onto all cases involving whites and blacks with the intention of arousing resentment and inflaming passion and prejudice. By their meddling in these affairs these people seem frankly to seek to establish a state of war, with the whites on one side and the blacks on the other. The ILD's themselves of course would remain in New York or Chicago or Baltimore.

These three negroes were no sooner arrested than the presiding Judge, the Sheriff of Tuscaloosa County, and the Governor of Alabama were summarily informed that the ILD would hold them personally responsible for the safety of the defendants. Then they went ahead and stated that the case wouldn't be anything, anyhow, but another of these "legal lynchings of the crudest type."

The upshot of all this is that two of these negroes are dead, with many bullet-holes through their bodies, the third, wounded, escaping miraculously. Another mob and another lynching, the report goes abroad. And now the ILD are accusing the Judge and the Sheriff of playing along with the mob and are heaping new and additional orders upon the Governor's head! They have a committee of bright young Liberals, it appears, who are searching through the dictionaries for discoveries in epithets. At the same time they are recruiting new members and passing the hat for collections.

It is to such extremities as these that human beings go during disturbed times. The problem created by these excesses of fanaticism is scarcely one for nativeborn white Southerners. Rather, it is a matter with which the Southern negro and his professed friends should deal. Southern civilization is not of the kind that can be remade so as to conform with fleeting ideas and impulses of irresponsible Northern radicals. This civilization is based on firmer foundations than any of which the Liberal and the Radical at present are aware.

According to a statement made by Clark, who fell beneath the bodies of the other two negroes, as the firing opened, when Harden was asked who killed the white girl, he pointed to Pippen. That last gesture of a condemned negro boy may not mean anything to the trouble-makers, who are seeking propaganda, not justice, but it comes as a reassuring contribution to fact at a time when Alabamians' heads are bowed.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
August 15, 1933

Editorial Of The Day

(The Montgomery Advertiser)

BLOOD ON THE GREAT SEAL OF ALABAMA

TWO of the three young Negroes charged with the raping and murder of a Tuscaloosa white girl are dead.

They were lynched.

They were killed by a group of armed zealots who had become impatient with slow justice. Their bodies were riddled with bullets by Alabama hot heads who took the law into their own hands for fear that outside interference would block the course of justice.

And because this group, inflamed with hatred and fear—hatred of influences which invited hate, fear that the machinery of justice was to be clogged by sinister efforts—seized the three prisoners and shot two of them to death, Alabama must suffer shamefully in the eyes of the world.

The people of Alabama must suffer shame they do not deserve. The people of Tuscaloosa, the home of the State University, the cultural center of Alabama, must suffer shame they do not deserve. All because a handful of passion-stirred Alabama white men endowed themselves with the rights of court and hangman to put to death three men who deserved the protection of the State, the people and the courts of Alabama.

Lies have been spread abroad about the people of Alabama and their courts, gross lies of injustice, conviction of the innocent, legal murder by the courts. But the lynching of the three Tuscaloosa Negroes is not a lie.

The two bullet-riddled bodies and the absence of the missing third negro are evidence of mob law which none can dispute and for which none can apologize.

Alabamians have more reason to deplore the lynching of these Negroes than any outside critic.

The people of Tuscaloosa have more reason to condemn the conduct of the hot-headed vigilantes than have others.

Only a few Alabamians are responsible for the blood stains on the map of the State—stains that cannot be washed away so easily as the greasy black mud thrown by the zealots from afar who are known to be malicious fomenters of hate.

But all Alabamians must suffer the storms of protest which are certain to come. All Alabamians must suffer for the conduct of those few who took the law in their own hands.

But the maggoty beaks of the belled buzzards of the International Labor Defense League are stained with the blood of the three Negro boys whose torn bodies this morning lie in newly-turned graves!

The International Labor Defense League at last has accomplished what it has long sought.

It has made martyrs of three Alabama defendant in a criminal case—dead martyr to a mock Cause.

The ILD has tried for more than two years to disgrace Alabama in the eyes of the world. It has tried to foment class and racial strife. It has tried to make ignorant men sacrifice themselves in the name of martyrdom.

Dan Pippen, one of the Negro boys whose bodies now lie in graves, was 18. He did not want the International Labor Defense League to "defend" him. He did not want to be a martyr. And he and his family knew that the ILD was more interested in the making of martyrs than in the freeing of Alabama prisoners.

The Negroes knew that the ILD would only use his case to foment hatred.

Dan Pippen, whether he was innocent of the crime or guilty, wanted to save his own life. That was what he wanted, freedom, escape from the electric chair at Kilby Prison.

But the boy's plea failed to stop the belled buzzards. They continued to circle over Alabama and Tuscaloosa.

And this morning Dan Pippen is a martyr—dead.

All the blame cannot be placed on the outside organizations which have tried to blacken the State.

The actual lynchers were Alabamians. And that fact we cannot escape.

But if the ill-odored scavengers had not entered Alabama those prisoners would have been alive today—perhaps awaiting death sentences or life imprisonment, but alive nevertheless.

The belled buzzards, leaving vermin in their paths across the State, have scored their first great victory.

They have left blood on the Great Seal of Alabama.

But their maggoty beaks are stained with the life blood of Dan Pippen, Elmore Clark and A. T. Harden.

The State of Alabama can and must investigate the deaths.

Justice must be dealt the men who took the law into their own hands.

Alabama cannot deal through the courts with the sinister interests which share the guilt.

But Alabama once more can plead with the decent liberals who have interested themselves in justice to keep the belled buzzards out of Alabama.

Columbus, Ga., Ledger

Aug. 14, 1933

Result of Outside Interference

All clear-minded men will regret and deeply deplore the lynching of three Negroes early Sunday just west of Birmingham, and nobody is more regretful than the good citizens of Alabama.

In a state which boasts one of the most excellent educational institutions in the nation for the colored race—Tuskegee—such untoward occurrences are especially out of place.

During the last decade, the South, including Alabama, has been getting away from mob violence. More and more have all the people realized that the machinery of the law was the best to handle the bad cases of offense and been willing to trust these delicate and serious matters to the courts.

But just as we are establishing ourselves in such a procedure, along come organizations from another section of the country, including the Communists, and begin to interfere with these already highly difficult affairs. They invade Alabama, poking into the courts and then trying the cases in the columns of the Eastern newspapers. And now comes the natural, inevitable though terrible result—three men forced from the hands of the law and done to death by private parties.

The Negroes of the South are sadly finding out the truth of the old philosophy that "a man can generally take care of himself from his enemies, but God sabe him from his friends"—meaning his so-called "friends."

These outside organizations who pretend to be friendly to the colored people of Alabama are either the direst hypocrites or the dumbest fools that ever drew breath. When it comes to "helping" people, they are both shallow-minded and thick-headed, and we hope they will never take a fancy to us and set out to do us a "good turn." They have no understanding of our people, and will attempt none. They are the sort that go about striking matches in a gas-filled mine. They have half-read the false analyses by penny-a-line yellow journalists of other sections in regard to Southern people and have taken the caustic carpings literally.

For instance, a New York newspaper column writer the other day wrote, as a space-filler, that the wiry farmers of Georgia were gyping the Federal Land bank by borrowing from it much more money than their pine barrens were worth and then letting the government take the land. That was a vicious libel on Georgia farmers, and a villainous, crack-brained untruth touching upon a serious and pathetic condition of matters. Southern farmers borrowed from the Land banks when the prices of their farm poducts were high, and they estimated repayment in terms of those prices. When these fell far down the scale, until it required three or more times as much farm produce as before to meet the payments, there was nothing to do in many cases but to let land, home and all go, and thousands of men who were past middle age and not in much position to make a new start in life were deprived of their established means of livelihood.

We hope we are not in for another era of outside interference. When the Chicago Tribune was converted in large to the truth about the Southern people, we thought the battle for justice had been about won

It is hoped the colored people of the South will organize a protest against outsiders coming into the section meddling in Southern courts and making it harder for our people to deal with delicate problems that are gradually and surely being solved to the satisfaction of both races.

Dothan, Ala. Eagle
August 15, 1933

VICTORY FOR THE I. L. D.

Vultures hovering over a ravine attracted relatives to the body of Miss Vaudine Maddox two days after she had been outraged and murdered.

Vultures in human form, bearing the brand of I. L. D., today are responsible for the finding of the bullet-riddled bodies of two Negroes accused of the crime against the white girl.

Every intelligent Alabamian deplores the lynching, but they fully realize that the stinking odor created by the meddling I. L. D. is directly to blame.

It began with the Scottsboro case.

It became intensified with the Reeltown riots.

It climaxed Saturday night in Tuscaloosa.

During the last 10 years Alabama's lynch record has been steadily improving. We went several years without a lynching. Incessant appeals from leaders and newspapers that the law be permitted to take its course were having their effect.

Then Scottsboro and the poisonous I. L. D.

Just as a winged buzzard, soaring overhead, frequently will vomit upon those underneath, so have the two-legged buzzards of the I. L. D. vomited abuse upon the people of Alabama for the past year.

The people became nauseated. The nausea finally resulted in a dozen or so irresponsible persons taking the law into their own hands.

Judges, lawyers and newspapers of this State repeatedly have warned the I. L. D. that its efforts in this State were undesired and could accomplish no good. The I. L. D. not only gave no heed—it sought to intensify strife and prejudice, even projecting itself into the Tuscaloosa trial against the specific wishes of the defendants themselves. That was because the I. L. D. was interested only in publicity.

Well, they have their publicity, and the Negroes merely have bodies riddled with bullets.

Does the I. L. D. care about the fate of the two accused?

Certainly not.

It is easy to imagine, in fact, that the ignoble organization is secretly elated, for it now has something to vomit over for many months.

Whereupon we make this prediction: As long as the I. L. D. continues its present tactics, irresponsible Alabamians will continue to lynch Negroes accused of rape.

This is not a pleasant thing to say in print, but it is the private belief of the great majority of Alabamians. And it may as well be admitted.

It is a tragedy that all has been written and said by leading Alabamians during the last 10 years in regards to mob violence has been destroyed in a few short months by half-breed scavengers interested only in the exploitation of themselves.

Palatka, Fla. News
August 16, 1933

THE EXPECTED HAPPENS

The lynching of two negroes by an Alabama mob was a most regretable circumstance. Mob violence is indefensible under any circumstances, as the courts are more than capable of dealing out justice to all the accused, however heinous the crime.

At the same time, this summary vengeance was not unexpected. It is the direct result of the meddling of the so-called International Labor Defense, an organization that is suspected of communistic tendencies. One, certainly, that goes out of the way to tender its good offices to those charged with peculiarly atrocious offenses. One that seems to center its interest in upholding wrong in its conflict with right.

Knowing something of Southern conditions, conversant with Dixie's racial problems, the most that the I. L. D. can hope to accomplish is to betray the best interests of those whom it pretends to defend. Through the creation of friction and the arousal of prejudices, it seeks to align white against black, the lawless against the law-abiding. It would have it appear that men charged with social offenses are victims of hate rather than of their own viciousness, which is the opposite of the truth.

The two negroes lynched in Alabama would no doubt now be alive but for the intervention of the International Labor Defense. They were put to death more as a warning to this outside organization to stay home and mind its own business than because of any desire to deny them an impartial trial. Their blood is partially upon the hands of their self-appointed benefactors.

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Discussions

White Press, Southern.

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Chattanooga, Tenn.
TIMES

AUG 15 1933

THE ALABAMA LYNCHINGS.

Three Negroes were wrested from officers in Alabama last Sunday while being taken from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham for safekeeping, and the bullet-riddled bodies of two of them were later found, while the third was subsequently found wounded. The three were awaiting trial on charges of murdering a white girl.

Officers allege that the forcible taking of the Negroes was due to activities of attorneys for the International Labor Defense in their behalf. This may or may not be true, but certain it is that attorneys for the organization have been conducting themselves in Alabama in a manner calculated to offend certain elements of the white population of the State and to provoke to violence some of those in the communities most concerned.

The activities of these attorneys have been unnecessarily provocative. They have given abundant evidence that they are much less interested in serving the ends of justice under the law than in fomenting race trouble. It would have been infinitely better for the Negroes, as well as the whites, of Alabama if they had remained out of the State and permitted the law to take its course under the watchful eyes of Alabama white and Negro leaders who are working toward a solution of the race problem in the State.

But that they failed to do so does not justify those white citizens of the State who committed a crime against constituted authority and against humanity by wresting the three alleged Negro killers from the hands of officers of the law and by summarily executing two of the prisoners. Their conduct adds still another blot to the spotted record of Alabama with reference to lynching, and the authorities concerned will fail miserably in their duty if they do not exhaust every possible resource to bring the lynchers to the bar of justice and mete out to them punishment in keeping with their barbarous crime.

Grove Hill, Ala., Democrat
August 17, 1933

Sowing To The Wind

The lynching of two negroes and the wounding of a third in Tuscaloosa may truly be termed the climax of I. L. D. activities in the state. Since this obnoxious organization first began sticking its nose into affairs of our courts thoughtful Alabamians have realized that their actions would inevitably lead to just such a revolting occurrence.

A patient campaign of education on the part of the press and other leaders of thought had all but eliminated the sickening, cowardly resort to lynch law in Alabama. And now this radical Northern organization comes along to undo in a few short months what had so painstakingly been accomplished over a long period of years.

This paper does not condone lynching but we believe, like all other Alabamians, that we know best how to run our state. There are certain types of crime that Southerners will not tolerate. The Tuscaloosa crime was one of these. Where properly handled, most Alabamians are content to let the courts deal swift and sure justice. But they are not content to let Northern interlopers, bent on furthering their own interests, thwart the ends of justice and prevent rapists and murderers from receiving their just deserts.

Leaders of the colored race will do their people a distinct service if they will advise them to shun such organizations as the I. L. D. as they would a plague.

WILMINGTON, N. C.
STAR

AUG 16 1933

ALMOST WITHOUT PRECEDENT

ELMORE CLARK, Alabama negro, has had an experience perhaps unparalleled in all history.

CLARK was taken from officers by a mob; lined up with companions and shot, but lives to tell the story.

As his version goes the three men were lined up handcuffed together. The mob fired and all three fell. CLARK, wounded three times was not dead and the bodies of his fellow victims covered his own. The mob left, and thanks to a deformed hand he was able to release his wrist and escape, later surrendering to the police.

CLARK was lucky. Fortunately for him the mob did not follow the usual barbarous practice of burning its victims.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
August 23, 1933

Editorial Of The Day
(Headland Wiregrass Farmer)

LET LIBERALS HOWL

THE Tuscaloosa lynching has gone far toward breaking up an understanding between northern and southern liberals. This column has known all along how to win a Pulitzer prize, if it had the force and the enterprise to do it. Thing to do was to "cuss out" some characteristically southern habit, good or bad. Play up the negro and perchance the Jew and berate the southern white. The latest instance of this sort of writing is "The Store," a novel portraying life at "Flunts," Alabama, during the Cleveland administration, in which a colored boy is the hero, unless that part goes to the Republican postmaster, and a colored woman the heroine.

In order to maintain that standing with the New York and Baltimore liberals (Boston hasn't yet conceded that there is such a thing in the south as an intelligent white man), the southern writers have had to subscribe to some, if not all, of the preachments of northern liberalism. The Scottsboro cases brought about a regretted breach in the ranks of these liberals, north and south, and the Tuscaloosa affair has widened sharply that breach.

It has been a game of follow the leader, with the leadership in New York and Baltimore, the point in the game being to see who could best betray decent southern white people. There have been, and still are, southern writers who haven't cared a damn for the plaudits of the northern liberals, but up until the advent of the Scottsboro and Tuscaloosa cases a good many of our pen-pushers had conned their pages with a hopeful eye on northern recognition. There have been instances, of course, in which southern editorialists have berated their subscribers with just cause.

One wonders to what extent the Birmingham influence, which comes nearest to New York and Chicago in hatred of the masses of southern white people, with its truly startling ignorance and egotism can further assist in igniting the perilous flames of interracial strife.

Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel
August 17, 1933

ANOTHER NAME FOR MURDER

FOR THE lynching of two negroes in Alabama and the serious wounding of a third, the officials seem to have been partly responsible. According to the reports, the sheriff was moving the prisoners from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham without the knowledge of the judge. A lonely road was chosen by the sheriff, and after proceeding a few miles one car with deputies turned back, leaving only the sheriff and two deputies to protect the three prisoners. When two cars carrying lynchers appeared and demanded the prisoners, the sheriff gave them up.

In the old days this was a common occurrence. Fortunately it is not so frequent now. More and more officers of the law are acting on their oath to protect prisoners. This accounts in large part for the decline in lynching. In 1931 the figure fell to 14, and last year to 10.

A mob is made up of cowards. Not many mobs will go thru with a lynching without the active or tacit co-operation of the law officers who are paid to combat mobs.

It would be unfair to blame Alabama for these new crimes. Public opinion in the state is against lynching. Responsible groups of citizens are trying to stamp out this barbarism. They are supported by many judges and law officers. Last year there were no lynchings in Alabama.

But, of course, the test here is whether the state of Alabama catches and convicts the lynchers and punishes the sheriff and his deputies for failure to defend the prisoners.

By punishing the guilty, Alabama can help in the solution of this nation-wide problem. Despite misinformation on the subject, lynching is not limited to the South, or to negroes, or to alleged sex crimes. Last year two of the 10 lynchings were in the Northern states of Kansas and Ohio, and two of the victims were white men. Of the alleged offenses—not proved but merely alleged offenses—of the mob victims, only one of the 10 was for attempted attack on a white woman.

The least offense is sufficient excuse for lynchers of officers who put themselves above the law. On Sunday morning the lynchers killed two negro prisoners, and that same afternoon near Tuscaloosa officers shot to death another negro for alleged resistance of arrest on a charge of stealing chickens.

And on the same day that these three American citizens were murdered in Alabama without protection of law, the President of the United States ordered warships to Cuba to protect American lives if necessary.

In no other civilized country in the world is murder by lynchers and racketeers a menace as in the United States. It will continue until we realize that these forms of murder are not a menace to one region alone but a menace to the nation.

AUGUSTA, GA.
CHRONICLE

AUG 15 1933

"Makers of Martyrs"

An article by Elmer Davis in the August issue of Harper's Magazine treats with such stout common sense the various celebrated cases which have distressed the liberals of the United States that it should be read and hearkened unto by each and every protester. "Makers of Martyrs," is the term that Mr. Davis, perhaps unkindly but certainly truthfully applies to them, and the gentlemen who insist on telegraphing somebody, in order that justice may be done, should learn from him the lesson that silence is the best policy.—Not that Mr. Davis is hard-hearted, at least he says he is not. In fact, his heart bleeds at the thought of injustice. But the point is that outside interference does harm so frequently to the very person it is meant to aid.

First on the list, naturally, come the protests against the near-execution of two dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church some ten years ago who were accused of espionage by the Soviets. Everybody protested, Poland, Great Britain, Italy, Chechoslovakia, mass-meetings of Christians the world over. And what happened? Mr. Davis will tell us what happened. The archvicar of Leningrad was shot, if anything because of the protests, which the Soviets termed "capitalistic interference." After the excitement had died down, the other official was turned loose, a fate that othewise would have come to the archvicar. In the Dreyfus case, the most notorious of them all, it was certainly protests within France, not anything liberals outside may have to say, which brought him back from Devil's Island.

Similarly, there can be no question but that the remarks that have been made in newspapers and at meetings about the way the Hitler government has been treating the Jews in Germany have hurt their cause. Especially have the threats of boycott against all German products intensified the resentment in Germany against Jews. And leading Jews in this country for that reason have been very mild in their statements, leaving others to declare a holy war.

Mr. Davis finds a similar state of affairs when he turns to examples of injustice within the United States. Liberals, and especially Communists, have been railing about the unfair treatment that Sacco and Vanzetti got in Massachusetts all these years. Although Mr. Davis does not bother to say so, there were demonstrations in foreign countries against Massachusetts, in connection with these two men, similar to those held since against Germany. Our legations in both Europe and South America were picketed, there were threats of death coming to the trial judge and the governor of Massachusetts all the time. There can be little doubt but that these protests made the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti inevitable. And the interets shown in them by people like Miss Edna St. Vincent Millay, who carried a banner in a parade proclaiming, "Hail Sacco and Vanzetti. The elite of the world greet you as heroes," as Mr. Davis points out, did not dispose people opposed to he said Sacco and Vanzetti, and thinking themselves the elite, to give the accused a more sympathetic hearing.

Tom Mooney, to be sure, owes his life to protests. Convicted of carrying out the Preparedness Day bombing in San Francisco in 1916, his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment at the special request of President Wilson. But the radical groups which have interested themselves in his case have certainly been partly responsible for his staying in jail when hardly anybody now believes him guilty. And in the Scottsboro cases, the International Labor Defense has done as much to keep the cases from being quietly nol prossed as all the much talked about Alabama bigotry. Judge A. Lawrence Lowell, of Boston, by refusing to allow a negro to be extradited to Virginia on a murder charge because he was sure that negroes would not be allowed to serve on the jury, may have saved unnecessary trouble to the courts—"nobody would get any profit but the lawyers"—but he certainly made it more difficult for Southerners who through the years have labored to abolish lynchings and convince the people that the law should be allowed to take its course.

There are, naturally, two kinds of protesters: those genuinely anxious to prevent injustice, and those who use such flagrant cases as excuses to overturn a whole system of society. The Communists naturally are bent on little difference to them. But to those of us like Mr. Davis, interest is recommended.

This, of course, does not mean that one may comfort himself with such reflections as an excuse for doing nothing when a flagrant injustice is done. No good citizen can stand by calmly when negroes are being condemned to death on the unsupported testimony of a woman hobo, herself of blemished character. There is no doubt that Sacco and Vanzetti had unfair trials, whether or not they pulled the holdup-murder for which they were executed; there is no doubt that Tom Mooney, rather undesirable character that he is, is innocent of the bombing, at least. The thing that must be decided is what is the best way to help these people. And the best way, certainly, is not have a lawyer to muddy the waters. Samuel Leibowitz in the first re-trial of one of the Scottsboro negroes chose elected to challenge the whole racial structure of the south. He was tainted with the Communist brush, whatever his own beliefs. As Mr. Davis says, any first-rate Southern lawyer would have aided his client far more than all the first-rate lawyers north of the Mason and Dixon line.

There is a technique to be followed in these matters, and woe to the friends of the oppressed, especially woe to the oppressed themselves, when it is disregarded. It is true that protests are of value in preventing the injustice from being done in obscurity. But after that it is far better to leave the local citizens, of whom, always, there will be a sufficient liberal-minded number, to carry out the actual redress. This is a fact that the International Labor Defense and Judge Lowell fail to realize, but it is a fact of the first importance which is no doubt responsible for Mooney still being in jail, for the second conviction of Heywood Patterson.

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle
August 17, 1933

An I. L. D. Lynching

The temptation to place at the doors of the International Labor Defense the double Alabama lynching this week doubtless is to be resisted, for whatever the provocation, there is never an excuse to keep the law from taking its course. The negroes lynched were accused of the murder of a young white woman, and the officers who were spiriting them from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham appear to have acted in good faith. The lynching followed the attempt of the International Labor Defense to employ counsel to represent Pippen, one of the negroes killed and the rejection of its aid by Pippen's parents had followed.

There have been two cases of interference with the administration of justice in the South which immediately spring to mind in explanation, though naturally, not justification, of the lynching. The first, naturally, was the conduct of the trial of Heywood Patterson, one of the Scottsboro negroes, by Leibowitz, the New York lawyer who went and described the "bigots" making up the jury. Judge Horton's decision to give Patterson a new trial because of Leibowitz's conduct of the case was a striking vindication of law, which must play no favorites. Then, Federal Judge Lowell, of Boston, took it on himself to deny the state of Virginia extradition papers for a negro accused of murder, the grounds being that no negroes would be on the jury and that he would save everybody the trouble of appealing the case to the United States Supreme Court.

All this, we may assume, was not in the minds of the misguided men who took the law into their own hands Sunday night. But there was no doubt a feeling that the law was being impeded by activities of outsiders, and particularly of the International Labor Defense, an organization clearly more interested in stirring up bad feeling between whites and blacks than helping individual negroes. An investigation of the lynching, and punishment of those guilty, is to be hoped from Alabama authorities. But, since Southereners, all these years have been carrying on the fight to end the curse of lynchings, it is time that we warned the I.L.D. and the other professional protesters that it is precisely their interference which is making it difficult for us of this section to achieve our goal. For their opposition to the established processes of low provoke other actions in contempt of the law. It is true that all such actions, whether of I.L.D. lawyers or Alabama lynchers, were brought to a stop.

WILMINGTON, N. C.
STAR

AUG 14 1933

MOB VIOLENCE

Three negroes—all of them charged with murder—were the victims of mob violence yesterday as officers were attempting to transfer them from one jail to another.

The negroes were being removed from one Alabama jail to another because of threats which had been made against them by persons at gatherings in the town in which they were being held, pending their trial.

Officers left the pail with them and were soon overtaken by a mob who relieved them of their prisoners. Two hours later, the bodies of the two negroes were located, but no trace was found of the third.

Again mass action had prevented the courts from meting out justice. The defendants were not given an opportunity of fair trial; they were given no recourse. They had to die to satisfy the anger of the mob.

This newspaper believes in bringing criminals to justice and in meting out such punishment as may be prescribed for the crime upon which they are convicted of committing, but it does not condone mob violence and believes the members of mobs should be sought out and tried.

The crime they have committed is just as serious, perhaps more so, as that of the alleged slayers because they took the law into their own hands and deprived justice of taking its course.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
August 26, 1933

The Heart Of The Matter

The Age-Herald has received several communications, some anonymous, others not intended for publication, in which the point is made that this paper has overemphasized the offense committed by lynchers by failing to dwell upon the hideousness of the crime which brought the mob into action. One would have imagined that condemnation of rape could be taken for granted and that no decent man or newspaper is under the necessity of denouncing so monstrous a crime. There are some things, surely, which are so fundamentally evil that a civilized person's reaction to them must, as a matter of course, be that of immitigable censure.

The vice in the thinking of our critics is that they do not get beyond the natural revolt against such an atrocity. And the consequence is a warping of their point of view which makes it difficult for them to see anything else in a balanced way. What follows? They are so taken up with the one enormity that they cannot appraise any other. From that it is easy for them to become in reality apologists for attacks upon the law which are as deplorable as attacks upon women and in the opinion of many much more dangerous in their ultimate social effects.

"We are against lynching, but..." say these critics. There is a profound significance in that "but." What they are implying is that they can conceive of justification for lynching. But if they had their values straight, they would not be taking such a position. You can explain mob passion, you can understand that a primitive outrage can bring a primitive response. You can mention the I. L. D., you can dilate on the delays of the criminal court, you can cry out against the stressing of technicalities. But you can't thereby excuse any resort to the savagery of the lynching bee. That is always, whatever may be the motives of participants, an indefensible blow at our most precious gift, the doing of justice under the law.

White Press, Southern

Lynchings—1933

4053

Discussions.

Opelika, Ala. News
August 15, 1933

TUSCALOOSA LYNCHING MOST REGRETTABLE

Most unfortunate and regrettable was the lynching near Tuscaloosa Sunday, and especially in view of the recent court developments there when trial of one of the negro defendants was indefinitely postponed because of unsavory developments having to do with the appearance in the case of "outside" legal talent—talent quite distasteful to Alabamians and even to the defendant himself, and his family. Far better to have permitted the law to take it's course. Much less justification there would have been for continued "outside" interference with the courts of justice in this state.

Sheriff Shamblin, who was responsible for the safekeeping of the negroes declares "we took many precautions to prevent anything of this nature. I believe the interference of the International Labor Defense lawyers in the case is directly responsible for this violence". The Sheriff may be asked now if he took EVERY possible precaution that a reasonable man would be expected to take, to prevent the lynching. It may prove to have been quite significant that the negroes were taken from the officers "just across the county line" in Jefferson county.

Representatives of The International Labor Defense in New York had quite a bit to say regarding the affair. Of course, these interests expect to make big capitol out of it, and will most likely succeed. We are not interested in what they say, because they will naturally talk but one way, and would talk but one way were the circumstances entirely different. As Alabamians, however, we should be keenly interested in the influence outside the state, especially in the north and in radical centers, this lynching will have in the future.

Regardless of the seriousness of the crime charged against the negroes, and deserving as they might have been of death, the only issue at hand by reason of the developments is, mob rule. That no state should condone mob violence is well understood and written in the statutes. That the citizens should not tolerate such practice is rudimentary in safe and sane Government. And if Alabama wants a reputation for fairness and justice outside it's borders, such experiences as that near Tuscaloosa must not occurr.

Regrettable as it is, the act is done. It is now up to the authorities of Alabama to erase the damage so far as is possible. Quick and effective prosecutions of all having a part in the lynching is needed. A thorough investigation of all circumstances with a view of preventing a recurrence, is desired. And there MUST be impartial investigations, and summary action when the facts are uncovered.

Unthinking ones may in some instances condone mob violence and even proclaim their satisfaction in certain cases. Those who think, and maintain deep allegiance to their state never seriously feel this way. The popular sway of the imagination often follows eagerly incidents surrounding such occurrences. The feeling of vengeance and outrage sometimes gets the best of us in our unguarded moments. Cool reflection, however, checks the emotion and we quickly find ourselves again. Law and order MUST PREVAIL or all of us are lost.

There will be much said and written about Alabama on the heels of this unfortunate Tuscaloosa occurrence. And if we be truthful, it will to some extent be justified. But we can largely erase the blemish by a thorough "cleaning up" process, and by properly safeguarding life in the future. This lynching doesn't reflect the predominent thought; it doesn't represent the true idealism of the state.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
August 2?, 1933

Huntsville and Tuscaloosa

LAST week there were stirring times at Huntsville. A Negro had been charged with a heinous crime, had been placed in the Huntsville jail, and attempts were made to lynch him.

Fortunately, however, Madison County, Alabama, has a Sheriff with courage, and determination to carry out his official duty. For several days Sheriff Ben Giles stood guard at the jail to prevent a lynching, and actually repulsed two mobs which sought to secure the accused prisoner.

Thereupon, Governor Miller, of Alabama, sent the Madison County Sheriff a telegram of appreciation. "Have just read newspaper account," it said. "It showed what an officer with proper recognition of duty and proper foresight, judgment, fearlessness and courage could do. Your determination for law enforcement was recognized by its prospective violators, and force and violence by them was thus prevented. You protected the name and law of Alabama, as well as the body of your prisoner. You and your deputies did not yield to cowardice, negligence or collusion. The people of Alabama are grateful to you and commend you as an example to others."

Governor Miller might have added: "Would to God the Sheriff of Tuscaloosa County had done the same." For there is more than praise for the brave Huntsville officer in the telegram. The inference that "cowardice, negligence or collusion" were at fault in Tuscaloosa is too plain to be overlooked.

Pointing this out, Col. Harry M. Ayers, forthright publisher of the Anniston *Star*, declares editorially in that newspaper that Governor Miller ought to go further, and "remove the Sheriff of Tuscaloosa County for gross neglect," together with the deputies involved in the Tuscaloosa lynchings.

"As long as they are in office," the Anniston paper's editorial declares, "it will be difficult to get at the real facts surrounding this crime against the good name of Alabama."

This statement indicates clearly the determined feeling many leading citizens of Alabama have that the shield of that State must be cleansed of the blot left on it by the Tuscaloosa outrage. A few days ago a forceful expression to this same end was contained in a statement issued in Birmingham.

"Whatever the crimes of the prisoners," the statement pointed out, "they were awaiting trial under the laws of the State, and all outside interference had been carefully excluded by the Court. The majesty of the State cannot yield to lynch law. We commend the Governor, the Attorney-General, and Judge Foster for their prompt action; and we call on all good citizens to rally public opinion to their support, that the persons guilty or responsible may be found and punished, whether they be in official or private life, and the laws of the State vindicated in the eyes of all men."

To this bold and honorable declaration these names were signed: Donald Comer, manufacturer; Bishop W. G. McDowell, R. H. Crossfield and James E. Dillard, ministers; Robert Jemison, Jr., E. S. Moore and M. H. Sterne, prominent business men; A. Leo Oberdorfer, W. S. Prichard and H. U. Sims, attorneys, the latter a former president of the American Bar association, and by Guy E. Snavely, president of Birmingham Southern colleges.

It is a statement which in itself has weight, and the names signed to it give added weight, as an expression of the thorough determination of Alabama's best citizenship to see that the perpetrators of the Tuscaloosa outrages are properly punished.

It is very much to be hoped that this fine expression of the best of Alabama's citizenship will bear fruit.

NORFOLK, VA.
VIRGINIAN-PILOT
AUG 16 1933

The Fault Not in the I. L. D.

When three Negroes were arrested in Alabama some weeks ago on the charge of killing a young white woman, lawyers engaged by the International Labor Defense—two from New York and one from Birmingham—announced their intention to defend the prisoners. They were present August 2 when the trial of one prisoner, Dan Pippen, started. National Guardsmen were mobilized, not, according to the presiding judge, to defend the prisoner, but to defend the I. L. D. lawyers from mob violence. The prisoner said he did not wish the lawyers' services, and on the judge's order the lawyers were escorted out of Tuscaloosa by soldiers. Saturday night the three prisoners were ordered from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham "for safekeeping." En route in automobiles, they were seized by a mob. Two were killed, the third has not been found. The dead prisoners are, respectively, 18 and 16 years old. "I believe," the sheriff in charge of the prisoners said, "the interference of the I. L. D. lawyers in the case is directly responsible for this violence."

It is a convenient theory. Unquestionably the I. L. D. was trying to make capital. It would have been happy if it could have discovered as much skullduggery as it did in the Scottsboro case. That being so, there is not any doubt that its efforts were resented by those Alabamians who, if the Scottsboro case is any proof, would prefer to execute Negro prisoners without inquiring too closely into their guilt, than to have embarrassing questions asked about the conduct of the State's criminal inquiries.

But to lay the blame of this lynching on the I. L. D., is a little too pat. Over a period of 48 years, from 1882 to 1930, a total of 332 persons died in Alabama by lynching. Of these, 296 were Negroes—a larger number murdered by mobs than in any State except Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas. None of these murders has been attributed to the I. L. D. On the contrary, all of them were due to the presence in Alabama, as in other States, of the lynching spirit—which is not too much concerned with this pretext or that one, as with the use of lynch law as a convenient means of brutal vengeance. The trouble in Alabama is not the I. L. D. It is the dominance of those who believe in mob murder and the lack of protection furnished by responsible officers.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
August 24, 1933

Alabama's Crisis

The gravity of the present crisis in the life of Alabama cannot be exaggerated. For what has happened, in the opinion of trained observers, lies deeper than those manifestations of flaunting

violence which have come to public attention. Throughout the state, one learns, clandestine organizations are functioning through the use of extra-legal methods to make a hash of hopeful race relations. And no surprise will be felt in informed quarters if it should develop that men have been secretly killed in order to terrorize Negroes and to express contempt for the quiet processes of the courts.

If this, or even a part of it, be true intelligent Alabamians are confronted with a task which is more complicated than that of dealing with lynchings actual or attempted. For if a concerted movement is on foot to set the courts aside, to make lynch law supreme, there is greater need than ever for a united counter-attack by the enlightened forces of the state. If the enemy is not a sporadic mob but an organized enterprise to defy the law, then the whole structure of our civilization is being undermined.

Obviously, this will have to be met with a strategy which involves fighting on two fronts. First of all, insofar as the authorities can make themselves felt, there must be no hint of weakness or forbearance with respect to lynchers. No mob should be permitted to "get away with it," whether it is trying to seize its prey or to hide its identity after the death. That means that sheriffs and others must be alert and competent as in the main they have not been in the past. It means, furthermore, that law enforcement agencies must stop being squeamish and begin scotching lynching activities before they have taken shape.

This in itself, if consistently done, would have a most beneficial effect. But what is also required, what would make an offensive against mob law indubitably effective, what would make our response to the menace of lynching unequivocal, would be such crystallization of opinion in the state as would deprive potential lynchers of any shred of moral support. That is equivalent to saying that the people of Alabama must face this problem and by a solidarity of condemnation reduce its menace. That is equivalent to saying that here is something to which all of us, who love our state, who cherish its well-being, who believe in justice, must be dedicated as to a great cause demanding all that we have and are for its achievement.

It was Prof. Owsley who saw in the efforts of outside agitators to stir up trouble in Alabama the evidence of a crusade against the South originating in the same hostility which has left marks of blood and bitterness upon the history of this country. That is a very impressive contention. It should impel us to engage in our own crusade, a crusade not to offset malice and misrepresentation with like weapons but to build up in our midst such an armament of self-control, equilibrium and understanding as would remove from Alabama the possibility of our being hurt and shamed by the passion and violence of ignorant and disorderly elements among our own people.

Indifference or apathy on the part of the decent men and women of this state toward the rise of bestial anarchy in Alabama is unthinkable. We may be able to trace to the right sources the sparks which have set off explosions of mob savagery, but the fact remains that the powder was already there to be blown up. We may be able to say that the I. L. D. did this, or that a certain case did that, but the fact remains that minds and spirits which could be mustered into a lynching party by such pressure were, as it were, quite prepared to join in a massacre. It is against that hidden capacity for evil that the civilization of Alabama must set its face.

Happily, the situation is far from being irremediable. Whoever contemplates the resolute fashion in which mobs were treated at Huntsville must realize that with a little encouragement officers throughout the state will do their duty handsomely. What is to be observed in the Madison County affair is not merely that Sheriff Giles rose to the height of his obligation, for which he deserves the truest appreciation, but that his subordinates, particularly Warden Sherman Church, were moved by the same sense of unflinching responsibility. That showing should be of incalculable value to others similarly placed throughout Alabama.

If the churches, the civic bodies, the colleges, the men and women of light and leading, in every nook and cranny of the state were to unite in a campaign against lynching, it would not be a long time before such vicious defiance of the constituted authorities would be exterminated in Alabama. And unless such a war is declared and forwarded, we shall be paying an incalculable price for having in a sense condoned the attack of chaos and black night upon our dearest possession, if we but knew it—the rule of justice under the law.

Montgomery, Ala. Journal
August 23, 1933

PRESS, COURTS AND CRIME

To the Editor, The Journal and Times:

The editors, judges and lawyers mourn vocally about the lynching of the negroes by the friends of the murdered girl in Tuscaloosa county, but I wonder if some of them are not glad that it happened. If not they differ from every one I have talked to. If the press is in earnest about the efforts to stop crime, why does it publish daily crime reports with enormous profits in some cases to the criminals thereby encouraging others to try to make money in the same way and why does it interfere with the police in their attempts to apprehend the criminal by publishing all clues and every method which the police are about to undertake to apprehend him? I am credibly informed of two chiefs of police who lost their jobs in two large Alabama cities through press influence because they refused to divulge such information.

Do the courts, the lawyers, the judges when they talk so glibly of due process of law think they are doing their duty and are punishing the guilty criminal promptly as he should be punished? If so, why does Peterson, who murdered those helpless girls in Birmingham two years ago still live? Why did it take nearly a year and a half for the supreme court to act on his case deciding on a legal technicality and why are the lawyers threatening to take the case before the U. S. supreme court on the technicality that there were no negroes on the jury? According to them we must have Irishmen to try Irishmen, women to try women, Chinamen to try Chinamen, etc.

Why is the Scottsboro case unsettled although two juries have pronounced the negroes guilty and why does the court feel helpless to either convict or acquit on account of outside interference. I was born and have lived in the south all my life and have never heard of a southern woman, no matter how low she was, make such an accusation against a negro unless it was true. Do our lawyers think they have done their duty? If so, why, during the Graves administration when a bill was introduced in the legislature to reform our criminal laws and a committee appointed, did nearly every judge and lawyer in the state write to that committee to let it alone and why did our lawyer controlled legislature let it alone? The answer to that in my opinion and the opinion of almost everyone else is, the more crime, the more technicalities and delays in our courts, the more money in the lawyers pockets.

The fact is that our courts have completely failed and there is not only no equal justice to rich and poor alike but there is no honest effort to suppress the criminal element.

That this condition is more or less general over the United States is unfortunately true as is shown for instance by the case of Luke Lea who was convicted in North Carolina, the conviction upheld by the highest courts in the land and yet remains free in Tennessee while petty judges issue writs of habeas curpus and kick the constitution of the U. S. in the face, the constitution which says that he must be returned to the state where he was indicted. For three years he has fought the law.

If the courts and the lawyers are doing their duty, why was a Birmingham paper compelled to make this statement two years ago: "We have from 15 to 17 homicides a month in Birmingham yet no murderer from Birmingham has been executed since 1912." Why is it that with 12 thousand murders in the U. S. a year we have only one hundred and twenty-five executions? Our courts are a failure because they protect the criminal from the people instead of the people from the criminal and every lawyer knows it.

Does our governor do his duty? Then why does he continue to pardon or parole criminals until, so I am informed, the police department of Birmingham has to request him not to pardon or parole Birmingham criminals because they increase the amount of crime in Birmingham?

Is there any remedy? I can suggest two, both of which depend on the people. The first is to drive the lawyers out of the legislature, for they do not as a rule represent the people but rather their own interest or the corporations which employ them or which they hope may employ them, elect business men and farmers and adopt the Canadian system of law enforcement and court procedure. Do this and you will decrease crime and lower taxes at the same time.

The second method is the old western method adopted in an extremity. The courts were established by the people for a certain purpose and they have failed in that purpose; that being the case and self-protection being the first law of nature, let the people establish vigilance committees in each county and when a crime is committed let that committee appoint a temporary court to try the accused and if the accused is found guilty, let him be punished then and there. That method brought the corrupt courts of the west to their senses and may have the same effect on our courts. Yours truly,

(MAJ.) L. G. PATTERSON.

Perdido Beach, Ala.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
August 18, 1933

A Sorry Business

It was a tragic attitude of mind that led a mob of irresponsible men to murder the Negroes under trial at Tuscaloosa, by way of giving outsiders to understand that they would brook no interference with Alabama's courts of justice.

The guilt or innocence of the accused was of course the only thing supposed to be under consideration.

Certainly no proof was given in vindication of the state's fitness to dispense justice when the prisoners in the case were murdered by way of warning to outsiders who were not at all harmed by the victim's death.

It is a sorry business and one for which no excuse or apology can be made.

Huntsville, Ala., Times
August 14, 1933

A Poor Alibi

The sheriff of Tuscaloosa county gives as the reason for the lynching of two young negroes in his care, yesterday, the fact that attorneys of the International Labor Defense had stirred up local feeling, and caused a demand for the negroes' lives.

There is no doubt that these attorneys had whipped up sentiment, and caused racial feeling.

But that is a poor alibi for a sheriff, supported by deputies, who turned over three prisoners he was sworn to defend, to a mob in broad open daylight, without so much as firing a shot to keep possession of them.

If he had had any courage, any real intestinal fortitude, this Tuscaloosa sheriff could have driven off the set of hoodlums, hiding behind masks, and prevented the disgraceful lynching on the way to Birmingham yesterday morning.

He and his deputies had guns. Why did they not use them?

Instead, when they could not outrun the mob, they simply stopped and handed over their prisoners.

The grand jury at Tuscaloosa ought to take action against him, as well as against members of the mob, who seem to have been his friends.

His excuse that the I. L. D. lawyers caused the lynching is just a screen to cover up his cowardice and official delinquency.

Lynchings-1933

Discussions

White Press, Southern.

4054

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
August 22, 1933

TRAGEDY THIS WAY

ALABAMA is getting some more unwanted advertising and some more unnecessary and offensive advice. The Scottsboro Case had hardly lulled when the Tuscaloosa Case opened furiously.

Again, as in the Scottsboro Case, the International Labor Defense, little caring whether its would-be clients were innocent or guilty, and caring not at all whether they were released or electrocuted, came rushing upon the scene with a lot of prejudicial and mischief-making talk. The Scottsboro argument had been pretty much that "These Boys are innocent, but what difference does it make if they should happen to be guilty?" Since the defendants were "Negro Youths," it followed as a matter of course, or at any rate as a matter of ILD logic, that they could not, in enlightened reason, be guilty of any serious crime, considering that "pore white trash" were the accusers. Not alone the International Labor Defenders, but socalled Liberal Opinion of the North as well, take the position that the Negro (always in capitals) in his contacts with "illiterate Southerners," like the Kings of old, can do no wrong.

With or without merit in common and written law and justice as the Scottsboro Cases may be, the Tuscaloosa Case goes infinitely farther, reaches the climax in brutishness, and parallels the former only as to race and color of victim and accused.

The Tuscaloosa case opens in the starkest tragedy, with a haunting setting. According to the daily papers, Vaudine Maddox, a 21 year old white girl, leaves her home in rural Tuscaloosa to visit nearby relatives. Two days later her body, badly bruised and with the head crushed, is found in a ravine near her home by two younger sisters, attracted to the scene, as it is delicately stated, "by birds congregated at the point." The blackest of crimes, certainly, is here, outraging an instinct that is elemental and deep in the white man.

Three negroes, Clark, Pippen and Harden, are charged with the crime and placed on trial for their lives. Whereupon the ILD rushes upon the scene thinking to "distinguish" its organization as it did at Scottsboro, by shouting all sorts of inane and incendiary flapdoodle. Without stopping to examine the facts or listen to the evidence, these fanatics concluded that here was another of those instances of the white tyrant oppressing negro labor. The mutilated body of the country girl lying exposed in the ravine meant nothing to them. "What of it?" it seems they were inclined to ask. The trial of these three negroes for murder, it appears, was merely another of those plots hatched out by Southern landlords to intimidate the blacks so that they might that much the better rob them of their earnings! That is the substance of the ILD's charges in this and other cases. Their strategy is to fix onto all cases involving white and blacks with the intention of arousing resentment and inflaming passion and prejudice. By their meddling in these affairs these people seem frankly to establish a state of war, with the whites on one side and the blacks on the other. The ILD's themselves of course would remain in New York or Chicago or Baltimore.

These three negroes were no sooner arrested than the presiding Judge, the Sheriff of Tuscaloosa County, and the Governor of Alabama were summarily informed that the ILD would hold them personally responsible for the safety of the defendants. Then they went ahead and stated that the case wouldn't be anything, anyhow, but another of these "legal lynchings of the crudest type."

The upshot of all this is that two of these negroes are dead, with many bullet-holes through their bodies, the third, wounded, escaping miraculously. Another mob and another lynching, the report goes abroad. And now the ILD are accusing the Judge and the Sheriff of playing along with the mob and are heaping new and additional orders upon the Governor's head! They have a committee of bright young Liberals, it appears, who are searching through the dictionaries for discoveries in epithets. At the same time they are recruiting new members and passing the hat for collections.

It is to such extremities as these that human beings go during disturbed times. The problem created by these excesses of fantaticism is scarcely one for nativeborn white Southerners. Rather, it is a matter with which the Southern negro and his professed friends should deal. Southern civilization is not of the kind that can be remade so as to conform with fleeting ideas and impulses of irresponsible Northern radicals. This civilization is based on firmer foundations than any of which the Liberal and the Radical at present are aware.

According to a statement made by Clark, who fell beneath the bodies of the other two negroes, as the firing opened, when Harden was asked who killed the white girl, he pointed to Pippen. That last gesture of a condemned negro boy may not mean anything to the trouble-makers, who are seeking propaganda, not justice, but it comes as a reassuring contribution to fact at a time when Alabamians' heads are bowed.

ROCKY MOUNT, N. C.
TELEGRAM

AUG 16 1933

So This is Civilization

Behind barbed wire with their bayonets fixed and their rifles loaded National Guardsmen patrolled the Tuscaloosa, Alabama, courthouse where a wounded Negro, a victim of mob violence, lay shivering, terrified beyond words. The guards were maintained in order that the Negro's life could be spared for a courtroom trial, a trial by jury. The precautions were deemed necessary.

We can understand why officers of the law and gangsters yesterday fired on one another in Illinois. There was a large sum of money at stake. We can understand why wealthy men are kidnaped, when apprehension means severe penalties for the criminals involved. They are well paid if they escape the law. We can understand why vice and illicit traffic in alcohol and dope flourish in many communities. Profits are made easily and quickly. We can understand why criminal populations are on the increase. The illusions of easy gain flitter before their eyes. At the bottom of rackets is the promise of wealth.

But in Alabama there is no explanation for a barbaric slaughter of two Negroes and the wounding of a third. Had the men been convicted of the crime for which they were held, the state would have taken their lives. Nothing could be gained by violence. Had they been innocent there was no occasion for killing them.

A grand jury is seeking to fix the responsibility for the lynching. If the identity of the lynchers can be learned, they will be brought to justice, but we haven't the smallest idea that their identity will ever be known. They came masked; they stood three men against a tree and shot them down; they fled. The bodies were left lying in a heap.

If the jungle people could read and were given newspapers, if the poor, benighted, ignorant savages could have a cross-section of the American civilization as demonstrated in Alabama, they would be less disposed to admit white visitors from abroad than ever.

Athens, Tenn., Herald
August 17, 1933

BAD PRACTICE

An Alabama sheriff is sorry two automobiles full of armed men abducted three Negroes from his deputies, shot two of them and spirited the other away. The deputies were taking the Negroes from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham for safekeeping. It seems that there was no talk of mob violence until the interference of the International Labor Defense in the trial of the cases.

The men were accused of the murder of a white girl on July 10. Their case was to have been tried on August 2nd, but was continued when International Labor Defense lawyers sought to get into the case as defense lawyers. The parents of one of the boys did not wish this interference. The judge ruled that the I. L. D. lawyers were not proprly employed and continued the trial. The I. L. lawyers were escorted from the city under the protection, from angry citiziens, of national guardsmen. One of these lawyers declared that the judge was permitting lynch lawyers to handle the defense, and further attacked him.

Of the unfortunate incident the sheriff said:

"We took many precautions to prevent anything of this nature. I believe the interference of the International Labor Defense lawyers in the case is directly responsible for this violence."

"Injection of the International Labor Defense in the Pippen trial and subsequent declarations of intention to continue in the case had aroused public feeling to an intense pitch."

We don't know just how this I. L. D. bunch of lawyers get around their code of ethics with the practice of, buzzardlike, going from one part of the country to another and insinuating themselves into lawsuits which can have no interest to them except for the notoriety they can raise.

The action of the I. L. D. lawyers in Alabama probably brings them close to being guilty of sedition. On their hands is blood alike with the mobsters if statements of the sheriff are true.

If such men as these must go around plying their trade, why can't they confine it to their own section, and against the baby-shooting racketeers?

Wetumpka, Ala., Herald
August 24, 1933

IMPUDENCE

No word less forceful can effectively convey any idea of the action of the officials of the International Labor Defense this week in writting Governor Miller with reference to the Tuscaloosa county lynching.

From their New York headquarters they brazenly demand that our Governor forthwith have the Circuit Judge and Sheriff of Tusca-

loosa County put in jail, and that they both be promptly tried and electrocuted, along with any other officers that had anything whatever to do with the negroes who were lynched.

Three negroes were being transferred from Tuscaloosa to another jail for safety when a masked mob held them up, took the negroes in charge, killed two of them and wounded the third who escaped and was later captured and returned to jail. State militia were promptly summoned and guarded the jail in which this prisoner was placed.

The people of Alabama do not approve mob law and, if left alone, will take ample care of their own business. But the attempt on the part of these outsiders to come from New York and elsewhere and take charge of our affairs is exceedingly provocative.

While lynching is deplorable and is not justified under any conceivable circumstances; and while we would not be understood as in any way defending the action of the Tuscaloosa County mob, yet the fact remains that this lynching would probably not have taken place at all except for the unwarranted and highly presumptious attempt on the part of these outsiders to come down and take charge of the local situation.

These same outsiders who are howling loudest about the affair can not escape their own responsibility for having created the conditions that brought it on.

The people of Alabama are not only capable of handling such problems as they may have to deal with from time to time, but they are a proud people in the sense that they are resentful of any patronizing effort from outside sources to take over and direct purely local affairs. And when such efforts are made the natural consequences is to arouse resentments and make difficult the handling of local problems.

The members of this mob should be apprehended and swift justice meted out to them. But it is very unfortunate indeed that those outsiders who, under guise of an attempted defense of the negroes really were responsible for the crime can not be punished along with them.—Monroe Journal.

Chattanooga, Tenn.
NEWS

AUG 16 1933

"Of Blackest Dye"

SO often citizens close to the scene of a heinous crime endeavor to exculpate their community for an evil done there by all sorts of excuses and apologies. Not so with the Birmingham *News*, which promptly and vigorously denounced Sunday's lynchings at Tuscaloosa.

"Alabama stands disgraced in the eyes of the civilized world today," the Birmingham paper's leading editorial Monday bluntly declared. "Shame of the blackest dye has been brought on this State."

To this, the editorial adds:

Most Alabamians feel this shame deeply. All enlightened, law-abiding citizens of this State are as outraged over this horrible affair as anyone could be. Indeed, such Alabamians, and that means by far the great majority, of course, are more outraged than any others could possibly be, for it is their State whose name has been blackened, and they will not be spared from the reproach of the rest of the world.

It will be unjust for those who deplore this outrage more deeply than any outsider could to be held up to scorn because they are citizens of the State where this crime was committed. But that is an inevitable consequence of a lynching. People elsewhere will not understand that this atrocity was the act merely of a few hotheads, a small band of barbarians. Others will not understand that the vast body of this State's citizens not only do not condone this piece of savagery, but that they are profoundly shocked and grieved at this act of violence.

But that is the penalty that the many must pay for the lawlessness of a few.

What a pity it is that Alabama's honor should thus be blemished! What a tragedy that two men, facing trial for the crime with which they were charged, in the hands of the law, should be taken from officers by a mob and put to death.

There is never any excuse for lynching. This lynching was particularly reprehensible, in view of many circumstances. That is to say that recently law and order in Alabama has been on trial in the eyes of the rest of the country—whether justly or not, justice in Alabama has been on trial—and at this time of all times every Alabamian should have been temperate and restrained in feeling.

It was, as Gov. Miller has declared, a heinous crime. The indignation which Gov. Miller feels, which Judge Henry B. Foster expresses, which is felt by the best citizens of Tuscaloosa, whom Judge Foster describes as "outraged and distressed" by it, will be shared by every Alabamian who has a proper regard for law and order.

The crime cannot be undone. But every effort should be made to apprehend the guilty ones and bring them to justice.

We do not believe that the Birmingham *News* overstates the case in terming the Tuscaloosa lynching a disgrace to Alabama. But it is encouraging to have this added evidence that the forward-thinking leaders of the State are thoroughly conscious of the "shame of blackest dye" which a turbulent mob has brought upon the State.

As our Birmingham contemporary says, there is never an excuse for a lynching. It is a descent into the jungle. It is a giving way to the most primitive passions and hatreds of men. It is an affront to our vaunted civilization, a denial of our national ideals of honor and fair dealing, of an even and impartial justice to the weak as to the strong.

In a peculiar sense, lynching is the South's tragedy, and the South is charged with the supreme duty of controlling mob emotions, and upholding the sanctity of the law and the dignity of civilized society. While it is not easy to restrain man's passions, yet that is one of the main purposes of civil government. Nor does the incursion into our borders of outside agitators seeking to inflame passions and increase racial and class bitterness add to the South's ability to do the task.

But irrespective of all this, these added incitements offer no excuse, no justification, no palliation of such crimes as that at Tuscaloosa. The South must maintain untarnished the dignity of its laws, it must protect all classes of its citizens, it must punish wrongdoers, whether these be men suspected of murder and rape or members of a jungle mob.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
August 15, 1933

Alabama's Shame

Alabama bows its head in shame before the lynching of the Tuscaloosa County Negroes. For several years the state has had reason to be proud of its record in regard to illegal executions. For most of the last 10 years the state has had a clean bill in the annual lynching report from Tuskegee Institute. But the record meant nothing to those brutes who Sunday counted themselves at once judge and jury and executioner.

Lynchings are partly the result of a state of public mind. For several years Alabama was apparently creating such a mental state as would discourage lynchings. In the face of the Tuscaloosa outrage, earnest citizens may well ask themselves why this mental state has undergone a change for the worse. Why has lynching come back as a vulture to cast its black shadow over the land? Why does justice lie prostrate where once it held up its head?

Race relations in Alabama in the last two years have been badly shaken by the wide repercussions of the Scottsboro case. The belief of the Southern-born white man that he knows best how to handle those relations has been attacked in such a way as to arouse fierce antagonisms. He resents any interference that tends to upset the delicate balance which he believes exists between the white man and his black neighbor. In the Tuscaloosa case he saw what he believed was an unwarranted, uncalled-for and sinister attempt at intervention by agencies not moved primarily by love for the Negro. It is not difficult, therefore, to find the motives and causes of the lynching, dark though they may be.

But explanation of the lynching is not condonation. Blame for it rests upon many. The guilt falls primarily upon those slinking dastards who committed the lynching. They should be hunted down relentlessly and then shown that Alabama can, with due legal processes, administer justice fairly but inexorably.

Manifestly, in the light of what took place, the sheriff and other officials did not take sufficient precautions for the safety of their prisoners. The national guard was used some days before to give protection for a couple of I. L. D. attorneys, but the Negro prisoners had only a few deputies over them. The state should investigate to determine if any officials were guilty of contributory negligence. They should not go unpunished if they were.

But the guilt falls also upon the International Labor Defense, which, according to the evidence, sought to enter the case uninvited and unwanted. Giving the I. L. D. every vestige of credit for unselfish purposes in the matter still would not relieve it of the stigma of using improper methods and thereby contributing to this lynching. Its meddling hands are blood-stained, and the only pity is that it cannot legally be accused of the lynching.

This tragic blot on the state should serve to lead the Negro to a realization that his best interests lie with working hand in hand with those who know him. He should see that these so-called friends of his set back the improvement which the South has been steadily accomplishing in race relations. For him and for the true white spirit of the South, the spectre of these Tuscaloosa lynchings should be a reminder of the common problem and of the danger of unsetting the balance of relations.

Birmingham, Ala., News
August 15, 1933

One Witness Lives To Tell Of The Lynching

The third of the Tuscaloosa County Negroes seized by a band of lynchers managed somehow to escape with his life. He was found wounded by bullets. What appeared at first to have been a triple lynching turns out to have been two lynchings and an attempted lynching.

The third Negro's condition, at this writing, is such that he is unable to tell of the manner of his escape. He has said that he could not recognize the men who seized him and the other two Negroes from the officers, because they wore masks. But the wounded man is expected to recover, and there will at least be a witness to this tragedy which has blackened Alabama's name. It is to be hoped that the testimony he can offer will be helpful in tracking down the lynchers and bringing them to justice.

Savannah, Ga. Press
August 15, 1933

THE CHARLESTON NEWS AND COURIER is plain spoken:

The lynching near Tuscaloosa, Ala., was a sad, a shameful affair. It was not a surprise to The News and Courier. The "International Labor Defense" in New York demands of the governor of Alabama that he arrest the judge and the sheriff. Why do they not demand that the governor send himself to jail? It will be discreet, for the present, for the International Labor Defense to remain strictly international, but it would better exclude Alabama as a nation. If it should neglect to boycott Alabama, that is, stay out of it, it might need the assistance of a league of nations. The members of the International Labor Defense may be good, but it is certain that they have no sense.

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Discussions.

White Press, Southern

4855

Dawson, Ga., News
November 23, 1933

BAPTISTS SCORE BAD MOVIES AND LYNCHING

SALE OF BEER AND SUNDAY AMUSEMENTS ALSO DRAW FIRE OF CONVENTION.

Denouncing lynching as a "barbarous crime," the social service commission of the Georgia Baptist Convention, in a report submitted to the convention at Augusta, also struck at "unwholesome" motion pictures and Sunday Amusements.

The report praised President Roosevelt's national recovery program, but said the federal government will be the "greatest counter-influence" to those who teach temperance, sobriety and total abstinence.

"Our courts are able to mete out swift punishment for criminals and the law should be allowed to take its course," the report read in reference to lynching.

"Lynching is a barbarous crime and the lawless and murderous tendency to thus take the law into one's own hands should be vigilantly opposed by all law-abiding citizens. And every perpetrator in the crime of lynching should be apprehended and brought to trial."

Most Vicious Influence.

In reference to motion pictures the report read:

"In the opinion of many thoughtful people the motion pictures are the most vicious influence in the nation today. Nothing has had more to do with the making of criminals, the breaking up of homes, the abandonment of long-accepted ethical standards and the general moral looseness which characterizes our times than the moving pictures. Especially is their influence baneful as it affects the young. Stricter censorship of pictures should be insisted upon; and all pictures whose influence is unwholesome should be inhibited.

The report called on law enforcement officers of the state to take cognizance of the sale of 3.2 beer and the violation of law prohibiting amusements on the Sabbath. The report said such violations were taking place in some localities of Georgia.

Repeal Saddest Thing.

Discussing the repeal of the eighteenth amendmnt, the commission said:

"The saddest thing to reflect upon in this new situation is that while we shall be standing for and teaching temperance and sobriety and total abstinence the government will be our greatest counter influence.

"While we will be doing all that we can to reduce the consumption of liquor the government will be doing all that it can to increase the consumption of liquor.

"For the government wants to raise the greatest revenue possible from liquor and it therefore desires to have the people drink all the liquor that they can be induced to drink.

"The government plans, already announced, are: 1. To raise all the revenue possible, 2, yet to make the rates low enough to be within the reach of the average consumer. This means that the government hopes constantly to increase the consumption of liquor in the nation—the saddest thing, we repeat, in all this deplorable business."

Dothan, Ala. Eagle
October 5, 1933

SPEAKING OF MIGHT

Led by The Tuscaloosa News, various organizations in Tuscaloosa pledge support in a "crime crusade." It is all very commendable. But the grand jury investigating the lynching of two Negroes adjourned without an indictment. What is needed is action, not words. The pen may be mighter than the sword, but in such circumstances an indictment is considerably mightier.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.
STATES

OCT 17 1933

Blocks Lynching

HOW easy it is for a determined public official to foil a mob, change its mind and save a parish from the stain of a lynching, was illustrated at Thibodaux, parish seat of Lafourche, Friday night. A night preceding, perhaps two, a different mob had successfully operated near Labadieville, in Assumption, the adjoining parish.

The intended victim, a negro, several months ago was arrested and charged with wounding and robbing Mr. E. Lejeune at Donner, La. He made a confession. Later Mr. Lejeune died. Friday the negro appeared at Houma for trial. He pleaded guilty to manslaughter.

We are not familiar with the details of the case. But there must have been extenuating circumstances, for the judge and the district attorney, both of high repute, accepted the plea.

The outcome evidently did not please the hotheads in the vicinity of the crime and they proceeded to arrange for a lynching bee. Some time Friday night 25 cars loaded with would-be lynchers drove up to the prison at Thibodaux, called Sheriff Stark and demanded the keys and the prisoner.

* * *

BUT it never entered the mind of the mild-mannered but resolute Dr. Stark to do any such thing. Supported only by a deputy and a highway policeman, he told the mob that under his oath he was in duty bound to defend the prisoner to the last extremity that the keys would not be surrendered, that he was prepared to fire on the first man who made a move towards him and that the wise thing for the members of the mob to do was to return to their homes and forget the mission they had come upon.

The leaders of the mob looked upon the slightly built sheriff, saw the glitter of courage and determination in his eyes, knew he meant what he said and then took their leave and Lafourche escaped without the very bad stigma this lynching would have left upon it for the negro prisoner's guilt had been confessed and his punishment duly assessed.

It is an outrage to lynch an accused before trial. There is no possible excuse for doing so after the court has rendered judgment.

The people of Lafourche and Louisiana owe a debt to Sheriff Stark for the coolness, determination and success with which he saved this negro's life and upheld the hands of Justice.

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
11-28-33

GOVERNOR ROLPH LAUDS LYNCHINGS OF HART SLAYERS

California Executive Is Praised and Attacked as He Congratulates Action of Mob.

SAN JOSE, Cal., Nov. 27.—(AP)—Frank approval from Governor James Rolph Jr., and other state officials for giving "a fine lesson to the whole nation" eased the taut nerves of this normally peaceful town today, scene of the lynching last night of John M. Holmes and Thomas H. Thurmond, confessed kidnaper-slayers of Brooke Hart, San Jose youth.

"They'll learn they can't kidnap in this state," were the ringing words from the executive office in Sacramento. "If anyone is arrested for the good job I'll pardon them all."

Such was the assurance from the state's chief executive as the tense town came to a realization of the seriousness of the punishment dealt out in pioneer fashion by the mob that stormed the ancient jail and seized Holmes and Thurmond.

In historic St. James park, across the street from the jail, the victims were strung up to separate trees while thousands of men, women and children, looking on in carnival spirit, cheered with a lustiness that could be heard for blocks.

The governor's attitude brought a flood of messages to his office in Sacramento, some praising and some condemning him.

He went beyond giving his approval by saying he would like to release all San Quentin and Folsom penitentiary inmates serving sentences for kidnaping into the custody of 'those fine, patriotic San Jose citizens who know how to handle such a situation."

He even had both prisons checked to determine how many inmates are serving kidnaping sentences.

"No kidnaper will ever be turned loose or pardoned while I am governor," was another statement by the governor, who added that "kidnapers will learn they're not safe even in our penitentiaries."

The executive's attitude was first disclosed before the two men were lynched when he said he would not send national guard troops "to protect those two guys."

"They made a good job of it and I hope this lesson will serve in every state of the Union," the governor said emphatically. "I don't think they will arrest anyone for the lynchings. If they do I'll pardon them.

"It is about time the people should have comfort in their homes. This kidnaping business has become so bad that mothers and fathers are afraid to let their children out of their homes. Now they have taken to kidnaping men and women for the purpose of extracting money from distracted relatives."

The governor had intended to leave Sacramento Sunday night for a conference of western governors at Boise, Idaho, but remained because trouble was brewing in San Jose.

"If I had gone away," he explained, "someone might have called out the troops on me and I promised I would not do that."

From Colorado, New York, Pennsylvania and California cities came messages commenting on the governor's lynching stand.

"Congratulations on your attitude toward the Hart case," wired a Redlands, Cal., minister.

"Lynching is a sincere demand for law enforcement. I congratulate you on your attitude toward lynching and the people of California for their noble example in dealing with criminals," messaged Harry G. Kyle, Kansas City attorney and former judge.

"We protest your failure to provide adequate protection," wired William L. Patterson, national secretary of the International Labor Defense, New York. "We demand immediate removal and arrest and prosecution with application of death penalty to all officials and private persons responsible."

Called Necessary.

Clarence Morrill, chief of the state bureau of criminal identification, added his approval to the governor's remarks, saying:

"It is to be regretted, but necessary, that the people took the law into their own hands but in so doing they served notice on racketeers and gangsters that there is no place for them in California.

"The people have shown they are weary of the technicalities of law and . . . . in favor of speedy action rather than the slow procedure of courts."

Sheriff William J. Emig, knocked unconscious while trying to protect his prisoners, was in a serious condition at San Jose hospital.

Dr. H. J. Arnold said the sheriff had not slept since entering the hospital late last night and was extremely restless. He was suffering from a slight brain concussion which might prove to be a fracture, and also from complete nervous exhaustion and shock.

Chief Jailor Howard Buffington also was suffering from shock and from a severe battering.

Newspapermen led in numbers among those injured in the rioting, but none of their injuries was serious.

Body Found.

Finding about noon Sunday of the body of Hart in mud flats of San Francisco bay by Leonard L. Dalve and Harold E. Stevens, of Redwood City, while duck hunting was the spark that touched off the indignation that had been smoldering since Holmes and Thurmond were captured November 16. Word spread through the country like a western brush fire and a crowd soon gathered at the courthouse and jail.

Orderly and quiet through Sunday afternoon, the crowd became impatient as dusk fell and soon had pressed beyond the barriers erected between them and the jail. Reinforced by city police. Sheriff Emig and his forces drove the mob back from the jail and across the street into the park, using tear gas bombs. Not a shot was fired.

Surging back with renewed fury, the mob loosed a barrage of bricks, stones and pipe fittings gathered from the postoffice, under construction near-by, and demanded the prisoners

Twice they were repulsed by the tear gas.

Two sections of 6-inch steel pipe then were used as battering rams to force the steel jail door. The lynchers took the cell keys from a deputy and seized the prisoners, located on upper floors.

A howling mob beat the prisoners as they were dragged to the park. Every inch of space in the square, within a block of the principal business corner of San Jose, was filled with pushing humanity. Two trees were selected, and the men hanged.

Thurmond was unconscious when pulled aloft but Holmes fought his captors desperately. The third time the rope was pulled his powerful frame shot upward and his struggles were over.

MD. LYNCH COMMUNITY WANTS ROLPH FOR PRESIDENT

SACRAMENTO, Cal., Nov. 28.—(UP)—Governor James Rolph Jr., who condoned the lynchings of Thomas Thurmond and Jack Holmes, reiterated today that he is glad he did not call out the militia.

At the same time Rolph exhibited a telegram he received from the "citizens of Princess Anne, Md.," where a lynching last month resulted in mob disturbances today.

"Congratulations on your stand regarding the lynching in your state," the message said. "When you run for president you will have 100 per cent support from eastern shore of Maryland."

The governor declined to comment on the Maryland disorders.

"It would be unwise," he said, "for me to comment upon whatever action a fellow governor might deem it advisable to take."

He insisted that he had taken the correct course.

"See the difference over this state," he said. "Nobody was shot. No troops were to mow down the citizens. If troops had been sent, just imagine what might have happened. As it is, nobody was hurt, the job has been done, and a peaceful community has gone back to work. . . . ."

GAS AND BAYONETS FOIL ANGRY CROWD ON EASTERN SHORE

Governor Orders Troops Into Area After Local Officials Decline To Act Against Slayers of Negro Prisoner.

11-29-33

SUSPECTS REMOVED TO BALTIMORE JAIL

Cries of "Lynch Ritchie" Raised as Resolute Soldiers Defend Jail Against Attack.

SALISBURY, Md., Nov. 28.—(AP)—A mob of more than a thousand men stormed the state armory here today in an unsuccessful effort to free the four men accused of participating in last month's lynching at Princess Anne.

Beaten back by tear gas and bayonets, the mob dispersed only after the state troopers, sent by Governor Albert C. Ritchie to arrest the alleged slayers of George Armwood, a negro, abandoned their headquarters in the armory and returned to Baltimore with their prisoners.

The four suspects were brought to the Baltimore city jail a few minutes after 6 o'clock tonight.

Cries of "lynch Ritchie" and "lynch Lane" could be heard as the crowd hurled stones at the soldiers surrounding the armory. William Preston Lane Jr. is the state attorney-general and it was during his investigation of the lynching of Armwood last month that the names of nine alleged participants were obtained.

His requests that the state's attorney of Somerset county, John B. Robins, order the nine men arrested were refused by the state's attorney, who contended a grand jury investigfation was the proper procedure.

Reporters Beleaguered.

Even after the state troopers, under the leadership of Lane and Brigadier General Milton A. Reckord, state adjutant general, had withdrawn from Salisbury, the mob continued its activities and for a time beleaguered reporters in the city's principal hotel. A movie sound truck was captured and sunk in the Wicomico river.

The turbulent events of the day came directly on the heels of a surprise move by Ritchie and Lane to have the men accused of the lynching arrested.

Troops were mobilized in Baltimore last night and were transported under secrecy to Salisbury, where before daybreak they conducted expeditions into Somerset county, where the lynching occurred, and made the arrests.

However, news of the mobilization leaked out and but four of the nine could be found.

These were brought to Salisbury and placed under special guard in the armory while the troops made additional plans to try to bait the others and prepared to take the prisoners to Princess Anne for a preliminary hearing.

Mob Converges.

The latter plans were rudely interrupted about mid-morning when the roads leading from nearby counties on the eastern shore, Delaware and Virginia brought vehicle after vehicle loaded with men.

They gathered around the armory.

As they gradually pushed to the doorways, the officers ordered them to disperse.

"Get back," Reckord called. "We don't want to hurt you."

"What right have you got to come here and rule our streets?" a middle-aged man shouted.

The crowd continued to come forward and the soldiers responded by cutting loose a barrage of tear gas. The crowd fell back momentarily, but again advanced. This necessitated another barrage and this time the crowd stayed back. The soldiers maintained their vigil with drawn bayonets.

In Annapolis Governor Ritchie, who has been ill, was informed of the plight of the soldiers He talked to General Reckord by telephone and was informed that the situation was "well in hand."

Move Out Slowly.

At noon, the movement away from the armory was begun and the soldiers and state patrolmen, who had accompanied them, bundled the four prisoners in the busses waiting for them and moved slowly out of Salisbury.

The crowd then began to search for Attorney-General Lane and as he left, the windows of the automobile in which he was riding were broken.

Another automobile, mistakenly believed to be Lane's, was overturned. The occupant, who remained unidentified, protested he was not Lane asa he crawled out.

Two other automobiles were overturned and one of them caught fire.

Then the crowd moved to the nearby hotel and demanded of the management that newspaper reporters be brought out. Most of the reporters were sent out by a side entrance, but several remained until late in the afternoon when Secretary of State David C. Winebrenner III, sent an automobile for them.

Water on Soldiers.

The part the firemen played during the demonstration remained somewhat involved. After the first burst of tear gas, the firemen turned their hose on the soldiers. The fire chief rushed to the armory to explain that he was not responsible but that he would try to stop the trouble.

"You'd better," one of the officers said, "or we will."

Firemen explained later that they were attempting to keep the gas fumes from entering the fire house, which was across the street from the armory.

The crowd cheered the firemen, however, and also cheered firemen from neighboring towns who arrived during the demonstration.

As the soldiers made their way back to Baltimore, many of them soaking wet and some ill from their own tear gas, they took advantage of the ride to catch up on their sleep. They had no rest during the night.

The Princess Anne lynching occurred on the night of October 18 after the negro, Armwood, was accused of assaulting Mrs. Mary Denston, an aged farm woman, of Somerset county.

Taken Back.

Arrested on the 16th, he was brought to Baltimore for safe keeping after a mob began a search for him. He was taken back to Princess Anne two days later in custody of 20 state policemen.

On the night of the 18th, the mob formed rapidly. Tear gas bombs failed to repel them and they gradually closed in on the jail. They pushed aside the officers, battered down the doors and dragged Armwood outside.

He was tied by a rope to an automobile and when he fell he was dragged to the streets. His body was hanged to a tree and set afire.

An investigation was begun, but none of the witnesses called before the coroner's jury was able to recall the names of any of the lynchers.

Lane then began an independent investigation which resulted in finding nine alleged members of the mob.

When Robins refused to order the arrests asked for, Lane and Ritchie, together with several other officials, held a secret meeting Sunday night and decided to send troops.

The state officials insisted, however, the troops did not mean that martial law was declared.

Those arrested by the officers in their early morning trips into Somerset county were:

Irving Adkins, 30, a Saturday night officer at Princess Anne.

William H. Thompson, 33, a Princess Anne druggist, who had been a member of the coroner's jury conducting the investigation.

William P. Hearn, of Shad Point, trucker.

William S. McQuay, of Pocomoke City, a chain store operator.

Another of the alleged lynchers was sought on a government coast guard vessel and his arrest was expected at an early date.

Attorney-General Lane tonight intimated that he would order the four held until habeas corpus proceedings were brought to get them out.

"At a habeas corpus hearing," he said, "you can bring out all the evidence that you can at a magistrate's hearing—and the thing we have wanted all along is to get the evidence before the public."

In the meantime, as Lane was making his statement, a movement was started in Princess Anne to free two of the four held. Writs of habeas corpus for William H. Thompson and Irving Adkins were issued and signed by Judge Robert F. Duer.

Sheriff Robert Daugherty left immediately for Baltimore with the writs.

Governor Ritchie cited the law of his state in defense of his action in sending national guardsmen.

"The general law," Governor Ritchie said, "authorizes the governor to call upon the commander of the national guard if his assistance is needed, 'to enforce the law' and under such circumstances the commanding officer has the powers of a sheriff. It was under this provision that I acted."

Law and Lynching

The South, which for years has borne the stigma of leading in the record of lynchings, fortunately is an innocent bystander in the recent outbursts, which have centered attention upon other sections of the country. It is our hope that the lesson the South will learn from these episodes will be, first, restraint from commission of such crimes, and, second, the impressive necessity for swift and orderly administration of justice.

The lynching of kidnapers in California and the acquittal of kidnapers in Minnesota, the lynching in Missouri and the arrest of ringleaders in a lynching in Maryland, are all related incidents.

The public has decided that there must be an end to kidnaping. Those who contemplate the commission of such crimes would do well to measure the possibility of ransom against the possibility of lynching.

The revolting description of the Missouri lynching was not more revolting than the story of the crime perpetrated by the victim of the mob.

There are crimes which arouse public indignation to such a point that the ordinary processes of law are ignored, even by otherwise good citizens. It would be well to prevent the perpetration of crimes that fan the passions of men to such fever heat.

The events of the past week are a reflection upon our civilization. Lynchings were not uncommon in the early days. The pioneers disposed of thieves and other criminals in their midst in that way. Summary punishment gave way as the machinery of law began to function. The criminal was answerable to the law and not to public indignation. As the law functioned unerringly other forms of administering punishment were no longer necessary.

There are laws to fit every crime, but unfortunately justice frequently miscarries and punishment too often is inadequate. It is to be hoped that these recent outbreaks not only will act as a deterrent to the commission of crime, but reveal to the public the folly and the reproach of taking the law into its own hands, when agencies already constituted are available for that purpose; and last, but not least, is the necessity of those charged with the administration of the law to appreciate public impatience with the law's delay and its failure too often to administer adequate justice.

The lessons of the past week have been impressive, if not inspiring. Communities, citizens individually, and the courts of the land should accept these deplorable instances as evidence of the need for individual restraint based on the assurance of speedy trial and unerring justice.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern

4056

Newport, Tenn. Plain Talk
December 19, 1933

TENNESSEE IN LYNCHING COLUMN

It wasn't a very edifying piece of news that Tennesseans read in the newspapers Saturday telling of the lynching of a negro near Columbia. The victim had been arrested for an alleged attempted assault on a white girl and after the grand jury had investigated the case he was discharged. Following this action on the part of the grand jury a mob took the negro in charge and hanged him.

Lynching is never permissable. But there are rare instances where it might be said that mob action is justifiable. That was the case in the hanging of the two kidnapers in California. Those two men had confessed and the finding of the body verified their confessions in every detail. There was but one fate due them and that was the gallows. This they would have received at the hands of the law, no doubt, but the delay would have been dangerous and would have served in a manner to encourage similar kidnaping crimes.

It is to be regretted that the mob at Columbia took the law into their own hands. There is a possibility that an innocent man was killed, and this very thing is alway present when mobs go into action. However, it was not true in the California case. It would seem that a federal law covering lynchings would be advisable at this time, and there is a probability that such a law will be enacted when congress again assembles. The constitution guarantees every citizen a fair trial by a jury of his peers, and this should be granted in every case.

The lynching of the negro at Columbia, under such circumstances, is a blot upon the good name of Tennessee, and unless there is action against those who perpetrated the crime, Tennesseans should keep very quiet when similar cases arise in other sections of the country.

Atlanta, Ga. Georgian
December 12, 1933

A Crime Deterrent

Speedy Legal Punishment Will Stop Lynchings.

THE effort to put California upon an evil eminence because of the San Jose lynching is not altogether fair.

The lynchings in Maryland and Missouri are not distinguishable in their elements from the action of the mob in San Jose. Every reflection suggested by one of these incidents is supported by the facts and circumstances of the others.

The Governor of California is assailed for not calling out the militia to cower the mob, while the Governor of Maryland is threatened with impeachment for cal[illegible] ou the militia to arrest the ringleaders of the Maryland mob.

It is plain that these incidents, so fraught with grave import to the stability and balance of our society, must be approached in a more restrained temper than has thus far been shown in their discussion.

Perhaps it would be well to say little until we have recaptured control of our feelings and can discuss the subject in its many complex aspects with cool reason and detachment.

One thing is certain: In every part of the United States a feeling has been steadily growing that we do not prosecute crime in a way that deters criminals. In other words, the belief is universal that punishment for crime is neither certain nor adequate; that our criminal procedure makes escape more probable than punishment, and that, at best, conviction, even in the most flagrant cases, comes only with almost interminable delay and after running the gauntlet of subtle and artificial defenses in which the chances of acquittal are as good as of conviction, however heinous the offense and obvious the guilt.

If the people felt the certainty which exists in England that an atrocious crime would be followed by swift and condign punishment, they would feel no prompting or temptation to take the law into their own hands.

Tragic violence such as we have lately witnessed in widely separated parts of the country is made possible only by the prevalence and depth of the feeling that the law, in a measure, forfeited its claim to respect.

The way to combat ebullitions of popular passion and mob resentment is not by futile denunciation. We must look deeper. We must address our energies soberly to the occasions of these outbursts. It is idle to rebuke symptoms and to ignore their causes.

The most effective comment upon the recent displays of violence is the criminal trial just concluded in the Federal Court in New York in which a notorious terrorist and gangster was convicted and sentenced to ten years in prison after a trial lasting only a few days.

The prosecution, admirably handled by United States Attorney Dewey, swept over all attempts at the intimidation of witnesses, all the distractions of perjured testimony and secured a verdict of guilty after less than an hour's deliberation of the jury.

It was impressive and reassuring. It showed what can be done when a court is presided over by a true judge and when the prosecution is entrusted to a real lawyer. Both knew the law and their duty.

WHEN SUCH VIGOR, PROMPTITUDE AND EFFECTIVENESS CHARACTERIZE THE PROSECUTION OF CRIME THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, THERE WILL BE NO MORE LYNCHINGS.

Spartanburg, S. C., Herald
December 17, 1933

Was This Man Innocent?

Tennessee makes a unique contribution to the list of lynchings in 1933.

A grand jury composed of white men refused to indict a negro boy after his arrest upon a charge of attempted assault. It may reasonably be assumed that the indictment would have been returned had there been any evidence to show that the boy was guilty. But the action of the grand jury displeased the hot heads of the community. The boy was captured, hanged, and a telephone message sent to the sheriff that his dead body could be found at "the forks of the road."

Any member of the mob that committed that murder could have appeared before the grand jury. Undoubtedly all the incriminating evidence that could be secured was presented, but it was not deemed sufficient for the holding of the defendant. He was released and sent to his death.

The facts in hand indicate that an innocent man has died at the hands of a mob. The grand jury had no evidence on which to charge him with criminal assault. It was a jury that would have been prompt to act had there been cause. It is another case of the unreasonable, unyielding, uncompromising spirit of the mob that has been revealed too frequently in recent weeks.

Sanford, Fla. Herald
December 19, 1933

A few weeks ago we were interested in the New York anti-lynching meeting which almost resulted in a lynching when some one opposed the resolution. Yesterday we were amazed by the account of the fight between H. L. Mencken and a pair of loud-mouthed pacifists. The pacifists struck first and drew blood but were finally put to rout. But if they were asked to fight for their country, they would claim it was immoral.

Samson, Ala., Ledger
December 7, 1933

THE LAWS SHOULD BE REVISED

The epidemic of lynching which seems to slight no section of the United States is not a mere mob hysteria, in our judgment. It simply means that the American people are fed up with the technicalities of the criminal law. Look back into your memory of famous killings and other crimes and recount if you can the innumerable cases where ingenious defense, high priced lawyers and the tortuous course of alleged justice have resulted in some red-handed murderer or other grave offender escaping the just penalty for his crime.

Alleged insanity, which the man on the street knows is faked, gets many a man off. The technicalities of the law have gotten many more off. The delays in bringing criminals to trial eventually clear many more. Appeals to supreme courts and even to the United States supreme court result in new trials or verdicts set aside.

This is an age of change. The people are impatient—and more than impatient—with the resources afforded the criminal. The people are arising in their might and taking the law into their own hands, just as did the citizens in the days of vigilantes.

Every alleged criminal should have a fair trial, and the verdict should be reviewed only for glaring errors in admission of testimony. The trial should be had at the next term of court, in place of two to four years later, as is now sometimes the case.

Not until the laws are purged of technicalities and speedy justice is meted out will the people quiet down and quit lynching notorious or atrocious criminals.

Lynching is to be deplored, but the way to stop it is to speed up the courts and cut out this unreasonable delay and reversal on minor mistakes made by the trial judge.

People have seen entirely too many instances where, even with fairly speedy trials, the case has been appealed and monkey wrenches thrown into the gears of the machinery.

Chattanooga, Tenn. Times
December 9, 1933

WREAKING VENGEANCE ON THE DEAD.

It is not infrequently the case that a mob, fired with blood-lust, will mutilate the body of its victim after putting him to death. But the conduct of the Texas mob in seizing and mutilating the body of an alleged criminal assaulter and murderer, after he had died of wounds inflicted by officers of the law in seeking to capture him, is the subject for an unusual chapter in the history of human fiendishness.

After capturing the wounded Negro, officers placed him in an automobile and started racing with him to a place of safety from the gathering mob. He died in the car. But his death was not enough to satisfy the mob's desire for the expression of brutish passion. The body was seized, chained to an automobile and dragged for thirty-five miles back and forth through the Negro section of Kountze, Tex. Then members of the mob cut out the Negro's heart and other organs and threw the body into flames, which consumed it.

The Negro's crime was, if he was correctly accused, unforgivable. For attacking and killing a white woman he merited the death penalty, and this he would undoubtedly have received if he had lived to come to trial. But if the Negro's crime was revolting, what shall be said of the insane conduct of the mob which seized his body and mutilated and burned it after life was extinct? Its members, rated as members of civilized, enlightened, Christian society, exhibited savagery, brutishness and fiendishness for which it would be difficult to find parallels.

Yet there are men whose brains are small enough to make it possible for them to applaud mob violence.

Sanford, Fla. Herald
December 19, 1933

One of the chief objections to lynching is that it leads to mob violence of all kinds. If a couple of hundred men can get together and string a fellow up for one offense, another couple of hundred could string a person up for something else. The wrecking of a Havana newspaper last Sunday is an example of mob law at its worst. Because the editor said something which some people didn't like they destroyed his plant. May be the majority of Havana people agreed with the editor, but they were scattered, unorganized. His opponents, possibly not more than one-tenth of all the people, were organized, had a leader. The next day perhaps the newspaper which represents their views may be wrecked by organized followers of the first newspaper. It's a game that two can play as well as one.

Dothan, Ala., Journal
December 7, 1933

Probably for the first time in our history a lynching has received the commendation of the American people. When Thomas H. Thurmond and John M. Holmes, confessed kidnaper-slayers of Brooke Hart, San Jose, Calif., youth, whose mutilated body was found in San Francisco Bay, were hung to a tree in St. James Park, San Jose, there was no revulsion of emotion among the spectators, nor has there been any pronounced criticism of the lynching by people or press. Their crime was so henieous that the swift vengeance meted out by an enraged California citizenry is viewed as an act of sublime justice.

Tuscumbia, Ala., Reporter
December 14, 1933

EDITORIAL GRIST

The lynching of wo alleged kidnapers in California gives rise to a variety of thoughts. First, there is the obvious theoretical comment that the lynching was wrong, even though he entire countryside may have participated in it, and that the regular administration of criminal law must be respected, conformed to, and upheld. There is, however, another, and practical side to the situation. With the two kidnapers dead, and with the body of one of them reduced to a cinder, the vicinity of San Jose will be noted carefully by criminals of the kidnaper type as a poor place in which to carry on their operations, and San Jose probably will enjoy a degree of peace not known to other parts of the country. California laid the basis of its civilization and order on the operation of vigilance committees, who took things into their own hands, and left evil-doers dangling at the end of a rope in short order. The success of the western civilization, founded on the procedure, is not to be questioned, and perhaps the whole matter profitably may be laid aside with the observation that what has been done cannot be undone.

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Chattanooga, Tenn. News
December 16, 1933

A Tennessee Lynching

THE County officials at Columbia professed to be completely mystified as to the size or identity of a Tennessee mob which lynched a Negro Friday night after a grand jury had refused to indict him.

The blot on the State will, possibly, cause some serious thinking by those who applauded Gov. Rolph's praise of mobs.

The Negro had been accused of attacking an 11-year-old white girl. It is said the little girl "identified" him. A terrified little girl might identify any Negro, of course. But when the grand jury started its deliberation, none of the girl's relatives appeared to testify, and the jury must have found that there was no ground for indictment, because it dismissed the case. The Negro had been held at Nashville for safe-keeping, and he was released.

When next he was seen, his body was hanging to a tree near Columbia. No one, apparently, saw a mob. Possibly instead of a lynching this was merely a murder disguised as a lynching, since it was indicated that the Negro had been shot before his body was hanged to the tree.

Tennessee, we feel certain, wants the facts about this case, and the Maurry County officials should do some investigating. We would like to see some statements from the grand jurors. Was the Negro's innocence clear to them? Of course, his guilt would not excuse lynching, but the mob in this case appears to have been intent upon cold-blooded murder.

Opp, Ala., News
December 7, 1933

If it takes a few lynchings to put a stop to the awful wave of rape that has sweep over Alabama since the New York buzzards swooped down upon us making human brutes think that they are little angels with a special grant to abuse our womanhood we say let 'em come. We do not condone lynching, but we will take a few lynchings in preference to a continuation of this wave of rape. The bad part about lynchings is that an enraged mob may not be as particular as they should be about first seeing that they have the guilty party, but even at that a few innocent men might as well suffer as that so many innocent women are made to suffer the abuse of brute rapeists.

Chattanooga, Tenn. Times
December 19, 1933

GOVERNOR M'ALISTER COMES THROUGH.

In denouncing the kidnaping and lynching of Cord Cheek, young Negro, as a "very cruel lawless thing" and in offering a reward of $1,000 for apprehension of the Negro's slayers, Governor McAlister has come through, just as law-and-order-loving Tennesseans expected him to do, upon his return to the State capital. Moreover, the Davidson County Grand Jury, acting under instructions from Criminal Judge Chester K. Hart, has laid aside all other matters to devote itself to a "thorough and complete investigation" of the Cord lynching.

Young Cord was accused by an 11-year-old girl in Maury County of having attempted to assault her. After he had been held in the Davidson County jail for weeks for safe-keeping, a Maury County Grand Jury declined to indict him on the evidence it was able to obtain. It was reported that the girl's family had decided it did not want him indicted. Nevertheless, after the release of Cord, following failure to indict, he was seized in broad daylight, while visiting relatives in Nashville, where he had been released, and the next heard about him was an anonymous telephone communication to the Sheriff of Maury County that the Negro's body could be found dangling from the limb of a tree at such-and-such a place.

It is not known whether the young Negro's life was taken by his abductors in Davidson, where he was seized, or in Maury, where he was strung up. But as Judge Hart, of Davidson, pointed out, the place at which his life was extinguished makes no difference. Inasmuch as Cord was kidnaped from the home of relatives in Nashville, accessories before the fact involved themselves in Davidson and Davidson authorities had an obligation to assume jurisdiction. This obligation did not, however, relieve Maury authorities of responsibility, and it is gratifying that they, also, are conducting an investigation.

The lynching of young Cord was the third in Tennessee this year, the two other victims having been whites. Isn't it about time that State authorities, and the authorities in counties in which lynchings occur, were bestirring themselves in an effort to stay the rising tide of mob violence? The situation is one in which there should be no temporizing. Judge Hart and the Davidson County Grand Jury and the Maury authorities are to be congratulated upon their efforts to bring the lynchers of Cord to justice.

Tennessee may well be proud of the fact that it has a Governor McAlister, who offers $1,000 reward for the lynchers, rather than a Governor Rolph, of California, who connived at a lynching, then sought to justify it in public statements and pledged himself to pardon any who might be convicted in connection with the crime. Also, it must be gratifying to Tennesseans generally that Judge Chester K. Hart's attitude toward lynching is not that of Chattanooga's City Judge, Martin Fleming, who expressed hearty approval of the California outrages.

Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel
December 17, 1933

TENNESSEE MOBS

MOBS ARE becoming bolder in Tennessee. A few months ago a small mob dragged two white men from the jail at Huntsville, Tenn., and shot them to death.

The state has never done anything about it.

And then Friday night a small mob even dared to kidnap a young negro from the home of relatives in Nashville—the state's capital—and lynch him near Columbia, Tenn.

That makes three lynchings, three blots on the state's record, this year.

Mulberry, Fla., Press
December 7, 1933

CALIFORNIA LYNCHING

Mob law is not good law. Neither is this technicality stuff we have been getting, whereby so many safeguards are thrown about admittedly guilty parties that they often escape by reason of a misplaced comma. And even when the courts are so fortunate as to get a conviction, despite technicalities the pardon board lets the criminal off with a certificate of merit within a few months.

The lesson the California lynchers taught is, first that the public mind is getting all fed up on this kidnaping racket. In the second place it ought to teach the courts and pardon boards that the public is getting sick of all this mushy stuff. One may not necessarily be glad the California kidnapers got their just deserts at the hands of a mob, but not being sorry is only another way of saying much the same thing.

Athens, Ga., Banner-Herald
December 7, 1933

A large and handsome dunce cap may be voted for Governor James Rolph, jr., of California at the next meeting of the Republican national committee. Some Republicans here confide they'd like the privilege of jamming it down on the governor's ears.

The Negro vote is what worries them. They lost a lot of it in the 1932 election, but hoped to get that back. The colored vote is vitally importnat to them in several states.

For decades they nourished it, selling the G. O. P. as the black man's friend. Lynchings in the Democratic south helped. No other factor can so stir up the race to resentment.

Comes Rolph, a Republican, to endorse lynching as no Democratic governor ever thought of doing. And many Republican leaders virtually shrieked in anguish the next day as Ritchie of Maryland, a Democrat, sent state troops to arrest suspects in a Negro lynching.

They kney the contrast could have but one effect in politics.

York, S. C. Enquirer
December 19, 1933

Of all the lynchings we have had the past several weeks, that one in Tennessee was just about as little called for and as brutal as any that has ever occurred. When a grand jury will not indict a negro on a charge of an alleged assault, then there is certainly no cause whatever for a lynching. It is more than probable that the alleged assault was the result of a desire on the part of the alleged victim for publicity.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
December 20, 1933

IT APPEARS that the Columbia, Tenn., lynchers who murdered a Negro after a grand jury had investigated the case and refused to return an indictment murdered him just to keep in practice, as it were.

J. D. S.

Haleyville, Ala., Spotlight
December 13, 1933

News from the United States is too hot for South American readers. The government censor at Lima, Peru, suppressed the press reports of the recent lynchings in California, Missouri and Maryland.

U. S. Attorney General Excoriates Lynch Law

Constitution 12-8-33

WASHINGTON, [illegible] (AP)—Attorney-General Cummings told newspapermen today the recent lynchings in the country were "a very distressing thing" for which there was "no possible excuse."

"They are injurious to the cause of law enforcement," he said. "They are so reprehensible, so intolerable and so inexcusable that it is difficult for me to speak about them in a parliamentary fashion."

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
November 30, 1933

IN WHICH THE ADVERTISER SENDS FORTH CRUSADERS

Plainly, the International Labor Defense League and the League for the Freedom of Political Prisoners are too busy these days recruiting Eastern investigators to learn the truth about Alabama lynchings to bother much with the recent mob murders in Maryland, California, Missouri and elsewhere.

As a brand-new convert to the cult of Far-Field Reformation, The Advertiser can now sympathize with its over-worked brethren among the divers crusading societies.

The patriotic ladies and gentlemen who have been sending investigators to Alabama are faced with the grave problem of either: (1) moving their show from Alabama; (2) dividing their investigation bodies in quarters and trying to play ringmaster in the South, the West and the East; (3) recruiting additional investigators.

The Advertiser is glad to announce that it has found time, despite the rush business in the Pointing With Pride and Viewing With Alarm industry to come to the aid of these organizations interested in investigating lynchings away from home.

The Advertiser has organized two committees, one which it dispatched by airplane last night to California and one which is to leave Union Station at 5:45 a.m. tomorrow morning to learn the truth about the recent lynchings in the East. Nearly all members of The Advertiser's investigation committees are Alabamians and are charter members of the Association for the Freedom of Liberal Thinkers.

The gentleman heading our committee to investigate the lynching in California is the great-grandson of Col. Archibald O'Fritter, who was brutally murdered by California vigilantes when they found him playing with a branding iron in another man's cattle field. We were careful to choose a native Californian to head the investigation committee, so as to allay suspicion against outsiders. Committee Chairman O'Fritter has lived in Florida for the last 25 years but is still a true Californian in spirit, as he was born in Brooklyn only three years after his parents left the Western State.

Mr. O'Fritter is the author of "Brutality of the Westerners," "The Evils of Capital Punishment," and other books of scientific and economic nature. The committee chairman is accompanied by three Alabama liberals who had assurance of the innocence of the lynch victims before leaving as well as the names of 999 members of the mob.

Heading the Association for the Freedom of Liberal Thinkers' Committee to investigate the lynchings in Maryland and St. Joseph is Mr. Oscar McFlutter, who has prepared his findings in next week's investigation and plans to issue the report in pamphlet form at 25 cents the copy.

Mr. McFlutter has wired Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, demanding protection of all oppressed liberal thinkers in Maryland and has demanded an armed guard to protect the investigation committee which will be in danger the moment it sets foot in the State.

Meanwhile, the Montgomery headquarters of the Association for the Freedom of Liberal Thinkers will busy itself finding cases of prisoners charged with rape and murder in the East and in the West to which places it will send crusaders to carry on the good work.

California's "Lesson"

California is vying with Maryland for a lynching record. The San Jose affair was in some respects more sinister than the Eastern Shore atrocity. In the latter instance, there was at least the traditional race feeling to explain a resort to mob violence. At San Jose nothing but crowd ferocity seemed to be at work. The fact that the kidnapers were hanged in the presence of women and children and with the later approval of Gov Rolph gives California the prize for savagery unashamed.

In Maryland the state is doing everything in its power to force the local authorities to move against the lynchers. Whether this pressure [illegible] its end remains [illegible]. But [illegible] know that Atty. Gen. [illegible] submitted a list of members of the mob for indictment. That is something. If Solicitor Robins prefers to [illegible] politician to doing his duty he will have placed himself in an unenviable position. And, whatever happens ultimately, Gov. Ritchie will not have given his okeh to lynching as a substitute for due process of law.

But in California it is the governor who gives this affront to civilization his fervent blessing. This is perhaps the most shocking aspect of the matter. Revolting as the mob murders were, it is the fact that the chief executive of the state can bring himself to regard the performance as praiseworthy which is incomparably shocking. His affirmation argues either that he has lost his head as completely as the community of San Jose seems to have done, or that he is one of those cheap demagogues who are prepared to exploit for their own interest a public degradation and a foul betrayal of our social order.

The happenings in Maryland and California prove, if proof was needed, that lynching is not a sectional evil. The South has no monopoly in mob violence. Alabamians may find comfort in this disclosure of a nation-wide distribution of the lynching phobia. But we cannot rest upon the assumption that we are no worse than others. We should condemn the lynchings in California, and we should cap that condemnation with the most earnest resolve to prevent any recurrence of such stains upon our own life.

That is the lesson the nation needs, not the one boasted by Gov. Rolph, proudly vaunting the San Jose lapse into barbarism, relishing the consequences of his refusal to send militia to protect the prisoners. Granted that the crime of kidnaping has grown peculiarly threatening recently, and that in this case it [illegible] special heinousness, are we to conclude that the state of California is unable to deal with the menace except by welcoming the methods of the jungle? That is the confession made by every community which lends its countenance to the spirit and the work of lynchers.

GREENSBORO, N. C.
RECORD

NOV 23 1933

Sisters In Disgrace.

North Carolina and Maryland are sisters in disgrace.

The state's prosecutor in Somerset county, Maryland, has flatly refused to arrest persons who, according to the sworn testimony of eyewitnesses, participated last month in the lynching of George Armwood, negro, on the Eastern Shore. Responding to pressure from the office of Governor Ritchie and the attorney general the prosecutor, declining to take the action demanded without a grand jury investigation, said that if the accused persons were jailed a crowd probably "would come and take them away;" and as for bringing them before a magistrate for public hearing, "if we did that," he said "there would be excitement and lots of publicity." Further, the prosecutor wrote, in a letter to the attorney general: "Under my plan the majesty and supremacy of the law will be continued and maintained without undue publicity and excitement."

Majesty and supremacy of the law, indeed! What an ironical joke It's enough to provoke a burst of sardonic laughter from old satan himself. So, the prosecutor fears that if he makes arrests he'll have another mob on his hands!

How much longer will Governor Ritchie and the people of the so-called "Free State" put up with such twaddle and with such official cowardice and incompetence?

Maryland's structure of civilization, law and order has cracked in a vital spot when it becomes impossible to bring before the bar of justice persons whom eyewitnesses stand ready to identify as mobmen who participated in a particularly barbarous crime.

But—in the contemplation of Maryland's shame let us not forget that North Carolina has on her hands the blood of the negro, Dock Rogers, lynched in Pender county on a Sunday afternoon in August—nearly three months ago—and let us not forget, either, that to this day not one arrest has been made in connection with this crime which for sheer heartlessness and for damnable cruelty makes the Maryland lynching pale almost to the point of insignificance by comparison.

The North Carolina victim, who had been wounded by a pursuing posse, was yanked from a truck in which officers were transporting him to jail and riddled with bullets by mobmen on the highway. Incidentally, the Pender sheriff, who with deputies had the prisoner in custody, told state investigators in a subsequent probe that in such circumstances he "just didn't know what to do."

Four days after the mob tortured and killed Dock Rogers, dragging his body about the streets of the county seat town, Burgaw, Governor Ehringhaus offered a reward for the lynchers and instructed Solicitor Kellum to prosecute a searching investigation and to leave nothing undone in efforts to apprehend the mobsters.

Some days later there was a hearing before a Superior court judge in which it was established rather definitely and to the entire satisfaction of the court that there had been a lynching in Pender county, North Carolina; that the killing was in fact, a lynching done by members of a mob who took a wounded, though still breathing man, from officers of the law who were, of course, sworn to carry out the law and to protect persons, even prisoners in their custody.

Since then nothing has happened, or that is to say nothing except that the Governor has called upon Solicitor Kellum to report on the progress of the investigation.

What will happen in North Carolina and in Maryland as to the so-called "investigations" now hanging fire, or as an aftermath of these mob crimes which have thus far gone unpunished remains, of course, to be seen. One lynching in which the guilty go free beeds like crimes. That is the almost invariable experience of states in which such outrages have been committed.

Does authority reside in society's duly designated officials, or does it repose in the bloody hands of cowardly mobmen?

Answer, North Carolina!

Answer, Maryland!

Negroes Blame Communist For Disorder In East

SALISBURY, MD., Dec. 7.—(AP)—In a statement issued here yesterday bearing the signatures of three prominent negroes, the declaration was made that "we hold Bernard Ades, communist attorney of Baltimore, entirely responsible for disturbances which have occurred on the eastern shore for the past two years.'

The statement was signed by James F. Stewart, member of the Maryland Inter-Racial Commission; J. M. Dickerson, pastor of one of the largest negro congregations here and James L. Johnson, retired public school teacher.

"As is well known the entire disturbances have grown out of the Euel Lee case into which he (Ades) injected himself not at the request of nor in behalf of the people of our race," the statement said.

Euel Lee, a negro, was convicted and executed for murder. The case dragged in the courts for two years.

"It is not to be understood," the statement continued, "that we condone lynching any more than we condone the acts of the persons lynched and yet we are able to look through it all and see just why these things happened. We sincerely regret that our race has been exploited by this man Ades who is only a self seeking individual and one who cannot possibly contribute anything to the happiness and stability of the colored people of this State."

Lynchings-1933

White Press, Southern.

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Discussions.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
August 25, 1933

TO PREVENT LYNCHING, REMOVE THE CAUSE—CRYING 'SHAME' NOT ENOUGH

LYNCH law has not returned to Alabama, one swallow does not make a summer, yet only the blind can fail to see the impending danger. What to do about it is the question. To shower abuse upon the community in which a lynching occurs is not the cure. To berate and abuse is not enough, to deplore and condemn leads nowhere. To demand a goat is but a sop. Glib writers may squall their heads off shouting "shame", but that won't get us anywhere. Emulating Don Quixote in a windmill fight is pure bosh and tends only to fan the flames of interracial strife.

To prevent the return of lynch law to Alabama is a problem that should demand the immediate thought and attention of the best thinkers in the state—men who think beyond the end of their tongues or the point of their pens. The records show that the mere prosecution of lynchers will not do the job, since convictions in the courts have been most rare. The running down of the guilty and the successful prosecution of them has always been an exceedingly difficult thing to accomplish, and the occasional punishment meted out to offenders has little effect upon future mobs, for the simple reason that when men become so enraged as to take part in a lynching they are too enraged to count or care what the cost might be. To prevent the return of lynch law the people must face the truth as it is; they must take into account human nature as it is, rather than as we would like it to be.

Some of the boys who write for the newspapers can sit down in front of their typewriters and tell the people how to go about the job—just like that. We confess we can't, but we have some ideas about the matter that may, or may not, be worth something. We who write editorials in little cities like Tuscaloosa and in the smaller towns live pretty close to all the people. We hobnob with the bankers, the preachers, the merchants, the farmers, the taxi drivers, the politicians, the pool room boys, the lounge lizzards, the golf players, the professors, the carpenters, the bakers, the candle stick makers, and the crap shooters. We don't pretend to know more about everything under the sun than they do but we do get a pretty good idea about their thoughts and reactions.

During these last few weeks we have been in the thick of things here in Tuscaloosa and we know a few of the causes which contributed to the lynching of Dan Pippen and A. T. Harden.

The brutishness of the foul murder of Vaudine Maddox sent a shudder through the people of this entire section. Damaging evidence pointed an accusing finger at Harden and Pippen who confessed and implicated Clark. When a few days later a number of young hot-heads from the community in which the murder occurred made a demonstration in front of the courthouse Judge Foster and Sheriff Shamblin convinced them that they were doing wrong and the gang broke up. The case was docketed for trial. Relatives of the negroes employed able young counsel. The prosecution was apparently in the hands of our conscientious young assistant solicitor, William J. Foster, and the people went on about their business—giving no more thought to the case.

About one week before the case was to come to trial, out of a clear sky came the news that the International Labor Defense would inject itself into the case. At first interested, then alarmed and finally incensed, Tuscaloosa looked on as these carpet-baggers of 1933, "belled buzzards" from the east, swooped down upon us.

Tuscaloosa had followed the Scottsboro Case closely. We knew these confessed rapists had been defended by the same crowd—justice delayed, and prosecution witnesses gradually disappearing through what looked like trickery and bribery. Our people knew that one of the principal prosecuting witnesses, Ruby Bates, was now a heroine of Harlem. They knew that Morgan and Jackson counties were being bankrupted by the cases. They had seen the wrath of the radicals leveled at the heads of the governor and other constituted authorities of the state and counties. They were apprehensive lest the Scottsboro Case be repeated at Tuscaloosa. Two years or more ago, three young white women of Birmingham were forced by a negro man to drive into the woods at the outskirts of the city; only one lived to tell the horrible tale of rape and murder. The perpetrator of that crime has long since been identified by the only living person who could possibly identify him, but the case has not been disposed of.

Deep in the southern white man's breast is the determination that rape and murder of white women shall not go unpunished. Though lax in many ways, easy going in manner and speech, kindly by nature and honorable by instinct, the southern white man becomes a raging lion when alien hands are laid upon the women of his race.

The facts in the case of the foul murder of Vaudine Maddox had become pretty well known, and so, when the day of the trial came few people really believed that the ILD lawyers would appear upon the scene, but when they did actually appear, indignation swept the city—spread over the county and out through west Alabama. A large crowd gathered in the streets around the courthouse. Orderly in every move, curious, perplexed and indignant, the throng showed no sign of mob violence. With suppressed anger they saw the frightened Communists escorted to the railroad station and out of the city.

Tuscaloosa was again ready to dismiss the case from its mind with the feeling that having been ruled out of the case the ILD would return no more. Tuscaloosa was glad that the court had appointed the ablest of counsel to assist in the defense of the negroes. Tuscaloosa wanted Pippen and Harden to have a fair trial, but Tuscaloosa did not want outsiders to come in and make a show place of our courts, obstruct justice and make another Scottsboro Case with all of its attendant notoriety. Judge Foster re-set the case for trial. A few days later Constable King picked up a negro agent for the ILD, sent here to get money from local negroes and a contract for the defense that would permit the radicals to re-enter the case. The negro agent broke down and told the whole story—how he had been here before and collected money from Tuscaloosa negroes. The names of many prominent negroes were divulged by him. Authorities tried to keep the information quiet but it leaked out. It was proof that in spite of the efforts of many of the leading negroes to save the situation, members of their race were actually aiding ILD and the ILD lawyers let it be known that they WERE coming back.

Resentment against the "belled buzzards" from the north and against their negro aides steadily grew. It reached the bursting point. Leading citizens of the town were constantly in conference, striving to avert disaster. It was apparent to every one that the arrival of the ILD lawyers again would be a signal for bloodshed. Alarm was everywhere. Feeling was at a high pitch. The National Guard was in summer camp at Anniston, but would be home before the day of the trial. All thought of the best minds of Tuscaloosa was to avert an outbreak on the day of the trial. Few had any thought there would be an overt act before the ILD lawyers appeared. August 22nd was being looked forward to with dread and fear. If those lawyers came, nothing but a miracle could prevent trouble. Pippen, Harden and Clark apparently were forgotten. A race riot of terrible consequences appeared not only possible but almost certain.

The storm broke. Out of a clear sky came the news that a mob had formed, taken the three negroes from deputy sheriffs and shot two of them to death.

Lynching is a horrible thing. The lynching of Pippen and Harden was a horrible thing—so is rape and murder a horrible thing, and as long as we have rape and murder there will be danger of lynching. Delay in bringing to justice the perpetrators of rape and murder surely contributes to lynching. The preaching of social equality in the south surely contributes to lynching. Glib writers openly defending those accused of rape or murder are surely contributors to lynching.

When a man is sick the doctor looks for the cause and seeks to remove it from the system. So it is with lynching. Raging cries of abuse and shouts of "shame" do not go deep enough. The cause must be removed.

In the state of Alabama wise and vigorous effort must be made to prevent the return of lynch law. Our largest city, Birmingham, is a regular cesspool of crime, fourth largest murder city in America. There the nests of Communists flourish, to reach out into communities like Tuscaloosa with their slime to breed discord and bloodshed. Birmingham officials and Birmingham newspapers can help far more by cleaning up their own town and driving the Communists from their borders than in any other way—certainly far more than by denouncing and abusing other communities.

The responsibility of preventing the return to Alabama of lynch law is the responsibility of every man within the borders of the state. It is the responsibility of every officer of the law to apprehend the law breaker. It is the responsibility of every judge to see that a fair but speedy trial of the accused is held. It is the responsibility of every prosecutor vigorously, honestly and speedily to collect his evidence, prepare his case and go before the court to demand justice. It is the responsibility of every defense lawyer to secure for his client a fair and honest trial without unnecessary delay.

Upon the whole people falls the stern duty of awakening to the menacing situation and filling all public offices with men of known quantity, men of real character and ability. Men who not only have but by their record will hold, the confidence and respect of the people.

Finally, the best thinkers among the whites and the blacks must work harder than ever to lead their people into an harmonious relationship. We are here together. We must live together in peace and understanding.

Lynch law is an awful thing. It must not be allowed to return after all these years of exile. It will not if every person does an honest part—if every official plays an honest role, every preacher delivers only honest sermons, if every newspaper writes with an honest purpose ignoring the temptation of eastern plaudits or eastern prizes.

Andalusia, Ala., Star
August 17, 1933

BIBB COUNTY MOB SMIRCHES FAIR NAME OF ALABAMA

The lynching of the two and probably three negroes by the Bibb County mob on Saturday night adds another black spot to the fair name of Alabama.

These negroes were in custody of officers of the law. Just how careful these officers were to defend their prisoners has not been made clear. Certainly the officers who were transporting the prisoners from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham were armed, but there is no evidence that they offered any resistance to the mob.

The International Labor Defense is blamed by some editors as being responsible for mob action. That foul organization has been meddling with the Alabama courts over a long period. Wise counsel has importuned the leaders of the organization to let Alabama courts alone. But the advice has not been heeded. Yet this interference does not justify mob law. To take human life in the manner these prisoners were killed is a reflection on the whole state and not only Bibb county is involved but every citizen of the state who is law abiding and who has a concern for the good name of Alabama must hang his head in shame at this outrage.

The men composing this mob evidently are citizens who live in the very shadow of the great University at Tuscaloosa. The invironment in which they live, even if some of them or all of them have not had the advantages which this institution offers, would seem to impose a restraint and a respect for law and decency which would render them incapable of such a crime.

But these are peculiar times. Racketeers in business, racketeers in the bootleg game, racketeers in the underworld who carry on the kidnaping orgy constitute a challenge to the citizenship of the whole nation. Citizens who lose their heads and in the heat of passion trample the law underfoot and take the law in their own hands and wreak vengeance on their victim, not only do not cure a crime, but they make murderers and criminals out of every member of the mob. These men will have many days and nights in which to brood over their part in this dastardly transaction.

Governor Miller has issued a call for action on the part of the Circuit Judge in whose jurisdiction the crime was committed. We sincerely hope the perpetrators will be brought to justice and that action may be taken which will prove to the world generally that Alabama as a whole does not tolerate nor wink at mob violence.

Birmingham, Ala., News
August 24, 1933

A Militant Public Opinion Is The Cure For Lynching

In this dark hour, it is vastly heartening for the public to be given a statement such as was on Wednesday addressed to thoughtful Alabamians by 11 citizens of Birmingham. Even without this summons in behalf of decency and order, we are sure, the Tuscaloosa lynching would have received the most competent investigation. But this summons will serve as an impetus to unflinching action, and better than that, it will hasten the process of crystallization enabling public sentiment to become a militant force for the suppression and defeat of anarchic tendencies in this state.

The high ground which civilized Alabamians take with respect to the recrudescence of lynching is that it is a reversion to savagery, which lowers the level of life in the state, robs the courts of their functions, and substitutes for the rule of law the blood-lust of the mob. But there is another telling reason for deprecating the upsurge of the lynching spirit. It is that the rest of the country accepts these enormities as the tenor of our way, and so refuses to grant us the confidence of modern business relationships.

Let those who are inclined to gloss over recent happenings ponder their certain effect upon investors to whom Alabama securities, bonds, warrants have been or may be submitted. Gov. Miller two weeks ago returned empty-handed from New York, whither he had gone to obtain cash for the state's warrants. If the Alabama bankers consulted yesterday by the governor had undertaken to finance the transaction, they would have had to turn to New York. Financiers elsewhere can scarcely be expected to look upon a state which does not protect its prisoners, upon a people which permits lynchers to run at large, as deserving the trust and respect which give moral affirmation to the soundness of investments.

This is not a major consideration, however. What is all-important is that the public mind of Alabama must so condemn mob law, so repudiate lynchers, so pursue those who in this fashion defile our civilization, that the abomination will be rooted out of our scheme of things. We must ferret out such offenders and make them feel the full weight of outraged justice. And we must establish an atmosphere in passion, prejudice, race antagonism, and their brutal expression, cannot survive.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
August 23, 1933

Fighting The Terror

Developments at Decatur and Huntsville, as reported in Tuesday's News, are profoundly disquieting to Alabamians who had hoped that a thorough sifting of the Tuscaloosa affair would serve to redress the balance with respect to mob action in this state. Now a Negro arrested at Decatur on a charge of criminal assault has to be spirited away to another city for safe-keeping, but not before another Negro, who seems to have been innocent of any wrong-doing, had been murdered by "parties unknown." Nor is that the whole story. Taken to Huntsville for security, the arrested Negro is threatened by would-be lynchers who pursued him from the neighboring county only to be thwarted by the courage and adroitness of the authorities.

Almost one is led to say that a lynching wave is sweeping the state. It is as though, after having gone far toward freeing itself of the monster of mob law, Alabama is receding into a condition of riotous savagery. It is as though the Tuscaloosa episode had released pent-up passion to make a shambles of relations between the races. Enlightened Alabamaians, facing this ghastly business, will have to draw liberally upon their spiritual powers in order to avoid a defeatist attitude. Yet it is quite unthinkable that they will be willing to throw up the sponge. Because the situation is so ominous, brave and intelligent people will feel all the more keenly the need for an effective counter attack.

Manifestly matters have reached the point where all the resources of sanity and civilization in Alabama must be thrown into a sterling effort to destroy the terror. That means that our law enforcement agencies must gird themselves with a zeal competence and boldness against which no mob can take a stand. That means that Gov. Miller should take cognizance of the frightful situation, spurring officials to the sternest performance of duty wherever the dignity of the law is threatened. That means that a slashing campaign against lynchings and lynchers should be launched, so that public opinion may be an active force not merely to condemn but to prevent the enormities of the mob.

This is not the hour for finding excuses. There is nothing that can be offered by way of extenuation for what happened in the Tuscaloosa case. There is nothing that can be offered by way of extenuation for what has happened in Morgan and Madison Counties. Pointing our fingers at the ILD will get us nowhere. The only way in which we can undo the damage which has been wrought, the only way in which we can square ourselves with our own conscience, is to conduct an unrelenting fight on those who have brought dishonor upon us and to shape such a way of life and thought among us that lynchers simply will not have a place in our scheme of things.

To bring this about, we must have an upsurge of sentiment in support of law and order such as Alabama has never experienced. The public will must harden into a consistent repudiation of any resort to mob action. Sheriffs and police must take on a fresh and unremitting hostility toward the lynching evil. The state government must be ready to assure its responsibility in this connection, now that automobiles make it possible for lynchers to dash across county lines for the accomplishment of their ends. Finally, if new legislation, directed at fixing official accountability, should be necessary, Alabama must have with the least possible delay a law calculated to make resort to mob violence a grimly dangerous and costly thing to everyone concerned.

RICHMOND, VA.
TIMES DISPATCH
AUG 15 1933

Another Lynching

ALABAMA, where lynchings are all too frequent, has another blotch on her record.

Two carloads of armed men set upon a sheriff and his deputies who were removing from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham, "for safe keeping," three Negroes scheduled to stand trial on charges of slaying a white girl. Two of the prisoners were shot to death and the third disappeared.

"For safe keeping" has an ironical sound. It is unfortunate for the good name of Alabama that the sheriff and his men failed to protect their charges.

The sheriff promptly offers his alibi. He believes "interference" by International Labor Defense lawyers inflamed public opinion. If that was his belief, why did he not take greater precautions? It is a sorry sight when the law admits itself utterly helpless against the attack of a few hotheads.

Lynchings 1933

Discussions

White Press, Southern.

4078

Chattanooga, Tenn. Times
December 5, 1933

PRAISES FLEMING, ROLPH

Mr. Patterson Says More Men Needed Like Them.

To The Chattanooga Times:

The reason we are having more lynchings is very simple. We need more men like Gov. Rolph and Judge Fleming.

The law has broken down. It has become almost impossible to get a jury this day and time to issue justice and, when the juries convict, our governor in many instances will issue pardons and let men out of the penitentiary after they have served two or three years, when if some of them had gotten justice they would have died in the electric chair.

Stop and think what these two men did in California. They took a young man in the prime of life whom they did not even know and murdered him for money; too worthless to work for a living, willing to murder for a living—and this country is full of such buzzards and all you good law-abiding goodie-goodies may become victims if you persist in asking mercy for such trash. The whole world would be better off if we could electrocute every man of that type today.

The Hon. Mr. Hoover has stepped in on this with his disapproval; well we know who he is. He sat idle in the White House and let plenty of good Americans starve to death and did not do anything. Anybody can criticize, but America was not made the best country on earth with knockers who wait for some one else to proceed to try to make this country the best place on earth to live? From the day the Pilgrims landed down to President Roosevelt it has taken men with nerve and courage to step out in front and act regardless of what the mass may think. Gov. Rolph is that sort of man and Judge Fleming is the same type.

Speaking of this lynching disgracing the great state of California, what about the disgrace that would be on the state of California if these brutes, after having killed this fine young man, who had never done them any harm and did not even know them, tried before a jury, defended by some brilliant lawyer who can make a jury cry, pleading for mercy for their poor mother—perhaps a prison sentence and a pardon, some beautiful Christmas day so they could spend Christmas with their mother. This isn't bunk, you know what has been going on in every state in the Union. My dear "good" citizen, you are right; we don't want any lynchings and when you rise up and demand justice from the law, you won't have any. But the people of this land demand justice and if they cannot get it by law, look out for more lynchings.

Look at Maryland, My Maryland. Do the good people of Maryland believe in lynch law? I should say not, but it happened and look at what came near happening when the sheriff tried to punish the parties that did the job. It looks to me like the sheriff came near getting in serious trouble because the people en masse tried to release the men he had in jail. That is mob law—it is the public demanding justice and don't think they are not going to get it, one way or the other. Justice will prevail regardless of what Mr. Hoover thinks or anybody else.

Now lets come home and see what you good, law-abiding citizens are doing. I refer you to the Scottsboro case. Six brutes assaulted two girls on a Southern train. They were protected by the state troops, landed safely in jail, given a fair trial and also protected by law and sent to other parts. Now my good citizens, you are bound to admit that they have been protected and old Alabama is certainly trying to prevent lynch law. But what are the good people of Alabama about to get? One has been convicted twice, but is still in jail and being defended with lawyers from all parts of the good old U. S. A. The lawyers are being paid by money collected from people who don't want law and order of any kind. You know well who they are. Most of them would tear down your church and schoolhouse and blow up every court of justice in this country. It would not surprise me if, before they get through with trying that bunch, they are able to prove by law that the Negroes were hitch-hiking through Alabama and that the Southern had not run a train over that line for forty years. J. W. PATTERSON.
104 Highland Park Avenue.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
December 6, 1933

EDITOR DEPLORES LYNCHING ATTACKS

T28

Georgia's Educational Standing Also Hit by W. T. Anderson in Club Speech

"Georgia leads the nation in lynching, and is at the bottom of the list when it comes to education," W. T. Anderson, editor and publisher of The Telegraph and News told members of the Macon Lions club at their meeting Tuesday afternoon in the Hotel Dempsey.

Mr. Anderson was introduced by Carl Block and he opened his address by deploring the fact that the governor of California had openly advocated the recent lynchings in that state.

"Up through 1930, the latest year for which figures are available, 4,300 people were lynched in the United States. Those who take part in a lynching are cowards—they run in packs. They wouldn't dare commit such a murder alone for they know the one attacked might prove the better man.

"Lynching is uncivilized. It is a throw-back to the primitive. The mob tramples on the civilization that our ancestors have built and fought for throughout the centuries.

"Lynching in Georgia has come as a result of race hatred—a race hatred that did not exist during slavery times. When southern masters went to the war they left their wives and babies in the care of the Negroes, and knew that their loved ones would be well taken care of.

"When freedom came to the Negroes they were thrown into the road, homeless, without clothes, and without food. The government freed them and left them alone. Carpetbaggers, scallywags and camp followers from the north, coming into the south at this critical period, convinced the Negroes that Southern people were the enemies of Negroes. That is where this race hatred started.

"And then we have tried to hold the Negro down—to our own disadvantage, for you cannot hold anyone down and rise yourself. You must stay down with them. For every one of the eleven million Negroes in this county who is being oppressed, there is a white person being held back.

"A white man says he takes a job for three dollars a day. The employer says he can get a Negro for $1.50. The white man cuts his price to $1.50. Then the employer calls a Negro and when the Negro says $1.50, he says, 'Why, I can get a white man for that,' so the Negro takes the job for 75 cents.

"We handicap them in every way possible and lynch them on the least pretense. We hold them back, and keep ourselves back. If the South is to advance, we must give the Negro a chance."

Mr. Anderson cited the beginning of civil liberty in history and traced it down to the present day.

Elbert Peabody had Hudson Edwards as his guest at the meeting.

Lions will elect officers and directors for the coming year at the meeting Dec. 19, said Art Nims, president.

Albany, Ga., Herald
November 28, 1933

WAS THIS LYNCHING JUSTIFIABLE?

T28

If ever there was any justification for a lynching, the one in California came within that category.

The two men who were strung up to limbs of trees had committed a crime that was most hideous and revolting. They had kidnaped a young man for gain. The young man knew them, and they could not carry out their purpose without killing him. So they cold-bloodedly knocked him in the head, bound his arms with wire, tied a weight to his still living body, and threw him into San Francisco Bay.

Skillful work on the part of the sheriff led to the apprehension of the guilty men. Their confessions were secured, and when the body of the slain youth was found, their death sentence was sealed. There was absolutely no doubt of their guilt, and their eventual execution was certain.

There was no excuse for a lynching, for in such a case the California courts could not **fail to deal out** swift justice.

The crime which these men committed, horrible as it was, did not justify a lynching. It was not only the men themselves that were lynched. Justice was lynched. Law and order were lynched. Respect for the courts was lynched.

Orderly precedure of justice is absolutely essential for the protection of our people, under a democratic form of government.

The men deserve no sympathy. No compassion can be felt for them. They got what they deserved. But the lynching of law and order, the assassination of our system of government—this can not be condoned under any process of sane reasoning.

Governor Rolph's assertion that California had given a fine lesson to the rest of the nation was even more inexcusable than the action of the hate-inflamed mob. In his high position of trust and power he could have set a better example to his people. Instead of that, he was in large measure responsible for the lynching of law and order. He encouraged it beforehand. He was an accessory before and after the fact.

Instead of a "fine lesson," California and her governor have set a "horrible example" for the rest of the nation.

The only "fine lesson" afforded in the whole distressing spectacle was that given by the sheriff who fought the mob until he fell unconscious under their trampling feet. There was a man who deserves the honor and respect of all lawabiding people.

Knoxville, Tenn., Journal
December 2, 1933

From Governor Park

An expression of unqualified disapproval of mob vengeance like that of the recent lynching at St. Joseph, leaves no doubt as to the stand taken by Governor Guy B. Park of Missouri on the question of such violation of law as this was.

"There is no justification for the action of the mob at St. Joseph," Governor Park says.

"I have called upon Attorney General Roy McKittrick to make a thorough investigation of the affair.

"While it appears from press reports that Lloyd Warner, the Negro lynched by the mob had confessed his guilt to a heinous crime, yet there was no justification for the action of the mob.

"Mob violence, whether in punishment of a crime or in attempt to obtain alleged civic rights, is always wrong and is destructive of good government.

"To condone such an offense is to encourage lawlessness, deny efficiency of the courts and the power of constituted authority."

Governor Park might have added that the very purpose of the self-rule of which this country boasts is that the power vested by it in the people is subject to that people's will, and that all wrongs and abuses and dishonesties and dilatory delays in law courts or in government are subject to the voters' power for correction.

It is by ballots and not by mobs that a self-ruling people is supposed to speak its will. The saying is trite enough, and more or less wasted when it is said. Nevertheless it is a true one. Tennesseans who repeat it now in connection with Governor Park's valiant stand for law rather than violence, recall the good work for law and order against corruption accomplished by a young Tennessean, Joseph W. Folk, who went from this state to Missouri and there became not only Governor, but so famous all over the country for the great wrongs he set right that a Presidential nomination came very near to becoming his reward.

RICHMOND, VA.
TIMES DISPATCH
DEC 1 1933

Rolph's Weak Retort

GOVERNOR ROLPH is discovering that all Californians are not to be classed with the barbarians who hailed his indorsement of lynch law. One of those who has protested against his stand is HERBERT HOOVER. Along with a group of prominent San Francisco citizens of different parties, the former President signed a statement condemning ROLPH's rash words.

What is ROLPH's rejoinder? He criticizes MR. HOOVER for having called out troops to rout the Bonus Expeditionary Force.

ROLPH is merely pulling another grand stand play to muddy the issue. By this time he must be fully aware that, when the momentary hysteria dies down, he will be under fire from all quarters for having incited lynchings. He hopes now to get the limelight off himself and onto MR. HOOVER. He hopes also that veterans, angered as they rightly were for the unnecessarily harsh treatment they received in Washington, will be so pleased with his rebuke of MR. HOOVER that they will line up with him on the lynching issue.

This newspaper does not for one minute attempt to defend MR. HOOVER's impulsive use of troops against the bonus marchers. It was proper that he should have placed them on guard to protect Government property, but, to have ordered the final charge was unnecessarily brutal. At the time, this newspaper urged him to address the men personally as President of the United States. They would have heeded his words.

But however much MR. HOOVER bungled the bonus matter, his failure has nothing to do with the California lynchings. The bonus march has been dragged in by the heels. Having failed to use the militia to protect the State's prisoners, ROLPH is trying to excuse himself with the grand gesture that he is opposed to "the use of troops against our own people."

It is unfortunate that GOVERNOR RITCHIE of Maryland is not in a position to enter the dispute. He is particularly qualified to talk. For not only did he use troops to round up lynchers, but he did not use military force to drive the remnants of the bonus army out of Maryland. He did in the Maryland lynching situation precisely what ROLPH should have done but did not do in California, while during the bonus march, he did exactly what MR. HOOVER did not do but should have done.

ROLPH's retort is more than merely weak. It is insulting to the intelligence of the American people. It shows the caliber of the man. It places him in the same class of "super-statesmen" as HUEY LONG.

Charlotte, N. C. Observer
December 6, 1933

SHIFTING OF THE LYNCHING BELT.

The South may still hold to the distinction of being "the Bible Belt," and glory in it, but this section of the Nation can no longer be pointed to as "the lynching belt," for recent occurrences have shifted the location and in manner not to be mistaken. As a matter of fact, the South has never deserved distinction of the kind imposed upon it, for the lynching record, kept by Tuskegee Institute, will show that lynchings have been common the country over. It was because negroes were the chief victims in the South and for the crime that maddens men's brains, that the lynching occurrences in this part of the country have been emphasized as peculiar to the South, by Northern racial agitators, their eyes blinded to occurrences at their own homes. They will now have to sweep before their own doors, as they were forced to do in the case of child labor. It is exactly true, as argued by The Houston Post, that the record of lynchings will reveal many cases of this form of lawlessness outside the Southern States, and, also, that a goodly portion of the victims of mobs in the South are white people. It is not to be denied that a number of lynchings of negroes occur in the South each year, though the number has been decreasing almost every year for a considerable period of time. But negroes have no monopoly on being mob victims. White men, and even white women, have been put to death by mobs in this section.

The three latest and most sensational lynchings that have disgraced the country occurred outside the South. This section can take grim satisfaction in that fact, not because it condones mob action, but because it effectually refutes the charge so often made that the South constitutes the "lynching belt." If there is a lynching belt, it has been considerably extended, reaching into California on the west, into North Missouri on the north, and into Maryland on the east. San Jose, St. Joseph and Baltimore certainly are not Southern.

The men lynched in California were white. The factor of race did not enter into the crime. The victim of the mob at St. Joseph, Mo., was a negro, but the fact that he was a negro does not account for the action of the mob. Under the circumstances, he probably would have been lynched if he had been white.

The Post repeats what it has said on numerous occasions previously, that lynching is apt to occur in any State in the Union when certain conditions arise. Lynching is not exclusively Southern. And negroes are not the only people who are lynched, when a mob falls into a frenzy and demands a victim, in the South or elsewhere.

NASHVILLE, TENN.
EVE. TENNESSEAN
NOV 29 1933

A Tale of Two Governors.

Governor Rolph of California and Governor Ritchie seem to stand as far apart as the poles on the question of lynching.

One thinks the stringing up of two white murderers in a kidnaping case is a fine thing; the other believes the mob killing of a negro charged with a grave offense to be a serious reflection upon his state.

The Californian has come in for criticism and praise for his unorthodox stand, and Governor Ritchie is finding more sorrow than satisfaction in his efforts to bring to justice nine identified members of a mob in the shore town of Salisbury.

Because local officials would not serve warrants, state troopers were rushed to the Maryland community to arrest the alleged mob members. The result was another riot, in which tear gas was matched against clubs and bricks, the troopers finally bearing off four of their prisoners to Baltimore.

Here is a case where a professed desire to vindicate the law has caused more disorders and created a situation that is possible of even greater dangers. For the second time in Maryland state troops have been attacked by an irate citizenry, and but for the evident resolve not to employ bayonets or bullets, there would assuredly have been a serious loss of life. In Baltimore and other urban communities, the governor's course has met with approval, but he has definitely alienated the "rugged individualists" of certain rural sections.

The irony of the situation is that it is entirely probable that the state's efforts to bring mob members to trial will fail of conviction, even though the trial be held in Baltimore or elsewhere. If a jury can be found to consider the evidence without prejudice it will constitute a modern miracle.

Strangely enough, Governor Ritchie's troubles are somewhat of his own making, for it was his order permitting the negro recently lynched to be returned to Salisbury from the Baltimore jail that gave the mob its opportunity. There is much resentment against him for that action, and there is a deep feeling of distrust over the two-year legal delay in carrying out the death penalty in the case of another negro, Ewell Lee, who wiped out a white farm family by murder.

California's lynching may be laid more to a spirit of revenge for a peculiarly brutal act by kidnapers, for the state of public opinion made it sure that the confessed slayers would speedily be convicted and executed.

Governor Rolph doubless will suffer less from the consequences of his stand than his Eastern colleague, largely because the racial issue was not involved in the California case. When white men lynch white men certain national groups do not become alarmed. But when a negro is the victim, a national issue of some kind is immediately discovered.

Dawson, Ga., News
December 7, 1933

The California Lynching.

Throughout the country there has been protest against the action of a mob that took two confessed kidnapers and murderers from the county jail in San Jose, Calif., and hanged them. No one of repute can condone violent action of this kind, for in the eyes of the law the mob itself is criminal. Summary punishment of this kind is violation of the law. It destroys law and order. Hence, the process of denouncing the mob and its leaders is in support of the kind of behavior and justice civilization demands.

Yet it is possible for anyone familiar with conditions as they exist today in the criminal stratum of the national life to understand the action of the California mob. Governor James Rolph, chief executive of the state of California, would not condone the hanging of Thomas Thurmond and Jack Holmes for the kidnaping and murder of Brooke Hart, but his statement issued in Sacramento does not indicate that he was at all bitter toward the mob and its leaders. He said: "This is the best lesson that California has even given the country. We will show the country that the state is not going to tolerate kidnaping." After that statement from the governor it is not suspected that the authorities will start proceedings against leaders of the mob which avenged the cruel slaying of the San Jose victim.

When the fiend Hickman some years ago kidnaped a little school girl and delivered her quartered body to the father after receiving a ransom citizens of California permitted the law to take its course. Hickman was convicted and executed for his crime. Since Hickman, however, there have been dozens of kidnapings and many cruel, brutal murders of abducted persons. Kidnapings increased, became a favorite crime with the underworld. Few crimes in the annals of criminal history have shocked the nation as did the kidnaping and murder of the Lindbergh baby.

In California as the body of Brooke Hart was recovered from San Francisco bay there must have surged upward a bitter feeling against this particular form of crime. In San Jose there seems to have been a determination that the men responsible for his death should pay for it without delay, should pay horribly. There may also have been in the minds of the leaders of the mob a good deal of what Governor Rolph was thinking as he made his statement, that this would be a lesson for kidnapers and murderers they would not forget.

White Press, Southern.

4079

Lynchings - 1933
Discussions.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
STATE

NOV 9 1933

"Mocking the Law"—A Warning.

That is the caption given an editorial in The Springfield Republican commenting upon incidents of the recent lynching in Maryland, when the aauthorities permitted the transfer of the accused prisoner from a place of safety to a place where he was at the mercy of a mob.

The people of those states where lynchings are relatively safe for the lynchers, whether those states be in the South, on the border line, or Illinois, would do well to read this record as presented by the Springfield newspaper, and then do some thinking. Here it is:

The aftermath of the recent lynching of a Negro at Princess Anne, Md., renders the case even more shocking as an index of the obstacles to be overcome in making such violent and brutal disregard of law impossible. In view of the indignation publicly expressed by Governor Ritchie in blaming the local judge and prosecuting attorney for the Negro's removal to Princess Anne after he had been safely lodged in a Baltimore jail, 100 miles away from the scene of the crime, it was to be expected that there would be some real effort to apprehend the ringleaders in the mob.

That expectation was strengthened by the fact that the judge, recognizing his mistake too late, went to the jail in Princess Anne while the mob was milling around, but before it had broken in, and in his effort to avert the lynching told the men that he knew nearly all of them. It is also a matter of record that the sheriff was in the crowd when the lynching occurred and talked with the leaders of the mob when the jail doors were forced.

In addition to the judge and the sheriff, both of whom were undoubtedly able to identify the mob leaders, a deputy sheriff, who had been personally warned in advance to get his family out of the jail, was present at the scene. And, as emphasized in the first dispatches telling of the lynching, there were a number of state policemen who had appeared to play a genuine part in resisting the mob in hand-to-hand encounter.

In spite of all these facts, the state's attorney, ten days after the lynching, formally reported thaat he could find no evidence of sufficient importance to submit to a grand jury. Evidently there is intense local feeling, in abject deference to which the judge, the sheriff, the deputy sheriff and the state police have been afraid to give evidence which they undoubtedly possess. The result is to make mockery of the law and of the authority of the state.

Accepting that presentation as true and it bears the ear marks of truth what must be the conclusion? The conclusion is that a state in a peculiarly obvious manner has failed to function in one of the most important functions of a "sovereign state."

And why do we say that people of "lynching states" should give thought to these allegations? Because a precedent has been established for the federal government to take a hand in running down criminals whose offense is not against United States laws. We refer to the crime of kidnaping. Law-respecting people in all states approve and applaud the successful operation of federal authorities against kidnapers. The states were impotent to check the operations of these gangs of criminals.

Cases like that in Maryland are surely going to invite renewed agitation for the federal government to take a hand in cases where mobs storm jails, take prisoners from the custody of state officers, and commit murder. There will be numbers of Democrats in congress to support federal action. Every case of lynching, where there is immunity for lynchers, weakens the position of those who have for so long resisted federal interference.

There is occasion for very serious thought on this subject. Some of it is due by South Carolina authorities.

Albany, Ga., Herald
December 2, 1933

WILL MOB LAW STOP IT?

A good many folks who condemn lynching as the wrong way to deal with crime are yet hopeful that the effect of the lynching of two kidnaper-murderers in California will exercise a deterring influence upon this class of criminals.

It is doubtful whether "mob justice" will awe kidnapers and gangsters. These individuals, living under laws of their own making, have been acting as their own executioners for years. Hundreds of gangsters have been "taken for a ride" and "bumped off" by their rivals, or lined up against walls and mowed down with machine guns, yet that sort of example has never influenced surviving gangsters to go out of business. It is mob law, but it never has driven them to abandon criminal careers.

The public would welcome any influence, agency or activity that would put a curb on the kidnaping racket, which is one of the worst manifestations of lawlessness to which the times have brought us. No crime in the last quarter of a century has aroused as deep resentment on the part of the American people as the kidnaping and murder of the Lindbergh baby, and millions cling tenaciously to the hope that the kidnapers will be found and brought to justice.

Of course fear that the guilty will slip through legal nets and escape punishment is measurably responsible for mob violence. We do not doubt that it had something to do with the mob psychology which figured in the recent double lynching in California, and in the indefensible attitude which the head of the government of that state saw fit to take.

But it remains to be seen whether what happened in California will cause would-be lynchers to take sober thought before seeking to pursue that road to easy money. We are not hopeful, but if we should prove to be mistaken—if mob justice can accomplish what has not been attained via the courts—we will admit our error and make one—and the first—long mark in red ink to the credit of lynch law.

Ocala, Fla. Star
November 29, 1933

CALIFORNIA'S LYNCHING

The fact that passions are stirred by lynchings is one of the chief reasons why the American people seek the eradication of this national evil.

Kidnapping as a crime cannot be condoned. Convicted kidnapers should be given the law's extreme penalty. But the way to check this most heinous crime is to change the conditions in the country which encourage widespread lawbreaking.

Our system of laws and court procedure in the United States, for instance, need complete overhauling. Our courtrooms have become the scenes of legal racketeering. The law's delays have become a national disgrace. If the governor of California, certain lawyers and others who have commended the horrible affair in San Jose would devote their energies to reforming the court system and the practice of law in this country they would make a substantial contribution to wiping out kidnapping and other major crimes.

Lynching debases the men and women who participate in them. Mobs do not stop with punishment for the particular crime committed. They indulge in torturings which in many cases are comparable with the excesses of the darkest periods of the world's history. Participation in a lynching is bound to leave a mark on the man or woman. It is not possible to commit a human cruelty, even to a criminal, without a loss of something to the individual character. How can a man apply a torch to a human being and not remember it the rest of his life?

If lynchers have become "fine, patriotic citizens," as Governor James Rolph, Jr., of California, declared, our civiliztion has dropped to a very low stage, indeed. Fortunately, the American people as a whole do not share the governor's shameful and ingnoble conception of patriotism.

Governor Rolph violated his oath of office. As the chief officer of the state of California he was sworn to uphold its laws and to protect its prisoners. He aggravated his offense against the state by suggesting a "parole" for all kidnapers in the California jails. And how did he know there would be "no loss of life with the exception of the two men hanged?"...

But lynchings in this country will not cease until the people establish a court system, a system of laws and law enforcement that will put an end to the conditions which today give the United States the worst record for capital crimes in the world.

Anderson, S. C. Independent
November 28, 1933

CURING KIDNAPERS

Many people who do not believe in mob violence, will give serious thought to recent developments in law enforcement before criticizing the Governor of California for describing the lynching of two kidnapers as "the best lesson California has ever given the country. We showed the country that the state is not going to tolerate kidnaping."

The two white men, who kidnaped the son of a San Jose merchant and later killed him and threw his mangled and dismembered body into the bay, confessed their guilt and were hanged by the infuriated populace.

It was drastic action, and it shows what happens when an out-

raged citizen is thoroughly aroused and takes the law into its own hands. All delays, technicalities, appeals and legal maneuvers were wiped out and the guilty were punished, as they should have been punished. Some of the strongest opponents of capital punishment do not hesitate to say they believe kidnaping warrants such extreme measures in dealing with this class of criminals. In this case, the San Jose mob lynched two men who were guilty of both kidnaping and murder, either of which justifies the penalty of death.

The kidnaping of the Lindbergh baby aroused America as no single crime has stirred the people in the nation's history. Yet, after many months of investigating, the kidnapers remain free. The fact that these criminals escaped, brought about a wave of kidnapings. All over the country, the underworld began to put the "snatch" on people of wealth and prominence, in an effort to collect ransoms. In most cases, the criminals have been apprehended and punished. Whether adequately punished, is doubtful.

No state enjoys the notoriety of a lynching. Mob violence is always dangerous, for innocent men, caught in the mesh of circumstantial evidence, have been lynched in the heat and passion of mob action. That is the grave danger of a mob's fury.

If it were possible to deal justice and swift punishment to convicted criminals, the law would usually be allowed to take its course. An orderly trial, and dedeliberate administration of the court's sentence would follow these outrages. However, the legal machinery of this country does not operate swiftly, and being directed by humans, does not perform with unfailing accuracy and impartiality.

We have in mind a case familiar to Anderson county citizens. A native son of this section, Dr. Roy H. Herron, was shot and killed in the town of Bainbridge, Ga., by a negro. It was a plain case of cold-blooded murder. The negro was spirited out of town for protection and later given a trial, at which he was convicted and sentenced to die in the electric chair. Although this was more than a year ago, the negro is still alive. A negro organization financed an appeal to the supreme court, and on a technicality—probably the judge slept with his window open the night before the trial, or the prosecuting attorney asked the defendant a question that was not couched in grammatical exactness—and the case has been remanded to the lower courts for a new trial.

It is this sort of delay which breeds lynchings. In any state, it should be possible, within three months, to try a man accused of crime, determine his guilt or innocence beyond question, and administer the punishment of the court. When these long, tedious and sometimes farcial maneuvers are minimized in our judicial system, there will be less frequent eruptions of violent public indignation.

While the California lynching will serve, as the governor says, to show the country that kidnapings will not be tolerated in that state, it will also show the law enforcement agencies of our country the importance of prompt apprehension and punishment of criminals. That is the one and only way to keep the people from taking the law in their own hands when some revolting offense against society has been committed.

Selma, Ala. Times
November 28, 1933

WHY GO THROUGH THE MOTIONS

It is devoutly hoped that the authorities at San Jose where the most spectacular lynching of modern times has occurred will not go through with the solemn farce of a public probing, that juries will not be empanneled and that the eminent judge whoever he may be, will not solemnly pledge a searching investigation and the punishment of the guilty. We have travelled over this course often enough. We have listened to these meaningless assurances on so many similar occasions in the past that we feel that the long-suffering public is due a little immunity from the familiar proceedings. The futility of the courts when faced by these local upheavals is too complete and tragic and does not warrant the expenditure of effort or expense.

The lynching evil is a disease of our civilization and the cure cannot be effected by dealing with the outward manifestations. In old and settled countries like England, where respect for the law is inbred in the people and prevails universally, lynchings do not occur. Neither do the barbaric crimes of kidnaping and murder and the other long list of unspeakable offenses that occur daily in the polyglot life of our country. It is going to be hard to separate the prevalence of these outrages that shock so many of our communities, from summary visitations, such as mob law where brute force and unbridled passions of the people break over the bounds. Possibly a hundred years hence passion will cool in a more settled social order and crime of all kinds will have run its more turbulent course and the law and public morality will command more general respect.

Newberry, S. C. Observer
December 1, 1933

THE CALIFORNIA LYNCHING

The provocation for the lynching of the California kidnaper-murderers was extreme. The remedy of mob violence did the public service of punishing promptly the criminals. It also did the immeasurable harm to rendering unsafe the life of any man who is suspected, however wrongly, of a highly unpopular crime, or even of highly unpopular opinions.

The governor of California congratulates the mob. We hope that the time may come when governors may congratulate the courts on as effectually doing their work, though with not such instantaneous promptness as to deny the accused a fair trial.

The California lynching, like every lynching, is a reflection upon the civilization, the government, the society, of the community in which it occurs. If the American public were as ready to undertake the stern and steady task of supporting good government as they are to fly into a rage at some infamous crime that their own indifference to bad government has encouraged, there would be rare occasions even to tempt mobs to lynch.

Sebring, Fla., American
November 29, 1933

THE LYNCHING

The natural reaction of a loyal body of citizens, upon hearing of a lynching, is in the nature of a shock. To the well-ordered mind, a penalty should be prescribed when there has been an infraction of the law and that penalty should be sure and certain and should naturally follow a conviction of a crime. When this usual procedure is disturbed by an infliction of a penalty before a conviction of the crime, there is a breach of law and order. On Monday two men who had confessed to the crime of kidnaping were taken from jail and lynched. The condition of the body of the victim when found seemed to confirm the confessed manner of killing and seemed to establish the confession as true.

But the penalty of any crime should be a fitting and just one. The kidnaping is not a capital offense in California and since life imprisonment in this day and age simply means an indetermiate period subject to the whims of a governor, there was no certainty that these criminals of the worst type would ever serve an adequate penalty for the heinous crime. If capital punishment had been the penalty for kidnaping in California, we believe there would have been no lynching. Irrespective of this general procedure in case of crime, we have stated time and time again that we lose all perspective of fit and proper punishment when it comes to the crime of kidnaping. There has been instances of crimes committed on account of passion or need where there has been some sympathy extended to the perpetrator. The kidnaper, however, hopes to profit by tearing the heart-strings of the victim's family and we connot muster up any sympathy for this specie of torture. We are in no position, therefore, to criticize the citizens of California who took the law in their own hands.

Lynchings-1933 White Press, Southern. 4080
Discussions.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
July 27, 1933

Women Can Spurn Truth

"He insulted a white woman," is the terse and sufficient language pinned to the dead body of a Negro strung up in Mississippi on Saturday. There is no way of learning now whether he did or not. He has been gathered to his fate without the right of being heard, or even to be confronted by his accuser—and there is no sure way of knowing that any such accusation was made against him.

Thus the most sacred of all rights has been trampled under foot. The real cause might have been that some one in the mob had a spite against him. It might have been that he had property that somebody wanted, and maybe he wouldn't sell it. It might have been that some white woman became peeved with him because he would not or could not extend same favor she asked. Many white people thus hold the fate of Negroes in their hands. Especially white women.

It is possible for a white woman to make the charge of having been insulted against a Negro and have him strung up immediately. If he denies it, then he should be hung for "disputing a white lady's word". So, the Negro is on both horns of a dilemma.

This is a dangerous situation. It involves more people than Negroes. Because if people become so hot-headed and unjust toward a Negro, on some woman's unsupported word, it is inch by inch establishing a precedent and practice by which the same sort of "justice" can be meted out to white men who "insult white ladies."

"White ladies" ought to be protected, of course. But the utmost care ought to be taken in seeing that the innocent who are unjustly accused are also protected. A woman can be easily mistaken, especially if she is angered and desires to get revenge. All she has to do is to call her men folk and cry and sick them like a pack on the victim. Several years ago this ruse was used in Georgia to chase a Negro out of a community where he occupied a particularly nice piece of farming land which it was afterward learned white people had been trying to buy from him and which he didn't want to sell at any price. All his life's efforts had been wiped out, his home broken up, his good behavior went for naught. His crops were left in the field, all he had was sacrificed for whatever was offered by the "indignant" whites.

We claim to be a superior race, we white people. Superiority and power carry responsibility—to do justice. We ought to have more sense and understand the danger of destroying the very institutions that we have set up for our own protection, to appreciate them too much, for us to take unnecessary chances with the villainies of mob violence. Plenty of women can be honestly mistaken or take liberties with the truth. In fact, Webster's dictionary describes honor "specifically in men as integrity, uprightness, trustworthiness; in women, purity, chastity."

While we do not wish to be too severe on the women, it should be observed that they don't have to tell the truth to be considered honorable, according to the above. The dictonary does not hold them to the same standard for telling the truth in every case as it requires of the men.

Monroe, N. C. Enquirer
August 3, 1933

CONTRASTS

Charlotte News.

At Shelby a day or so ago a white boy and a colored boy were playing together when they got into an argument. Thereupon the 12-year-old colored boy went to his house, got his father's pitsol (nearly all colored boys' fathers have pistols), came back and shot the white boy, wounding him painfully but not seriously.

At last reports Shelby police were still hunting the colored boy, as they certainly should. But it puts The News in mind of that affair at Clinton, South Caroilna, several weeks ago, when four adult whites came to the jail in the dead of night and carried away with them a Negro charged with the awful crime of having had a fight with a white man. His beaten and bullet-ridden body was found the next morning.

No Negrophile, The News nevertheless believes in punishing both white and colored violators of the law. If anybody has stirred a hair to learn the identities of those four jail-robbers and murderers at Clinton it has not made the newspapers. True, Governor Blackwood was incensed, but a passing rage tracks no criminals any more than it serves to redeem the honor of the State of South Carolina.

WILMINGTON, N. C.
NEWS DISPATCH

AUG 3 1933

FEELING IN ALABAMA

There is nothing surprising in the fact that troops with fixed bayonets were necessary to disperse crowds incensed by the appearance of International Labor defense attorneys at a follow-up of the Scottsboro trial.

The surprise is that the military was not needed earlier.

Every southerner, whether Alabaman or otherwise, who has a sense of justice, desires that the negro in question be given a fair and impartial trial. On the other hand, they resent the interference of outside lawyers, whose sole aim is to prove an abstract point; carry a radical objective.

The life of the accused man is an incident. It is merely the convenient pawn which fate has placed in the game to afford them opportunity to push their doctrines.

This newspaper has small patience with men or agencies which intrude into purely local affairs to further the interests of their own clique. We resent outside speakers on questions of domestic nature; and in the same vein the sturdy yeomanry of Alabama has no love for the aliens who would decry their justice, laugh at their views.

RALEIGH, N. C.
NEWS OBSERVER

AUG 3 1933

THE ANSWER SEEMS TO BE 'NO'

Yesterday *The News and Observer* expressed the belief that in a new case in Alabama involving a charge of assault and murder alleged to have been committed by Negroes on a white woman the State was showing that it had acquired wisdom from the generally unfavorable criticism of Alabama justice which followed the convictions in the famous Scottsboro cases.

The News and Observer spoke too quickly. While that editorial was being printed mobs of angry men were seeking to secure and lynch two Northern lawyers and an Alabama lawyer who had gone to Tuscaloosa to appear for the Negroes. Only the bayonets and the ingenuity of the Alabama national guard made it possible for the attorneys to escape from the courthouse and to the train for Birmingham.

It has been many years now since the South was incensed by Henry Cabot Lodge's description of it as "a shotgun civilization," but such ferocious prejudice as Alabama displays will convince many that there remains at least a modicum of truth in his harsh charge.

In the Scottsboro case a world-wide indignation is making it more and more probable that justice will be secured for the Negro defendants in spite of Alabama juries but whoever hopes that justice can be secured in this new case, with a national guard equal only by chance and ingenuity to the mob around the courthouse, is hopeful indeed.

Alabama which already injured the reputation of all Southern justice seems intent upon continuing to make Southern justice seem only the product of violence and prejudice in the eyes of the world.

Spartanburg, S. C., Herald
July 7, 1933

An Atrocious Crime

Governor Blackwood is quoted as having said the death of the negro who was taken from the Clinton jail was not a case of lynching but one of murder. Whether it was lynching or murder matters little. It was a dastardly crime and one which shocked all law abiding citizens of South Carolina.

The case will be recorded as a lynching and South Carolina will appear on the list of states which have had lynchings in 1933. It is hoped that the state constables detailed by the governor to investigate the crime may succeed in running down the guilty parties and bringing them to justice. The people of the state are sickened by such displays of lawlessness.

Charleston, S. C., News & Courier
July 10, 1933

Not a "Lynching"

When four persons kidnap another and kill him, whether by shooting or hanging him, why call it a "lynching?"

It is grossly unfair to Clinton, to Laurens county, to South Carolina, to describe the taking of a negro, secretly, from the town jail in Clinton and the killing of him as the action of a considerable part of any community, and unless it was that it could not have been a "lynching." It was in fact an assassination, and to speak of it as a "lynching" is to imply that it had popular encouragement, hence to excuse in some degree the assassins. Whether or not they should be, lynchers are not held to be quite the vile and infamous creatures that assassins are.

A quartette is not enough to be a mob. Were every killing by four or five or a dozen murderers who "make their getaway," in Chicago, reported as a "lynching" that town would be the lynching capital also of the uncivilized world.

Not the slightest evidence is offered that the cowardly murder of the negro in Clinton had the aid or sympathy of the people of Clinton or of Laurens county. It was a slaying easily done by four persons who in the darkness abducted a man from undefended prison. They did not "lynch" the man—they "took him for a ride," in the manner of Chicago thugs.

Columbia, S. C. State
July 8, 1933

The Governor Challenged.

Regarding the execution of private vengeance by four white men upon a Negro whom they took from the town lockup at Clinton and murdered, because in an altercation he had struck a white man, who like himself had driven a truck to Lake Murray with holiday passengers, the Charleston Evening Post says:

> **"The governor has ordered an investigation. That is all that will come of the matter."**

The State is not prepared, from its observation of Governor Blackwood's official acts, to prejudge so severely his reaction to a peculiarly unwarranted and atrocious crime. The State, rather, hopes, indeed believes, that the governor will use the disposable facilities to press vigorously the investigation, for the prosecution of which he is especially equipped, by reason of his experience upstate as a circuit solicitor.

Whether the governor discriminates rightly, in saying this was not a lynching but a murder, is a matter of legal definition, in which the county of Laurens may be interested to the extent of $2,000; since the county, if it be held a lynching, is liable in damages in that sum to the heirs of the slain Negro. Such a verdict was recovered several years ago against Oconee, because of a lynching at the countyseat; although, so far as The State is aware, the persons entitled to it have not as yet received the money.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
STATE

JUL 8 1933

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Florence, S. C., News
July 9, 1933

CALLS FOR ACTION

Call it murder or call it lynching, Laurens county has received most undesirable publicity throughout the country because four white men seeking vengeance, forcibly removed a young negro from a jail the other day and wantonly slew him. The only reason given so far for the horrible crime against law and humanity is that in an argument the Negro boy had struck a white man. Of course the beating and the hanging of the Negro was nothing short of the most brutal murder, but in South Carolina when a prisoner is removed from the hands of the law and killed whether by gunshot or at the ropes end, it is generally accepted as a lynching and the deed is marked down against county and state as an everlasting blot. Moreover, the county in which the lynching occurs is liable in damages to heirs of the victim in the sum of $2.000. Laurens county citizens have always shown the highest respect for the law of the land. In every community, however, there are those who rise sooner or later to bring calumny upon their people. The Governor has ordered a rigid investigation of the Laurens incident and there is reason to believe that he will receive every assistance from the people of Laurens

Tuscumbia, Ala., Reporter
August 17, 1933

THE TUSCALOOSA LYNCHINGS

Another blot has been placed upon the fair name of Alabama in the lynching of two negroes and the wounding of another near Tuscaloosa the other night, but we commend Judge Foster for his promptness in summoning a special grand jury to probe the unfortunate affair, and Governor Miller in furnishing state troops promptly.

The consensus of opinion is that the lynchings were caused by northern agitators and the Reporter believes this intrepretation to be true. In commenting upon the causes leading up to the mob law, the Montgomery Journal wisely says:

"Men who take the law into their own hands invariably subject their state to criticism. No matter how strong the temptation, how bitter the feeling, how gross the crime committed, good citizenship demands always that the courts be relied upon to render justice. Mob rule is the rule of the jungle, never excusable or tolerable among civilized peoples.

"Alabama has been sorely misrepresented in recent months by irresponsible non-resident trouble makers, and Alabama has preserved her temper admirably under unusual provocation. Tuscaloosa county men who took the law in their own hands Saturday night added to the state's difficult problem, because they will subject the entire state to undeserved criticism.

"Outside trouble makers have done their best to goad hotheads into something of this kind. Now they will gloat over it. These outsiders are directly responsible for what occurred Saturday night and upon them must rest the blame for goading intemperate men to summary action. Race relations in Alabama will continue to be satisfactory to the members of both races if some kind of restraint can be placed upon publicity-seeking, trouble-making agitators from outside the state."

SUMPTER, S. C.
ITEM

OCT 27 1933

GRIM REMINDERS

The dark and horrible depths which human nature can contain never are revealed more frightfully than in stories of lynchings.

The latest—the affair in Maryland, where a mob broke into a jail, dragged out an accused negro, and hanged him—is a case in point.

After the negro had been hanged and the body burned, news dispatches relate, "the rope was cut into small pieces and distributed as souvenirs among members of the mob."

Just what kind of person is it, do you suppose, who would enjoy having a souvenir of that kind?

For a glimpse of human nature ... at its lowest, that paragraph about the distribution of those bits of rope is about as horrifying as anything the newspapers have printed in a long time.

Lynchings-1933 6 Discussions.

White Press, Southern

4081

Headland, Ala., Farmer
August 31, 1933

Southerners of the better class are denying themselves when they decline to meet these Brown Americans (mulattoes) on terms of social equality.—An Official of the Rosenwald Foundation.

No responsible newspaper that is acquainted with the subject relishes the task of writing on the salient aspects of the Race Problem as it exists in Alabama at the present moment. But, always distasteful, right now the duty of the State newspapers to say something is clear enough.

The present crisis in race relationships has been precipitated by one Tom Brown, colored, of Decatur, who, deciding that he should like to immortalize himself, attacked a white woman. Tom, doubtless, had heard of the Scottsboro and Tuscaloosa Cases. Nothing, he probably decided, could ever be done with the Scottsboro Boys, and even if the Tuscaloosa negroes, Pippen and Harden, charged with attacking and brutally slaying a white girl, had been shot to death by a "mob," they had had their Big Day, hadn't they? The uniformed troops, with their shining accoutrements, had guarded them, the big lawyers had come from the North to defend these dullest of brutes, and even in death they were extolled and made much of. Knowing negroes, we are wondering if Tom wasn't vastly impressed by this show. He, too, could become the center of attraction; his picture would be published on the front pages of the big papers, and big New York lawyers would plead for him, and denounce the jury, if not the judge, while State troops held the "vicious whites" at bay.

Some such ideas as those unquestionably flitted through Tom's dim intelligence. And at the present moment Tom is being guarded by the white troops, the big lawyers are gathering to see that he isn't "legally lynched," and the big papers, losing sight of the fact that, not the "bewhiskered and filthy bigots" but Tom himself started this grisly epic, are rallying to Tom's defense.

The whole matter, clearly enough, is being put forward on the wrong foot. There is not room here to go into it fully, but it could be shown, we think, that promotion of the disorders at Scottsboro, Decatur, Tuscaloosa, and now Anniston, is directly traceable to two chief sources—the Communists and the so-called American Liberals.

Of the two, the Communists are the less offensive and troublesome. The program which they would introduce into the South is too fantastic for serious consideration. The Great American Liberal, however, is a horse of another color. It is he who laid the foundations which the Communists so pleasantly appropriated to their own uses. Without looking into practical details, these Liberals, in that off-hand manner of theirs, assume that the Negro (written always with a capital) is being outrageously exploited by Southern whites. The negro is robbed systematically, it seems, of his earnings; the courts discriminate against him; by a technical process he is denied the ballot, and by the rule of Do It he is denied the pleasures and satisfactions of social equality. That, briefly, is the Liberal's case against Southerners. The Rosenwald official quoted above, for instance, presumes to think that Southerners are missing a good deal by excluding the "Brown Americans" from their social affairs.

Responsible and informed Alabama newspapers join hands with the Liberals at one point in the criss-cross roads: They know that illegal executions even of confessed rapists is a dangerous practice because inflamed emotions get out of hand. But responsible and informed Southern newspapers that don't bootlick the Northern leaders of "liberal" opinion know also that, whether these Liberals are aware of it or not, and regarless of their pretensions, they are at this very moment engaged in the promotion of "more and better lynchings." It is that they haven't the sense to keep their big mouths shut in delicate situations.

The Liberal Press, exemplified in the South by the Birmingham Age-Herald, has an engaging theory, if there is room here to go into that—a theory which is aimed at "old-stock" Americans. This theorem contemplates that there is nothing in science to justify the assumption that one race of mankind is superior to any other race. A corolary, innocently enough, has it that if there IS any difference, then all the advantages lie with the "older races." You see, we lose either way. First, racial discriminations are ridiculous, not being founded in science; and then, since we have no "inheritances and traditions," we are sadly lacking in that "cultural background" for which the representatives of the darker races are so justly noted!

Any pretensions of racial superiority on our part, the Liberals tell themselves and educated negroes, is nonsense, and should be treated as such.

So, in a desultory sort of way the Belief of the Liberal as it applies to race has been stated. Ever since the nine negro hoboes were detrained in Morgan County we have been witnessing the practical application of that belief. The technic involves the immediate shunting into the background of the crime, no matter how atrocious, after which comes the big play for "justice" for some Negro Youth or other—a justice, it may be said, which shall be dictated from New York, or Chicago, or Petrograd.

as it applies to race has been stated. Ever since the nine
from New York, or Chicago, or Petrograd. Guilt or innocence seems to have nothing to do with the case; the defendant should be released on general principles.

Youths—that's where it all leads. While admitting that we

Jackson and Morgan Counties have been all but bankrupted by the expenses incident to the Scottsboro Trials. Three murderous colored ruffians added to the bill at Tuscaloosa. Now the State troops are protecting still another rapist at Anniston. Due very largely to the action of the Liberal Press in piling more fuel on the fire, we are getting along swimmingly! Not content with the troops at Anniston, the Age-Herald, adopting the tactics of the Communists, practically demands of the Governor that he assume personal responsibility for this wretched Brown negro. Says that faithful echo of Mr. Adolph Ochs' New York Times:

"It is fairly clear that the unrelaxed vigilance of a large body of soldiers will be needed before this unfortunate business is concluded. . . . The troops are in service, we must assume, by reason of orders from the Military Department. But that is hardly enough evidence of the concern of the State Government. A statement from the Governor would prove immensely efficacious in quieting excitement and in assuring a disposition of the Brown case which could be regarded as an expression of real Alabama Justice."

More and more soldiers, more and more of the new liberalistic jargon, more and more martyred Negro Youths—that's where it all leads. By admitting that we have disgraced ourselves we must somehow manage to keep the State's record "free from further defilements." The editorial writer who thinks more of his reputation among Northern Liberals than he does of tense local situations has passed beyond the bounds of hypocrisy and for better or worse has definitely crossed over into that dark habitation of the traitor.

Consider the "Negro youths" shouting insulting re-

marks at the white boys on the way to Chicago; consider the Age-Herald's sanctimonious efforts to "keep the State's record free from further defilement;" and then consider the sage words of he Rosenwald official with respect to Southern whites and these talented and charming "Brown Americans"—and then, and not until then, will you be able to form a more or less clear picture of the part-farce and part-tragedy that is being enacted within our gates.

A thing for the negro to consider is a recent statement of an American Admiral after the courts had bungled a rape case and assassination had resulted. Said he, bluntly: "White men will not stand for the violation of their women."

Advertiser 11-7-33 Montgomery Ala.

ALABAMA CONDEMNS MOB MURDER

Mob violence in itself is a crime. It provokes rather than restrains other crimes. As an enemy of the law it casts aside the restraints upon human passion which our English-speaking people have rationally developed during their long history. It represents not the orderly will of the majority as expressed through the mandates of law, but the inflamed and irrational hatreds of the few.

The most extreme form of mob violence is lynching. The taking of the life of a human being without affording him a hearing at the bar of justice is not merely to deprive him of his natural rights. It is more. It disrupts the harmonious relationships of the community and results in hatreds that lead to further disrespect of the law and of its normal procedures. It too often results in the growth of antagonistic minorities whose presence creates alarms and fears. It deprives the members of a community of their sense of security and their confidence in the ability of the community to afford every accused individual a fair trial in advance of the admnistration of justice.

Lynching is an affront to the dignity and sovereignty of the commonwealth. A small group of individuals set themselves up as arbiters superior to the state and its laws. They conceive themselves as endowed with wisdom greater than that possessed by a well-developed organized judicial system. Yet it is obvious that the lynching mob is not governed by calm and rational thought, but by sheer and unrestrained emotion built upon pre-conceived ideas which the mob is unwilling to subject to the scrutiny of recognized legal procedure.

As our civilization has developed, lynchings in the United States have shown a steady and marked decrease. This decrease has been especially marked in recent decades. State and local governments have come to realize more and more that the majesty of the law and their own dignity must not be violated by the lawless violence of minority groups.

The mob faces backwards. Its point of view is not only criminal, but belongs to a dark and receding past now happily almost forgotten. No modern community can afford to tolerate lynching. No fair-minded and law-abiding community, bent on protecting all its citizens, will permit such a crime to go unchallenged. No sovereign state can allow such a violation of its peace and dignity to go unpunished.

Thus did Judge Henry B. Foster conclude his charge to the special Tuscaloosa County Grand Jury called to investigate the lynchings of Dan Pippen, Jr., and A. T. Harden.

Judge Foster spoke not merely for the Circuit Court of Tuscaloosa County, not merely for the State Courts of Alabama. He spoke for the courts of civilization, for all courts in which justice is guaranteed for all—for the humble and lowly as well as the rich and powerful.

No editorial brands lynching for what it is as does Judge Foster's direct charge to the men called to investigate and bring to justice the hot heads who brought shame on the people of Alabama. No truth is stated plainer than in Judge Foster's charge.

Withering editorials deploring the mob murder have appeared in newspapers throughout the country—but no outside condemnation of the lynchings has been as withering as that of the Alabama press.

John Temple Graves, II, in The Birmingham Age-Herald says: "The Blocton lynchings have brought upon Alabama more shame than can be covered by any alibi. It is probably true that Pippen and Harden would not have been murdered if the International Labor Defense League had not attempted to interfere in the case."

"But," says Mr. Graves, "the disgrace which every civilized Alabamian must feel today for this crime against the law and good name of his State cannot be covered by such an excuse. . ."

The Birmingham News, as most other Alabama newspapers condemns the crime and reminds Alabamians that though the International Labor Defense may share in the guilt—that the actual murder was done by Alabamians. The Birmingham Post calls for protection of the Negro who escaped the mob and the relentless prosecution of the men who killed the two prisoners.

Regretting the unfortunate happening, The Opelika Daily News concludes its leading editorial with:

Unthinking ones may in some instances condone mob violence and even proclaim their satisfaction in certain cases. Those who think, and maintain deep allegiance to their state never seriously feel this way. The popular sway of the imagination often follows eagerly incidents surrounding such occurrences. The feeling of vengeance and outrage sometimes gets the best of us in our unguarded moments. Cool reflection, however, checks the emotion and we quickly find ourselves again. Law and order MUST PREVAIL or all of us are lost.

There will be much said and written about Alabama on the heels of this unfortunate Tuscaloosa occurrence. And if we be truthful, it will to some extent be justified. But we can largely erase the blemish by a thorough "cleaning up" process, and by properly safeguarding life in the future. This lynching doesn't reflect the predominent thought; it doesn't represent the true idealism of the state.

Says The Talladega Daily Home: "There can be no justification for flaunting the jurisdiction of the courts and committing murder even to show such a despicable outfit as the I. L. D. whose concern is not for the Negroes, that it is not wanted in Alabama. . . "

The Anniston Star asks in its editorial caption: "Were Officers Negligent in Protecting Prisoners?"

The Anniston paper says: "Aside from the fact that the officers might have obtained National Guard troops to aid in guarding the negroes, it seems that there was needless delay in getting them out of Tuscaloosa when threats were being heard and there were persistent rumors that an attack would be made by a mob on the jail Saturday night. It has been suggested that the prisoners should have been taken away for safekeeping when the trial was continued the other day after a disturbance arose as a result of the presence of the I. L. D. attorneys. But, anyway, there had been reports throughout Saturday, according to press dispatches, that an attempt would be made to take the negroes from jail that night and the officers had plenty of time to prepare to meet the attack."

Judge Foster in his charge to the Grand Jury asked that indictment be brought against any person or persons either directly or indirectly responsible for the lynchings.

No outside protests are these. No squawks from half-baked sentimentalists fro mafar, are these pleas; no criticism by ignorant and misled outside critics are these indictments. They come from Alabamians who realize the shame that has been brought down on themselves and their fellows by their own neighbors.

Let us forget the embarrassment we have suffered at the hands of outsiders now that the outside world has agreed that the I. L. D. shares our blame. Let us forget that others do share the blame.

The Advertiser perhaps has used more space warning the outside trouble-makers to stay out of Alabama than any other paper in the State. It will continue to do so when it believes such warnings should prevent trouble.

But right now The Advertiser is concerned with Alabama setting its own house in order.

Respectable Alabamians have spoken. They have cried out against the mob murders.

A State that does not or cannot offer protection to the most lowly of its residents does not deserve the right to call itself a sovereign State.

GREENSBORO, N. C.
NEWS
NOV 5 1933

"THE CURE FOR LYNCHING."

Editor of The Daily News:

The lynching practice is becoming alarming again throughout the nation. Our dear President Roosevelt is so busy with world adjustments and the NRA that he hasn't time to give attention to this evil in our midst. But we all know that Mr. Roosevelt regrets this horrible practice here in the early part of his administration. I believe our solution is correct for the cure of the evil as practiced on my people, negroes. White men will not tolerate insult in any form upon their females by negro males. This is a foregone conclusion, and negroes everywhere must learn and know this. It is very important that negro males learn what the white man considers an insult or an outrage upon his females. It ranges from disputation on down to inhuman outrage.

In our schools, both Sunday and day too, our negro boys must be taught and trained to do and say nothing that will lead to the least offense to our white people; living day by day from the very suspicion and appearance of evil, that would call for mob and speedy punishment. I don't believe that negroes deporting themselves aright in these lines will be molested by our powerful and dominant neighbors. The race needs this special education for the purpose of stamping out lynching. The white people could help us by seeing to it that every negro child between the ages of six and 20 stay in school till he learns how to take care of himself in our complex nation. I expect others may see a different solution but I feel sure that our solution will work. I notice that it is the illiterate groups charged with these heinous and brutish outrages here and there. Not our men with education and moral fiber, who read papers and support a church, but the thoughtless fools of the race.

The Maryland lynching was most barbarous, but an outrage had been perpetrated; and men forgot the law. Negroes, everywhere, learn to take care of yourself, and posses that moral fiber, that will put us beyond suspicion with the white people.

J. BURTON HARPER.

Rocky Mount.

White Press, Southern.

Lynchings - 1933
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Fayetteville, N. C. Observer
September 16, 1933

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THE LAW COMES FIRST

Pender county citizens, angered by the adverse publicity given them and their county on account of the lynching of Dock Rogers, a negro, are flooding the papers of the State with letters of protest, alleging the matter was magnified in the press and Pender county and its citizens shown in a false light.

For one thing they insist that the mutilated body of the negro was not dragged through the streets of Burgaw before having been dumped on the court house lawn.

For another thing the sheriff repudiates the statement attributed to him that he "did not know what to do" at the time of the lynching, declaring that when the wounded negro was dragged from the truck on which he was being carried to town, he, the sheriff, was in an automobile some sixty yards back.

Accepting these statements at par, little credit is reflected either on the county or the sheriff.

There is the fact of the lynching that is impossible to excuse away.

There is the fact that the sheriff was not with his prisoner, where he should have been.

There is the fact that the bullet-ridden body was taken to Burgaw, dumped in public view, and witnessed by hundreds of morbid persons with apparently no official effort made to prevent the gruesome exhibition.

As for the negro, he appears to have been a bad, drunken character whose desperate acts were calculated to bring about his death legally or extra-legally.

They did.

It was not so much Dock Rogers who was lynched as it was the law.

Even if Pender county feels it can afford to have the law lynched it is no reason for the lynchers to go unpunished for the crime the lynchers committed was not against Pender county but against the State of North Carolina.

The Pender lynchers jeopardized justice for every North Carolinian who has a case in court. Justice should make them feel its teeth.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
September 27, 1933

TUSCALOOSANS who denounce or resent critical comment on the three lynchings with which their city and county have been identified in recent weeks are not proper representatives of their community's exceptionally fine culture and history, it seems to us. There are times when shame is the only proper expression of pride and when the facing of an ugly fact is the only way to escape hopeless identification with that fact. No one believes that the seven stupidly righteous men who murdered a Negro last Sunday morning or the hidden-faced zealots who riddled two other Negroes with bullets a few weeks ago are typical of Tuscaloosa. On the contrary, it is in the conviction that these men are not typical of Tuscaloosa that the enlightened voice of Alabama is calling upon Tuscaloosa to discover and punish the murderers.

* * *

There were six or seven men involved in the killing of Dennis Cross. There were as many or more involved in the killing of Pippen and Harden. Each of these men has friends, relatives, confidants and acquaintances. It is fair to assume that at least 100 people in Tuscaloosa County know the identity of one or more of the participants in the three lynchings. That is too great a number to keep a secret against a genuinely determined effort to uncover the secret. Tuscaloosa's good name depends today upon no selfconscious defenses or denunciations. It depends upon the discovery and punishment of the men who have made of that name a date line for two shameful stories.

Charlotte, N. C., News
September 26, 1933

Hairtrigger Lynchers.

Hitherto it has been understood, a sort of no gentlemen's agreement, that black brothers merited a lynching at the hands of their superiors only when they had committed a really serious or unmentionable crime against the children of Shem and Japheth. When white men in South Carolina lynched a Negro for having struck one of their friends we began to fear that the code was being revised. Now that Alabama turns up with a roadside execution inspired by what seems to have been a misdemeanor, we are sure of it.

This brings on complications. The officers of the law in Southern towns and cities are forewarned of trouble when a Negro commits a lynchable crime, so that they may spirit him away to an unannounced citadel where he will be safe until it comes time for the state to dispatch him. If, as seems to have become fashionable in Alabama and South Carolina, the exalted race commences to lynch Negroes just because it disapproves of their conduct in general, it may be necessary to equip every rural jail with cannon and machine guns, which would involve an enormous expense.

Obviously there is no way by which those whose impatience with crime among the Negroes leads them to deal out death so impartially can be made to pay for whatever increased protection they make necessary. It is no use to seek to learn their identities through investigations, for it has been shown time and time again that investigaions prove nothing except the futility of investigations. Maybe if we should order the machine guns first and dispense with the investigations later the thing would be a standoff.

Dothan, Ala. Eagle
September 23, 1933

A LESSON IN HOW TO STOP LYNCHINGS

Fifteen days after two Negroes robbed a Montgomerian and attempted to criminally assault his woman companion, they had been hunted down, captured, tried, convicted and sentenced to the electric chair, where they belong.

This is the most effective means at our disposal to discourage mobs.

Delay, red tape, appeals, delay, and more delay in one case of this kind after another, is the greatest single reason for mobs taking the law into their own hands. There are other reasons, of course, such as the intolerable nature of the crime and meddling by such organizations as the I. L. D.

But SWIFT and CERTAIN legal justice in every case of this character will make lynching a rarity.

Opelika, Ala. News
September 26, 1933

MOB RULE BROADENS ITS INFLUENCE, TUSCALOOSA COUNTY

Before the investigation of one lynching party in Tuscaloosa county ends, another is staged and as a result matters are more complicated than ever, with the odds favoring a general "whitewash" of both affairs. If it does turn out this way it is to be deeply regretted. Lynching in this country cannot be condoned; such is unthinkable. However, we ask in all sincerity, if nothing comes of the probes of Tuscaloosa's lynchings, what to do about it?

There is unquestionably a strong remaining tendency to have rule of man rather than rule of law, an apparently undying relic of pioneer days. All right to have a law and have the people obey the law so long as nothing special comes up; then, if interesting enough, men take the matter in their own hands. And "zowie" goes the law.

This is done even in the courts when juries sometimes ignore instructions and evidence and render verdicts from their own minds—yea, prejudiced minds. But we can't have perfection yet in all things, so it might be well to accept matters philosophically. Yet, we can hope that the day will come when lynchings will be no more; that is one objective we can keep an eye to, and maybe we shall see it and maybe we shall not. Whether or no, it will be the right state, the just state and the safe state.

Asheville, N. C., Times
September 14, 1933

Editorial Reaction

LYNCHING PREFERRED
(Charlotte News)

Little as we like this lynching business with which the South—along with other sections of this land of the free and home of the brave—continues to degrade itself, we trust the Pender county horror was just that instead of what some have claimed it to be. There seems to be no doubt that a Negro who was, apparently quite properly, shot down by a posse was dragged about the courthouse of Burgaw by a mob which had taken him from duly constituted authority. Some say it was the dragging which helped to drive out the breath of life from his body; others that he was dead at the hands of authorized representatives of law and order before a plowline was hitched to him. The coroner's jury contents itself with reporting that deceased came to his death at the hands of unknown parties.

Governor Ehringhaus offers in the name of the state $200 reward for the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the lynching if any. He ought to pass the hat for a raising of the ante if it should prove, as some Penderites insist, that the Negro was dead while his broken body was being trailed about the temple of justice. Lynchers, God knows, are bad enough; but if there are in North Carolina some of the tribe of ghouls, it behooves the last single one of us to do something about it.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
September 15, 1933

Why We Still Have Lynchings In The South

The Birmingham News prints herewith a letter which it is very loath to publish. The writer of the letter not only condones the barbarous crime of lynching, but upholds it, approves it, and even, in effect, demands its practice. We publish the letter only in order to reply to it, first apologizing to readers for offending their sensibilities by the injection of so abhorrent a viewpoint and such intemperate and inflammatory language into these columns.

"To the Editor The News:

"The persistent attempts of The News, through its editorial columns, to arouse sympathy for the vile black rapist by picturing his mental sufferings in dreading summary punishment at the hands of outraged white men (dubbed 'the mob'), and the studied indifference to the shame and sufferings of his white-woman victim, calls for the severest condemnation of white men who deem protection of virtuous women worthy of all effort. While The News devotes columns, almost daily, to excoriation of white men who would bring swift and exemplary punishment upon the black beast that commits this intolerable crime against those whom white men hold dearest, there is entire absence of sympathy for the white victims of the brutal Negro's lust and savagery. Nowhere is there to be found a line of regret for the horrible crime, or sympathy for the unfortunate victim and her relatives; nor a single word of warning to the roving black beasts that lie in wait (unrestrained by law) to prey upon weak and defenseless women with an outrage worse than death itself.

"Instead, we find a coddling commiseration for the black beast that despoils white womanhood; a rejoicing when safety for him is found behind prison bars, and bitter denunciation for white men who would put a stop to such crimes by removing the cause—promptly putting to death the vile black beast that, alone of all races, is prone to commit such outrages against white women. This particular crime is without provocation that may attend uncontrollable anger, and is inexcusable in the sight of God! Borrow a Bible and find out what God Almighty says about dealing with this particular crime, when committed by one of the woman's own race—how much more severely He would condemn the black beast who violates a white woman! Turn to the 22nd chapter of Deuteronomy, and read that God decress the rapist shall be "stoned to death by the people" (not the elders or judges, corresponding to our courts of law) —'the mob,' as the mulatto-minded press of Alabama so scathingly describes those avengers, acting under the will of God, to rid the land of the vilest form of pollution possible to imagine!

"If the press of Alabama and other Southern States, will use half of the editorial space now devoted to sympathy for the Negro rapist to condemnation of that particular crime which incites white men to lynching (as God directs), and the other half to warning the Negro that he must keep hands off the white women of the South, there will be more done to stop lynching than all the hysteria over punishment (miscalled 'vengeance') meted out where the law is impotent to protect the weak. Respect between the citizens of a state and its laws should be mutual, reciprocal, and respect should not be demanded for a law which fails to protect the white women of Alabama against the roving black beast that the law is impotent to control. Yes, lynching must stop; but the way to stop it is to remove the cause!

"When the skulking Indian savage slew white women and children, their men-folks wrought sure and terrible punishment—approved by history. Why should not similar action prevail against the skulking savage Negro beast who imposes worse-than-death upon innocent, defenseless white women? When the law restrains these black beasts from roving at will and lying in wait to despoil white women, then it will be time for this law to demand respect from white men. Until the law proves able to protect our white women against attacks from the black beast, it is certain that such cases will continue to be handled in the God-ordained court of Judge Lynch—interracial organization and a mulatto-minded press to the contrary notwithstanding.
"Childersburg, Ala. DEMPS A. ODEN."
"Copy to Gov. Miller.)"

* * * *

Here we have the reason, in the last analysis, why lynchings still take place in the South. It is because such men as Mr. Demps A. Oden give lynching their sanction. It is because such men as Mr. Oden, occupying positions of influence and respectability in the lives of their communities, condone what should be condemned.

Men like Mr. Oden would hardly be found participating in a lynching mob themselves. But the knowledge that such men approve of this brutal and hideous practice spurs the actual lynchers on, and at the same time inevitably lessens the effectiveness of law in the effort to prevent this crime or to bring the guilty ones to justice after a lynching has been committe; for public opinion must stand solidly behind a law if it is to be observed and enforced.

There are many men in Alabama like Mr. Oden—and that is why The News believes that some good may come from exposing his viewpoints, as unpleasant as it is to do so, and meeting it with a reasoned appeal to intelligence and civilized decency. It is true that men like Mr. Oden are greatly in the minority in Alabama and in other Southern States; but numerically they are many, and their influence is felt. If it were not for the fact that a small body of public opinion supports them in their slinking, dastardly acts, mobs would not dare to defy the law and commit their crimes against society.

Mr. Oden defends the right to lynch. That is an astounding thing. Yet it is because some men would not stoop to it themselves, that others, more ignorant and more bestial, believing them, go forth and kill.

What right has any group of men to lynch any man, in a civilized society governed by laws? Most people will readily deny that there is any right to lynch, and will require no proof. But let us examine the question from several standpoints.

* * * *

If lynching were right, could we not expect, on a question so simple and clear-cut, to find a majority public opinion supporting that view? Yet all the evidence will show that the majority opinion holds that lynching is wrong. For example, in all the States, Legislatures representative of the popular will have enacted laws proclaiming lynching a crime and providing for its punishment. Grand Juries, likewise representative of the public, act whenever they can to bring lynchers to justice, and strongly condemn the practice in any case. No Legislature or no Grand Jury could be found a majority of whose members would uphold lynching. Again, the press, reflecting public opinion, is practically a unit in denouncing lynchings, wherever they occur. There can be no doubt that the majority public opinion everywhere in this country opposes lynching; it is only a small minority opinion that upholds it, and a still smaller minority that practices it.

What right has any mob to take the law into its own hands, and act as prosecutor, jury, judge and executioner all in one? There could be no impartial fairness in such a proceeding, and what is unfair cannot be right. We have laws and courts to administer justice, and they are reasonably efficient. There is necessity for so-called mob "law."

Mr. Oden says the "court of Judge Lynch" is "God-ordained." He quotes from the Bible to show that it is right in the sight of God to lynch a rapist. The Bible also sanctions the burning of witches, but we daresay that even Mr. Oden does not believe in witch-burning. "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," says Exodus 22:18, and as a consequence of that command accredited to God, but long since discredited by common sense and human feeling, many thousands of innocent, helpless unfortunates were burned to death during some of the dark centuries in the world's history. No more should common sense and human feeling tolerate lynching on Biblical grounds.

Mr. Oden believes also that because the early white men in this country "wrought sure and terrible punishment" on the savage Indians, we Southerners are justified in lynching Negroes. But there is no comparison between taking men from the hands of the law to lynch them, and fighting Indians in a pioneer region where there was no organized society and no law worthy of the name. At least, the Indians had an opportunity to fight back.

The slanders about the "studied indifference" of The News to the suffering of a rapist's victim and the "mulatto-minded press of Alabama" hardly deserve notice. The sensitivity of any person to such an outrage requires no stressing; in any tragedy of that kind sympathy is taken for granted. And as for the attitude of the Alabama press toward lynching, it is to the eternal credit of the influential newspapers of this State, and of the South, that they have not merely stood virtually united against the practice, but that they have so vigorously championed the cause of law and order and opposed all forms of mob violence.

Lynching has never yet curbed any sort of crime. In the nature of things it cannot, because, being a criminal act itself, it only tends to break down all law and order. Lynching is anarchy in action. At one time there were as many as 24 lynchings in Alabama in a single year—in fact, that number in two successive years, 1891 and 1892. Does anyone believe that conditions were improved by those lynchings? Does anyone believe that there was less of crime and outrage in Alabama then than there was, for example, during the 10-year period ending with 1932, when six of the ten years were free of lynchings, and there was only one lynching in each of the other four?

Let all who may be inclined to believe as Mr. Oden believes remember that white men as well as Negroes are lynched; there were, in fact, many years in this country's history when more white men by far were lynched than Negroes. Let them remember that far more lynchings are committed for other crimes than for rape. And let them remember it has been definitely ascertained that sometimes innocent persons have been the victims of mob violence. When this form of anarchy prevails, it does not matter what may be a man's race or color, what the nature of the crime of which he is suspected, or whether he is guilty or innocent. If the viewpoint of Mr. Oden were generally held, no man could count himself safe; we would have a repetition of the injustice and cruelty of the witch-burning era, when the identity of the next victim depended on nothing more than the whim of the mob.

As long as people upheld the right to burn witches, thousands of innocent men and women were tortured to death each year—and the grand total of victims was a frightful number.

It is only a few years since Alabama was outraged by a series of brutal floggings. Then there were those who upheld the right to flog. Public opinion arose in indignation, and the right to flog ceased to be a question. Then the flogging evil disappeared.

As long as there are men like Mr. Oden who uphold the right to lynch, there will be lynchings. We will have no more lynchings in the South when there is no appreciable body of public opinion left which defends the right to lynch.—Birmingham News.

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
September 26, 1933

Near a University

TUSCALOOSA County, Alabama, is the seat of the University of Alabama. And yet, within two months it has been the scene of two lynchings, each of which occurred on a Sunday morning.

In August, two Negroes were taken from officers one Sunday morning and lynched. Last Sunday, six men, posing as officers, went to the home of a Negro and lynched him.

The lynchings shame all Alabama, but especially Tuscaloosa, which boasts of culture. The Home Extension Service of the University of Alabama badly needs improvement.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4083

Why We Still Have Lynchings In The South

The Birmingham News prints herewith a letter which it is very loath to publish. The writer of the letter not only condones the barbarous crime of lynching, but upholds it, approves it, and even, in effect, demands its practice. We publish the letter only in order to reply to it, first apologizing to readers for offending their sensibilities by the injection of so abhorrent a viewpoint and such intemperate and inflammatory language into these columns.

9-15-33

"To the Editor The News:

"The persistent attempts of The News, through its editorial columns, to arouse sympathy for the vile black rapist by picturing his mental sufferings in dreading summary punishment at the hands of outraged white men (dubbed 'the mob'), and its studied indifference to the shame and sufferings of his white-woman victim, calls for the severest condemnation of white men who deem protection of virtuous women worthy of all effort. While The News devotes columns, almost daily, to excoriation of white men who would bring swift and exemplary punishment upon the black beast that commits this intolerable crime against those whom white men hold dearest, there is entire absence of sympathy for the white victims of the brutal Negro's lust and savagery. Nowhere is there to be found a line of regret for the horrible crime, or sympathy for the unfortunate victim and her relatives; nor a single word of warning to the roving black beasts that lie in wait (unrestrained by law) to prey upon weak and defenseless women with an outrage worse than death itself.

"Instead, we find a coddling commiseration for the black beast that despoils white womanhood; a rejoicing when safety for him is found behind prison bars, and bitter denunciation for white men who would put a stop to such crimes by removing the cause—promptly putting to death the vile black beast that, alone of all races, is prone to commit such outrages against white women. This particular crime is without provocation that may attend uncontrollable anger, and is inexcusable in the sight of God! Borrow a Bible and find out what God Almighty says about dealing with this particular crime, when committed by one of the woman's own race—how much more severely He would condemn the black beast who violates a white woman! Turn to the 22nd chapter of Deuteronomy, and read that God decress the rapist shall be "stoned to death by the people" (not the elders or judges, corresponding to our courts of law) —'the mob,' as the mulatto-minded press of Alabama so scathingly describes those avengers, acting under the will of God, to rid the land of the vilest form of pollution possible to imagine!

"If the press of Alabama and other Southern States, will use half of the editorial space now devoted to sympathy for the Negro rapist to condemnation of that particular crime which incites white men to lynching (as God directs), and the other half to warning the Negro that he must keep hands off the white women of the South, there will be more done to stop lynching than all the hysteria over punishment (miscalled 'vengeance') meted out where the law is impotent to protect the weak. Respect between the citizens of a state and its laws should be mutual, reciprocal, and respect should not be demanded for a law which fails to protect the white women of Alabama against the roving black beast that the law is impotent to control. Yes, lynching must stop; but the way to stop it is to remove the cause!

"When the skulking Indian savage slew white women and children, their men-folks wrought sure and terrible punishment—approved by history. Why should not similar action prevail against the skulking savage Negro beast who imposes worse-than-death upon innocent, defenseless white women? When the law restrains these black beasts from roving at will and lying in wait to despoil white women, then it will be time for this law to demand respect from white men. Until the law proves able to protect our white women against attacks from the black beast, it is certain that such cases will continue to be handled in the God-ordained court of Judge Lynch—interracial organization and a mulatto-minded press to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Childersburg, Ala. DEMPS A. ODEN."

"Copy to Gov. Miller.)"

* * * *

Here we have the reason, in the last analysis, why lynchings still take place in the South. It is because such men as Mr. Demps A. Oden give lynching their sanction. It is because such men as Mr. Oden, occupying positions of influence and respectability in the lives of their communities, condone what should be condemned.

Men like Mr. Oden would hardly be found participating in a lynching mob themselves. But the knowledge that such men approve of this brutal and hideous practice spurs the actual lynchers on, and at the same time inevitably lessens the effectiveness of law in the effort to prevent this crime or to bring the guilty ones to justice after a lynching has been committe; for public opinion must stand solidly behind a law if it is to be observed and enforced.

There are many men in Alabama like Mr. Oden—and that is why The News believes that some good may come from exposing his viewpoints, as unpleasant as it is to do so, and meeting it with a reasoned appeal to intelligence and civilized decency. It is true that men like Mr. Oden are greatly in the minority in Alabama and in other Southern States; but numerically they are many, and their influence is felt. If it were not for the fact that a small body of public opinion supports them in their slinking, dastardly acts, mobs would not dare to defy the law and commit their crimes against society.

Mr. Oden defends the right to lynch. That is an astounding thing. Yet it is because some men would not stoop to it themselves, that others, more ignorant and more bestial, believing them, go forth and kill.

What right has any group of men to lynch any man, in a civilized society governed by laws? Most people will readily deny that there is any right to lynch, and will require no proof. But let us examine the question from several standpoints.

If lynching were right, could we not expect, on a question so simple and clear-cut, to find a majority public opinion supporting that view? Yet all the evidence will show that the majority opinion holds that lynching is wrong. For example, in all the States, Legislatures representative of the popular will have enacted laws proclaiming lynching a crime and providing for its punishment. Grand Juries, likewise representative of the public, act whenever they can to bring lynchers to justice, and strongly condemn the practice in any case. No Legislature or no Grand Jury could be found a majority of whose members would uphold lynching. Again, the press, reflecting public opinion, is practically a unit in denouncing lynchings, wherever they occur. There can be no doubt that the majority public opinion everywhere in this country opposes lynching; it is only a small minority opinion that upholds it, and a still smaller minority that practices it.

What right has any mob to take the law into its own hands, and act as prosecutor, jury, judge and executioner all in one? There could be no impartial fairness in such a proceeding, and what is unfair cannot be right. We have laws and courts to administer justice, and they are reasonably efficient. There is necessity for so-called mob "law."

Mr. Oden says the "court of Judge Lynch" is "God-ordained." He quotes from the Bible to show that it is right in the sight of God to lynch a rapist. The Bible also sanctions the burning of witches, but we daresay that even Mr. Oden does not believe in witch-burning. "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," says Exodus 22:18, and as a consequence of that command accredited to God, but long since discredited by common sense and human feeling, many thousands of innocent, helpless unfortunates were burned to death during some of the dark centuries in the world's history. No more should common sense and human feeling tolerate lynching on Biblical grounds.

Mr. Oden believes also that because the early white men in this country "wrought sure and terrible punishment" on the savage Indians, we Southerners are justified in lynching Negroes. But there is no comparison between taking men from the hands of the law to lynch them, and fighting Indians in a pioneer region where there was no organized society and no law worthy of the name. At least, the Indians had an opportunity to fight back.

The slanders about the "studied indifference" of The News to the suffering of a rapist's victim and the "mulatto-minded press of Alabama" hardly deserve notice. The sensitivity of any person to such an outrage requires no stressing; in any tragedy of that kind sympathy is taken for granted. And as for the attitude of the Alabama press toward lynching, it is to the eternal credit of the influential newspapers of this State, and of the South, that they have not merely stood virtually united against the practice, but that they have so vigorously championed the cause of law and order and opposed all forms of mob violence.

Lynching has never yet curbed any sort of crime. In the nature of things it cannot, because, being a criminal act itself, it only tends to break down all law and order. Lynching is anarchy in action. At one time there were as many as 24 lynchings in Alabama in a single year—in fact, that number in two successive years, 1891 and 1892. Does anyone believe that conditions were improved by those lynchings? Does anyone believe that there was less of crime and outrage in Alabama then than there was, for example, during the 10-year period ending with 1932, when six of the ten years were free of lynchings, and there was only one lynching in each of the other four?

Let all who may be inclined to believe as Mr. Oden believes remember that white men as well as Negroes are lynched; there were, in fact, many years in this country's history when more white men by far were lynched than Negroes. Let them remember that far more lynchings are committed for other crimes than for rape. And let them remember it has been definitely ascertained that sometimes innocent persons have been the victims of mob violence. When this form of anarchy prevails, it does not matter what may be a man's race or color, what the nature of the crime of which he is suspected, or whether he is guilty or innocent. If the viewpoint of Mr. Oden were generally held, no man could count himself safe; we would have a repetition of the injustice and cruelty of the witch-burning era, when the identity of the next victim depended on nothing more than the whim of the mob.

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Brooksville, Fla., Journal
September 21, 1933

SEVEN THOUSAND WOMEN PLEDGE TO ERADICATE MOB VIOLENCE

(By Lisbeth Parrott, in World Outlook for August.)

Women of the South, protesting against lynching, have turned to the churches as the most significant medium for the formation of public opinion. For, after all, the movement launched a ittle more than two years ago in Atlanta, which has now enrolled seven thousand Southern women, is purely educational in nature. The objective is the eradication of mob vioence—and the women wisely know that this aim can be accomplished only by the creation of widespread pubic opinion against the evil. Laws avail little if the moral force of the community does not stand solidly behind them.

As the churches are the "arbiters of moral standards and the conservators of human values," they have a major responsibility in the creation of such a weight of public opinion that the lawless will not dare to assert their disrespect for human life through mob violence.

Since this country, a Christian nation, is the only civilized nation in the world in which lynchings occur, the women of the South are caling upon their own congregations, and the congregations of every community, to definitely stand against such a barbaric practice as lynching.

Lynching is not only destructive of all principles of government, debasing and degrading to every person involved, but it is hostile to ideals of religion and humanity, these women assert. We are repeatedly assured that stories of torture of defenseless humans at the hands of frenzied mobs are told in foreign countries with horror and seriously handicap the work of our missionaries.

Let us review briefly the history of the anti-lynching movement among Southern women. In November, 1930, at the call of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Director of Women's Work for the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, a small band of women from eight Southern states assembled in Atlanta. They drew up a declaration which has since guided their efforts and clarified their purposes:

"We declare lynching is an indefensible crime, destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved. Though lynchings are not confined to any one section of the United States, we are aroused by the record which discloses our heavy responsibility for the presence of this crime in our country. We believe that this record has been achieved because public opinion has accepted too easily the claim of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in the defense of womanhood. In the light of facts, women dare not longer permit the claim to pass unchallenged nor allow themselves to be the cloak behind which those bent upon personal revenge and savagery commit acts of violence and lawlessness in the name of women. We repudiate this disgraceful claim for all time. In evidence of our purpose we colemnly pledge ourselves to create a new public opinion in the South which will not condone for any reason whatever acts of mobs or lynchers. We shall teach our children at home, at school, and at church a new interpretation of law and religion; we will assist all officials to uphold their oath of office, and finally we will join with every minister, editor, school-teacher, and patriotic citizen in a program of education to eradicate lynching and mobs forever from our land."

Furthermore, they pointed out that figures compiled by Tuskegee Institute dating back to 1885 show that 4,203 persons were lynched between that year and 1924. Yearly totals have steadily declined with the number of white victims decreasing more rapidly than the number of Negro victims. Out of 224 lynchings during nine years, beginning in 1922, 216 occurred in the South. Only seventy of the victims were accused of rape or attempted rape.

The women set about presenting to the South their sentiments against this sort of debauchery by mobs, and enlisting the active cooperation of individuals in every state, every county, every city, town, and village. Within two years more than seven thousand women had pledged themselves to the eradication of mob violence. Thirteen hundred towns and 575 counties are represented in the membership of the association—unique in that membership consists only of signing the pledge to take e definite stand against mob rule. Among the women's organizations and churches that have indorsed the movement and are lending aid are: The Woman's Missionary Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the Southern Baptist Missionary Union, the National Council of Jewish Women, the Young Women's Christian Association, several state federations of women's clubs, and various other religious and civic organizations.

Last November delegates to the annual meeting of the Central Council of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching adopted the goal: "A lynchless year in 1933." To achieve this aim, leaders are seeking to enlist the interest of ministers, who in turn are asked to present the matter to their cngregations, editors, law-enforcing officers, business and professional men, and women.

State organizations of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching are being perfected. If possible, they will include among the vice-chairmen the chairman of Christian Social Relations of each Methodist Missionary Society; the Personal Service Chairman or other official of the State Woman's Missionary Union; the Christian Social Service Chairman of the Synodical of the Presbyterian Church; the Social Service Chairman of the Diocese of the Episcopal Church; and a member of the Temple Sisterhood; a representative of the Young Women's Christian Association; and the chairmen of the American Citizenship Committees of the State Parent-Teacher Council and the State Federation of Women's Clubs.

The recent report of Tuskegee Institute indicated that the number of lynchings in 1932 was eight, five less than occurred in 1931, and thirteen less than in 1930. Surely part of the credit for this downward trend can be attributed to the efforts of the Association!

However, the women will not be content as long as lynchings occur. In order to achieve the goal of a lynchless year for 1933, leaders of the movement are carrying their program into new territory and will cover the South as thoroughly as possible.

Here is where the churches will be depended upon to help. Ministers are asked to discuss the subject of lynching before their congregations, and to take a definite stand in the matter. Leading church members are asked to present the subject before meetings of district, zone, and local associations, and to obtain signatures to the pledge to stand against lynching.

Letters will be sent the sheriffs in counties throughout the South, assuring them of the co-operation of the members of the Association and asking that they exert every effort to uphold the law and protect their prisoners. In addition, letters will be written to the newspapers and to the governors of the states in order to show that a substantial body of the citizenry is definitely opposed to surrendering law into the hands of the mob.

First of all, the women of the Southern Association, look to the churches for the tremendous moral support that is needed if mob violence is to be stamped out forever; then to the schools, and also to the newspapers; for these are three great educational forces.

If the churches will respond one hundred per cent to this call to definitely assert themselves as against the cruelty and injustice of mob rule, the women, many of whom are leaders in our Southern churches, feel assured of success in their great enterprise.

RALEIGH, N. C.
NEWS OBSERVER

OCT 20 1933

MOB LAW TOO PREVALENT

The lynching of a Negro on the Eastern Shore of Maryland is fresh evidence of a spirit of lawlessness liable to break out at any time during these days of tension. Only a few weeks ago an atrocious lynching took place in South Carolina. There was less excuse for the South Carolina lynching, as it appeared to have been done with the connivance of officers, but the Maryland mob none the less took the law into its own hands.

The Maryland Negro was accused of attacking a 71-year-old woman. It can be understood how such a crime would infuriate her neighbors, but it cannot excuse the lynching. For if mobs are permitted to take the law into their own hands, then a government of law ceases. Only brute force would then count. Such a condition of things is unthinkable in a civilized age.

Lynchings have been all too prevalent in America. While Southern States have led in the number of lynchings in the last 40 years, with only five exceptions every American State has had one or more lynchings. Maryland has had a score of lynchings in that time, all except three having been Negroes.

North Carolina's record isn't one to cause pride as more than three score have occurred in the last 40 years, but its record shines by comparison with other Southern States. No other Southern State has a record that approaches that of North Carolina. Virginia comes the nearest with 83 lynchings.

White Press Southern.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

4084

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
September 26, 1933

Tuscaloosa's Test

Sunday morning's lynching imposes on the authorities and people of Tuscaloosa County a responsibility which they cannot take too seriously. Upon the manner in which they deal with this challenge to civilization will depend whether Alabama has lost much of its standing in the court of public opinion. If those who committed this crime are run down and made to pay for the enormity, Alabamians will feel that at least the honor of the state has been saved. But if, for lack of zeal, for lack of heart to meet the menace, the lynchers are not brought to book, we shall deserve the reproach of our consciences and will be hard put to it to defend ourselves from the denunciation of the world.

It is six weeks since three Negroes, charged with raping and killing a white girl, were taken from a group of Sheriff Shamblin's deputies, who were carrying the prisoners to Birmingham for safe-keeping. A body of masked men sprang up at night at an obscure point on a circuitous route, gained possession of the darkies without having to fight for them, killed two of them and wounded the other. That episode is still being investigated; a number of difficulties have emerged to hinder the inquiry, but the fact remains that the persons who did the lynching have yet to be identified.

Now another atrocity is unveiled. Six or seven men go to the home of a Negro named Dennis Cross, who was out on bond to answer a charge of assaulting a white woman. The nature of the offense is such as to make it bailable. Pretending to be officers, the lynchers took the Negro presumably to post a larger bond at Tuscaloosa, but actually to be murdered. Thus the sheriff's office is brought into the picture again, and with a vengeance, for the impersonation mocks the principle of law enforcement by duly constituted officers, and makes the proceeding indescribably sinister because it was the prelude to the ghastly business that followed.

Obviously, Sheriff Shamblin is under the adamant necessity of exhausting every resource in the detection of these offenders. As a matter of simple self-defense he must round up these enemies of society or risk repeated use of the same ugly device whenever a few congenial blood-lusting fellows wish to execute a private vengeance. But the question of the sheriff's rights fades in the light of the brutal defiance of the law, which expressed itself in the killing of Cross. For that there cannot be offered even the usual excuse. It is one of those indefensible proceedings which leave even apologists of lynching without a shred of rational argument.

But to be able to rise to the height of this emergency, Sheriff Shamblin must have behind him the insistent support of the public opinion of Tuscaloosa County. Right-minded citizens should not permit themselves to get off on a tangent of hurt local pride, because of outside criticism directed at former happenings, any more than they will permit themselves to be indifferent about a gross attack upon the elementary safeguards and decencies of civilized society.

Finally, it must be pointed out that this is a case which demands the full-measured attention of the state government. Atty. Gen. Knight, we have a right to assume, will soon enough be lending all that he can give to the clearing up of this business. But that is not enough. The time has palpably come for Gov. Miller to step into the picture. Necessarily the lynchers pretended to be officers of the state as well as of the county. The circumstances of this incident make it imperative that the executive department strengthen the hand of the attorney general by placing at the latter's disposal more funds than he now has at his command, together with the special endorsement of a gubernatorial announcement. That is not too much to ask in view of the gravity of the posture of affairs.

ADVERTISER
Jasper, Ala.

SEP 13 1933

BEHIND THE LYNCHING

ie Journal has maintained a thoughtful silence in the Tuscaloosa lynching, because it does not believe in caustic abuse or thoughtless prattle in such serious cases. Comments we have read have not tended to better the situation, in our opinion.

We believe in obedience to all laws and the proper enforcement of same. We believe that it was unnecessary and uncalled for in newspapers seeking notoriety and approval of the northern press, to carry on a constant stream of abuse of officials to secure action in ferreting out the perpetrators of the crime.

We believed from the occurrence of the unfortunate crime that Judge Foster would see that a thorough investigation would be made and if possible would have the offenders indicted, tried and punished as promptly as possible, and so we have not rushed into columns of printwithassaults against officials and people of Tuscaloosa.

Now that passions have somewhat cooled and clear-thinking can be done without undue criticism the Journal wants to call attention to a phrase of these mob outbursts that should have careful thought and consideration. We refer to the CAUSE of these occurrences as well as to the remedy.

The first cause may be attributed to the primal instinct of the family, tribe or community to protect the chastity of its womanhood from the invasion of the brutal blacks Nothing can so enrage the Anglo-Saxon peoples as such outrageous attacks.

The second cause may be attributed to unscrupulous lawyers, who use every known technicality of the law to prevent prompt and adequate punishment. The injection of outside lawyers, with their frenzied and scurrilous attacks on Alabama courts, juries and citizens, has helped to inflame the public mind. The people of Alabama and the South are a proud people and deeply resent outside interference in their local affairs.

And the last cause we will mention is the constant and bitter abuse by a large section of the Alabama daily press.

The Journal does not condone violations of the law, by either individuals or mobs, but thinks restraint of criticism would help remove this evil. Violent abuse engenders in return violent thought. which may lead to violent acts. We believe reason, calm judgment, a fervid appeal to the sense of duty of public officials. should be the course of those who desire to rid Alabama of the stigma of lynch law. Abuse, vituperation and wholesale condemnation will not help the cause in such instances, we are constrained to believe.—Sumpter County Journal.

SAVANNAH, GA.
NEWS

OCT 21 1933

MARYLAND'S LYNCHING CASE

Bordering upon the ridiculous are the efforts being made by the state committee of the Socialist party of Maryland to saddle upon Gov. Albert C. Ritchie the blame for the lynching of a negro in Princess Anne Wednesday night for assaulting an 81-year-old white farm woman. While the Morning News believes unswervingly in speedy justice in the courts for offenders of this class, rather than the exercise of mob rule even in apparently flagrant cases, yet the responsibility for the lynching should rest where it properly belongs.

Maryland's attorney general has stated that Governor Ritchie had no authority in the matter and that neither did the judge nor the state's attorney. He has stated that the sheriff is the only individual responsible for the custody of a prisoner and that when Sheriff Dougherty went to Baltimore to get the prisoner he was acting within his rights and neither the Governor nor anyone else could stop him, as the Maryland law does not give the Governor as much authority as do the laws of some other states.

Primarily, the responsibility rests with the mob itself, which stormed the jail and overpowered state police. No doubt the members of the mob, their passions inflamed by the horror of the crime, felt fully justified in their course of action and were determined to make an example of the man, without waiting for the slow machinery of the courts of law. But there is always the possibility of making a mistake in thus violating the constitutional rights of every man to a fair trial. In the Maryland case no mistake may have been made, but it is an extremely dangerous precedent to follow as it strikes at the very root of the principles upon which law and justice are founded.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
October 12, 1933

MOB LAW

To Editor, The Age-Herald:

I have just read the sermon of Dr. Edmonds on the subject of lynching. With most of it I heartily agree. My voice for half a century has been lifted against mob law. I have insisted that the courts were the proper place for the trial of men accused of crime, and that every man so accused should have a chance to defend himself.

But the doctor himself, by implication at least, is guilty of inveighing against the courts of his own state in his reference to the Scottsboro cases. In these cases all the courts of Alabama, from the lowest to the highest, have declared that the accused were fairly tried and are guilty. These Negroes have never been the victims of mob violence.

Wherein is the difference, however, between the action of a mob of several hundred that usurps the work of the courts and the utterance of a public man who sets himself as a judge superior to the Supreme Court of his own state and, again by implication, accuses all who had to do with the conviction of these Negroes of being too ignorant to know what they were doing?

Dr. Edmonds holds education to be the panacea for lynching. Certainly that would help, but a much shorter way to destroy the mob and end its vicious work is to reform our court procedure. Criminal indictments were found against men in Jefferson County nearly four years ago and yet the accused have not yet been tried on these indictments.

The interminable and inexcusable delay in the trial of criminal cases, the technicalities on which men are absolved from trial, or acquitted when tried, the permitted practice of lawyers to browbeat and insult witnesses—all these have led many people to lose confidence in our courts and is at least the excuse used by some for taking the law in their own hands.

Education is good. Yes! But Canada and England do not depend upon education alone for the orderly enforcement of law. The speedy and effective manner in which the courts of those countries function not only makes for law enforcement, but makes the "mob" an unheard-of thing. GEO. W. READ.

Ensley, Ala., Oct. 10, 1933.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
NEWS

OCT 14 1933

What Is a Lynching?

In Ohio a gang of six persons rescued a prisoner from a county jail and murdered the sheriff, but no one speaks of the affair as a "lynching." When a gang of four take a prisoner out of a jail in South Carolina, if he be a negro, and not a sheriff, their act is catalogued as a lynching.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.
EXPRESS

OCT 11 1933

THE LYNCHING RELAPSE

During the past few months the country has witnessed a series of lynch-murders, so that 1933 is destined to go down as a bad year in Tuskegee Institute's records.

That condition has been widespread: Atrocities have been committed in such old "lynching territory" as Mississippi and Texas; but Alabama and South Carolina lately have suffered most heavily.

After Governor Cooper's vigorous clean-up in 1921—calling out the National Guard to quell mob violence—South Carolina enjoyed several years' comparative freedom from this evil. The late relapse is the first since 1930, when that State was charged with two lynch-murders.

Some authorities consider that the recent trouble there—as in other States—is attributable mainly to economic stress. Probably privation and anxiety incident to hard times have contributed to "mob psychology." However, the evidence taken at the coroner's investigation of the latest such outrage—at Ninety Six, South Carolina—points to a much older condition:

One of the men held on a murder charge after a young negro had been taken from jail and lynched, testified that the chief of police "told us to wait until dark and come back and we would find the jail unlocked." Evidently the mob's victim was not charged with "the usual crime," but had been involved in a labor dispute.

Official winking at, even connivance in, lynching has been a disgrace to many Southern communities for more than a generation. In still more instances the utter lack of official courage and resourcefulness in dealing with the mob has been almost as great an evil.

The South Carolina incident—as described to the coroner's jury—sharply contrasts to the stand taken by Sheriff Ben Giles at Huntsville (Alabama). He answered with a stern "No" the mob's demand that he give up a prisoner in his keeping—and the sheriff backed that refusal with well-armed deputies.

That police chief's act at Ninety Six also contrasts to an earlier scene in his town: History relates that in 1781, Lieut. Col. Cruger, commanding the Tory garrison (550 men), defended the fort with skill and bravery, though vainly, against a superior force under Gen. Greene. Covered with glory in the American Revolution, Ninety Six today stands disgraced.

Lynching As An Art

Advertiser 11-2-33 Montgomery, Ala.

He who believes that anything effective is going to be done about the Princess Anne lynching is an optimist indeed. The odds are 10 to 1 that this, like the Salisbury affair, will go unpunished.

Furthermore, failure to punish anyone has heretofore always meant another lynching. Those members of the community who have a taste for such affairs know now that there is no firm determination on the lower Eastern Shore to prevent lynchings. They know that the State police are much too polite to shoot a would-be lyncher. They know that the State administration twice has been proved completely impotent to deal with lynchers. Why, then, should they hesitate to stage another party of the same sort?

They will stage it. The people of Maryland are almost certainly in for a succession of outbreaks of this kind. It will be pretty rough on the whole State, and it will be especially rough on those Eastern Shoremen who are really civilized; but there is at present little prospect that it will be avoided.

For the whole history of lynching shows that, far from being a deterrent, a lynching is almost invariably followed by a succession of crimes comparable to the one that caused the first lynching. No doubt the reason is that such crimes are usually committed by half-wits; and the terrific excitement attending a lynching seems to throw all the surviving half-wits into a feverish excitement that leads them directly to similar crimes.

If we are destined, then, to witness a series of lynchings, it may be worth while to give some attention to the history and development of lynching in those sections that have practiced it most frequently and are presumably most expert at it.

* * * *

It happens that the material is easily available. Only four years ago Walter White published a book, "Rope and Faggot," with the subtitle, "A Biography of Judge Lynch," in which he examined with care the history of this phenomenon.

Two or three facts emerge clearly. One is that whenever even one member of a mob has been punished by the courts, lynchings in that State has ceased suddenly for a long time. Another is that although the total number of lynchings has decreased markedly, the savagery of individual lynchings has increased since the beginning of the century. A third—and this is of high importance in Maryland—is that where a series of lynchings has occurred in one community the records show that invariably each succeeding lynching has been worse, as far as brutality is concerned, than the last previous one.

This is conspicuously true as regards the Eastern Shore. The Salisbury mob was content with the execution of the victim. The Princess Anne mob did not stop with that. The victim was dragged while still alive until his clothes were ripped off and much of his skin with the clothes. Then, after he was dead, the mob demanded grisly souvenirs—the rope was cut in pieces and one young fellow was seen running around in wild excitement, waving an ear.

Obviously, Maryland lynchings are taking the usual course, in going from bad to worse. Would you know what is ahead? Then listen to some account of what lynching has come to in other places and see what is undoubtedly in store for the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

* * * *

Consider, for instance, the lynching of Henry Lowry, in Arkansas, in 1921. The account is taken from a Memphis newspaper of Jan. 27, 1921:

"More than 500 persons stood by and looked on while the Negro was slowly burned to a crisp. A few women were scattered among the crowd."

Remember that at Princess Anne women paraded by the spot where the Negro's nude, charred body lay on the pavement. Maryland is already that far along the road. To resume the Arkansas tale:

"With the Negro chained to a log, members of the mob placed a small pile of leaves around his feet. Gasoline was then poured on the leaves and the carrying out of the death sentence was under way.

"Inch by inch the Negro fairly cooked to death. Every few minutes leaves were tossed on the funeral pyre until the blaze had passed the Negro's waist. . . . Even after the flesh had dropped away from his legs and the flames were leaping toward his face, Lowry retained consciousness. . . . Once or twice he attempted to pick up the hot ashes in his hands and thrust them into his mouth in order to hasten death.

"Each time the ashes were kicked out of his reach by a member of the mob."

The Princess Anne mob cooked the Negro after he was dead. Perhaps the next mob will cook one alive. One wonders if they will also imitate the Arkansas mob in bringing the victim's wife and little daughter to the spot to see him burning.

* * * *

Or perhaps we are destined to see something resembling the lynching of Mary Turner in Georgia. She was hanged head downward from a tree, gasoline and motor oil were thrown upon her clothing and she was set fire.

"The clothes burned from her crisply toasted body in which, unfortunately, life still lingered, a man stepped toward the woman and, with his knife"—but the rest is really beyond the limits of what a newspaper should print. Your worst guess won't be too bad.

White Press, Southern.

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Everglade, Fla., News
December 28, 1933

Battling Pacifists

A few weeks ago we were interested in the New York anti-lynching meeting which almost resulted in a lynching when some one opposed the resolution. Yesterday we were amazed by the account of the fight between H. L. Mencken and a pair of loud-mouthed pacifists. The pacifists struck first and drew blood but were finally put to rout. But if they were asked to fight for their country, they would claim it was immoral.—Sanford Herald.

DALLAS, TEX.
JOURNAL

DEC 18 1934

Not Guilty, but Lynched

ROLPHING goes marching on through the country. The latest on the roll of shame is the State of Tennessee. Maryland lynched one; California lynched two; Missouri burned the victim's body while it was yet kicking at the rope's end; Texas took a dead body from the charge of officers and with gory hands tore the still warm heart out of the mutilated corpse, and now comes Tennessee to hang to a convenient tree the remains of a defendant done to death, although the grand jury found that he was innocent.

That is the true spirit of mob law. It has not even the justice of the French Reign of Terror. It uses not even the reason of the Russian Ogpu. It knows not even the mercy of jungle law.

The Tennessee officers are mystified as to who did this crime or as to how many were in the mob. That kind of officer naturally would be mystified. Lynchings come easiest where officers don't know what to do—or dare not do it when they know.

DALLAS, TEX.
NEWS

DEC 16 1933

Race Commission Will Confer Over Wave of Lynching

Right on the heels of a wave of lynchings over the country, directors of the Texas Interracial Commission will meet here Saturday in the Moorland branch of the Y. M. C. A. to formulate its program of objectives for the year. It will be the first board session since the annual meeting last month.

Chairman J. L. Clark and Vice Chairman R. M. Woods, both of Huntsville, said Friday night that the commission had as yet made no formal statement regarding the lynching wave. Mr. Clark stated emphatically the commission's constant stand for law enforcement as against mob rule.

"Governor Rolph (of California) ought certainly to be removed from office for his stand on the San Jose lynching," Mr. Woods said.

Mocksville, N. C., Record
December 6, 1933

Make Resolves Effective.

The board of temperance and social service of the Western North Carolina Methodist Conference included in its report, adopted by the Conference, the following paragraph:

The negro just now is beset by another danger. His path is forever shadowed by dark designs of cruel men. These designs encompass death itself, with or without provocation. Lynching is all the more degrading because men of depraved appetites, and in mass movement, commit murder with impunity. Most men who Most men who engage in mob action are cowards at heart and in union with the mob do thise wicked things which craven fear inhibits the individual.

The negro isn't "just now" beset with the danger of mob murder. That danger has confronted him since slavery was abolished and in former times was much greater than now. But let that pass. The report is written in plain language, as it should be. It states the bold facts. Lynching gives persons of depraved spirit the opportunity to commit murder with impunity. They are not moved by the virtue of giving protection to society. They lack the courage to longer bring that pretense into the open. It is the viciousness that calls for blood and attempts to satisfy the craving to kill only because it is believed there is safety in numbers and the type of victim picked. The cowardice of the mob is glaring because it picks on the humble and the defenseless, the killings that are not expected to bring reaction, and on those its members know will get full punishment if lefts to the courts.

Whenever a mob has the courage to pick on a white man of prominence and influence who has committed an aggravated crime, and who because of his influence is likely to escape the penalty in part if not in whole, then we will believe that the mob murderers have some purpose to see that justice is done and not until then. That isn't going to happen because the mob murderers haven't the courage. When the Ku Klux and other similar organizations undertake to regulate public morals, as they do in localities when these organizations are in flower, they always pick on the humble and friendless who would be adequately punished by the courts. Citizens of standing, of prominence, may be guilty of the most outrageous conduct but they are left alone. Mobs are afraid to take on those who may be able to do something to them in return.

Passing resolutions is all right but that accomplishes nothing if the passing is all. Church bodies who take such action as this Western North Carolina Conference are to be commended. But the members of the Conference, the bishops and clergy and the lay, can make these resolutions mean something if they will at all times denounce mob action, in their own communities, as it is denounced in the resolutions. Much progress has been made in restraining mobs and most of it, we believe it but truth to say, has been the result of sentiment created by the newspapers. Generally speaking the newspapers do not hesitate to denounce the crimes of the mobs. But too often the churches and organizations that might be expected to help take it out in passing resolutions if they do anything.—Statesville Daily.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
RECORD

NOV 23 1933

FRUIT OF SURRENDER.

The slaying of George Green, shot and killed Thursday night in Greenville county's latest adventure into murder because he resisted the efforts of a band of masked men to break into the house, was not apparently a lynching. It lacks some of the elements of the ordinary lynching.

Green wasn't for example even falsely accused of crime. No properly constituted peace officers sought his arrest. But the differences are not essential differences. Green was none the less a victim of mob violence and he is now just as dead as if he had been lynched with all the pomp and circumstance that attends these gory folk festivals. And Greenville county is as much responsible for his death as if he had been taken out from the county jail to be hanged and burned.

For the slaying of George Green was no isolated phenomenon. It wasn't even the only event of

that Thursday night for which Greenville county is to be blamed. Near Greer, just about an hour or so before Green's death, two negroes were taken from their homes and beaten by a group of masked men. The theory in Greenville—how true it may be The Record doesn't pretend to know—is that the three attacks were the work of the same mob which apparently merely intended to whip Green as the others had been whipped. But they were armed and willing to shoot if their intended victim, as the law allows, should attempt to defend his home against invasion. And they were capable apparently of turning tail from their own handiwork. "When they saw he was in bad shape," Green's widow testified at the inquest to no conclusion, "they turned and ran from the house." And one of the Greer section victims was a woman. Brave fellows these Greenville gentlemen who must hide behind a mask and robe to beat up a woman or shoot a negro through the crack of a door!

Nor was even that Thursday night an isolated or new phenomenon in Greenville—and this is important to Greenville. A short time ago a crippled negro was beaten by masked men, working under cover of darkness, at his home on McDaniel avenue, near the Greenville city limits. And even this was not Greenville's first adventure in masked and robed violence. For the truth is that Greenville has tended more and more to run to masks and robes. It has seemed to seek a solution of economic and labor disputes in whipping supposed Communists. It has attempted to enforce its laws by scaring negro bell boys. It has permitted self appointed agencies to take over the duties of its peace officers.

And Greenville citizens did nothing about it. Greenville officers investigated the "incidents" but nobody was punished. County officers can find only as much as the people of a community want them to find out and the people of Greenville were apparently willing enough simply to ignore and forget. They surrendered without a fight.

It would obviously be error to lay all these manifestations of the mob spirit to any one group. The motives behind those earlier whippings are not identical with the motives that moved Thursday's mob to murder. And until Thursday night Greenville had avoided bloodshed for all its penchant for the mask and strap. Some even of those who participated in the earlier and less serious forays will probably condemn the murderers of Green; they believe in whipping not killing. But the murder of Green is the natural and inevitable result of Greenville's prior surrender to mob violence.

For no community can surrender on law enforcement without paying the penalty. And George Green's murder is only part of the penalty for Greenville and South Carolina.

There are of course many law abiding men and women in Greenville county who will condemn the slaying of Green in terms that no outsider could use. Greenville is a white county, an Anglo-Saxon county, a literate county as South Carolina counties go, a church going county. It voted dry in the federal prohibition repeal referendum, and the ministers who were the leaders in South Carolina in opposing repeal congratulated it on its stand for law enforcement. But a vote against repeal, as the facts now make plain again, is not enough. The law-abiding and God-fearing folk of Greenville have more work ahead of them than behind them if they are to see law and order upheld in Greenville.

And now is the time for them to begin, and to begin by seeing to it that the members of Thursday's mobs are arrested. The first step in the curbing of mob violence is the arrest and conviction of the members of the mob.

Louisville, Ky., Herald-Post
December 15, 1933

5,000 Victims in 50 Years, Ghastly Lynching Record

By STANLEY A. TULLSEN.

Washington—Five thousand victims in a half century—that is the black record of lynching in the United States.

Even this is a record from which pages are missing, one on which hundreds of names of those who have gone to their graves by violence are not listed, one which does not include those slain in race riots and other outbreaks.

And before the time which this record covers, before it was thought worthwhile to investigate lynching hundreds of others died at the hands of maddened crowds which acted first and looked into the facts after the grim deed was done.

Nation Awakening.

The nation at last is awakening to the appalling menace of lynch law with the hideous acts of Western, Midwestern and Eastern mobs fresh in mind, and a concerted effort is being launched to stamp out the evil.

From the hero of a swift blow struck for American liberty comes the name that designates this most heinous of crimes, according to the most accepted version.

Charles Lynch was a Virginia planter, a member of the house of burgesses, a justice of the peace, turned soldier during the war of the Revolution. In 1780, as he prepared to lead his cavalry squadron against the invading British, he discovered a formidable conspiracy among Tories of Bedford County.

Name Is Born.

Lynch essentially was a man of action. Without a moment's hesitation, after capturing the ringleaders, he condemned them to imprisonment, and incontinently flung them into jail, thwarting the plot against the patriots.

He had exceeded the limit of his powers, in this heavy-handed emergency thrust, and from this state are stained with the blood of victims of the noose, the stake, and the gun.

The East has the cleanest record of any section, when lynching statistics are checked. In the West, most of the victims are white. In the South, Negroes are by far the greatest sufferers.

One significant finding blasts the belief that a mob is motivated by chivalry, protecting the honor of the womanhood of its community. In 1918, for instance, it was shown that of a total of sixty-two lynchings, only sixteen were for criminal assault.

Many Were Innocent.

A study by the Inter-Racial Cooperation Commission of mob murder over a period of nearly a half century show that many of the victims were innocent of the offenses for which they died deaths of horror.

Some were killed as the result of mistaken identity, others on unfounded suspicion, some by mob madness.

There were cases of burnings, hangings, and fatal beatings that involved crimes no more serious than hog stealing, "creating disturbances," "quarrel with employer," "failing to turn out of road," and "not knowing his place."

Mob Leader Was Killer.

No more ghastly evidence of the misplaced vengeance of a mob can be presented than that for which two men died at Celina, O., in 1872. An enraged band of farmers, led by Thomas B. Douglas, hanged Alexander McLeod and Absalom Kimmel for the assault and murder of Mary Secaur, a child of 14, despite strong indications that they knew nothing of the crime.

Years later, Douglas, on his deathbed in Denver, confessed that he had slain the child and had spurred on the mob to turn suspicion away from himself.

Despite the vigorous battle waged by pulpit, press, and legislation action was coined the name given to lawlessness parading under the guise of law.

Lynching, in its early days, rarely involved death. Tar and feather parties and riding victims on a rail were regarded as lynching. And even this was not frequent, except in sparsely settled frontier communities.

From 1830 to 1840 it seldom meant inflicting death penalty. As "civiliation and culture" advanced, from 1850 to 1860, it often had that meaning. And from 1875 to the present day, lynching has meant death by horrible violence.

Rope Ruled in West.

However, except in the early settlement of California, lynching seems seldom to have been practiced until after the Civil War.

Men trained in the rough school of the wilderness were impatient of legal forms and technicalities. They wanted their justice straight and swift. So lynch law eradicated outlawry and cattle rustling from the forests, mountain passes, and valleys of the Far West.

Then came the disorders after emancipation, during reconstruction days in the South. Lynching came to mean torture and death, with Negroes almost always the victims. And lynch law became, in the eyes of the world, a peculiarly American institution.

Be that as it may, it is a crime which has prevailed in other countries. In England, it was practiced under the name of Lydford law; in Scotland it was called Cowper law. There also was gibbet, or Halifax, and Jeddart law in Britain, which indicated the same fate for the unfortunate offender.

Russia, too, is not guiltless of lynching, and in Germany there was the Vehmgerichte.

Hope is stirred that Congress will enact a federal anti-lynching law when it convenes in January and thus take a great step toward eliminating the evil.

Senator Edward P. Costigan, of Colorado, is drafting a bill which he asserts he will introduce on the first day Congress is in session, and support has been pledged by a large number of senators.

Under the Constitution, the federal government has little power now to check the barbarous crime. Punishment is left almost entirely to individual states, where peace officers fearful of the political result, usually dodge the issue.

However, when a subject of a foreign government is lynched by an American mob, the federal government is held responsible, and on several occasions has paid indemnities to families of victims.

Huge Indemnity Paid.

Twice this happened in the case of Chinese lynched in Wyoming and California, and twice in cases of Italians lynched in California and Louisiana. The indemnity in all these cases totaled more than a quarter million dollars.

The greatest number of persons done to death by mobs in a single year was 235 in 1892. From year to year since, there has been a steady decline in the toll.

But the time is not here for congratulations. In 1932 there were ten lynchings in the United States. When a mob in San Jose, Cal., dragged two kidnap-slayers from jail and hanged them in a public park and an enraged throng seized a Negro in jail at St. Joseph, Mo., and hanged and burned him, the total to date in 1933 mounted to twenty-seven, the highest mark since 1926, when there were thirty-eight lynchings.

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White Press, Southern

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Jackson, Ala., Alabamian
August 16, 1933

The lynching or rather shooting to death of two negroes and wounding of a third at Tuscaloosa, should be indication to the international Defense League that the South will take care of its own criminals. The next lynching may include some of the lawyers they attempt to foist on Southern courts.

High Point, N. C. Pointer
August 18, 1933

Alabama cuts two more notches in its stick of lynching negroes. The lynchings are the result of finding the body of Miss Vaudine Maddox, young white girl, bruised, beaten and dead near Tuscaloosa, a few days ago. The lynched negroes were Elmer Clark and Dan Pippen. A third negro, A. T. Warren, escaped from the lynchers.

Gainesville, Fla., News
August 22, 1933

A RECORD SPOILED

Alabama's three-year record in regard to lynchings has been spoiled by the recent double lynching at Tuscaloosa, and once again thunder from the notorious Scottsboro case is heard. Not since 1930, when a white man and several negroes were killed in a disturbance caused by argument over a small bill, have there been any lynchings in Alabama.

But in the meantime occurred the Scottsboro case, with all the wrangling occasioned in large part by the activities of outside organizations, and it is quite evident that the Tuscaloosa affair can be traced to that.

In Tuscaloosa three negroes were up for trial, and the International Labor Defense, which was active in defending the Scottsboro case negroes, sent lawyers to aid them. The people of that section would not have been human if they had not resented it. They did. The resulting trouble could be blamed on the entrance of the I. L. D. lawyers in the case, they are imperiling not only the lives of other negroes, but the racial relations in the south. It will not be surprising if Alabama, seeing its system of justice blocked, resorts to other acts of violence.—Ocala Banner.

Dothan, Ala. Eagle
August 29, 1933

To Prevent Lynching, Remove The Cause

(Tuscaloosa News)

Lynch law has not returned to Alabama, one swallow does not make a summer, yet only the blind can fail to see the impending danger. What to do about it is the question. To shower abuse upon the community in which a lynching occurs is not the cure. To berate and abuse is not enough, to deplore and condemn leads nowhere. To demand a goat is but a sop. Glib writers may squall their heads off shouting "shame," but that won't get us anywhere. Emulating Don Quixote in a windmill fight is pure bosh and tends only to fan the flames of interracial strife.

To prevent the return of lynch law to Alabama is a problem that should demand the immediate thought and attention of the best thinkers i nthe state—men who think beyond the end of their tongues or the point of their pens. The records show that the mere prosecution of lynchers will not do the job, since convictions in the courts have been most rare. The running down of the guilty and the successful prosecution of them has always been an exceedingly difficult thing to accomplish, and the occasional punishment meted out to offenders has little effect upon future mobs, for the simple reason that when men become so enraged as to take part in a lynching they are too enraged to count or care what the cost might be. To prevent the return of lynch law the people must face the truth as it is; they must take into account human nature as it is, rather than as we would like it to be.

Some of the boys who write for the newspapers can sit down in front of their typewriters and tell the people how to go about the job—just like that. We confess we can't, but we have some ideas about the matter that may, or may not, be worth something. We who write editorials in little cities like Tuscaloosa and in the smaller towns live pretty close to all the people. We hobnob with the bankers, the preachers, the merchants, the farmers, the taxi drivers, the politicians, the pool room boys ,the lounge lizzards, the golf players, the professors, the carpenters, the bankers, the candle stick makers, and the crap shooters. We don't pretent to know more about everything under the sun than they do but we do get a pretty good idea about their thoughts and

reactions.

During these last few weeks we have been in the thick of things here in Tuscaloosa and we know a few of the causes which contributed to the lynching of Dan Pippen and A. T. Harden.

The brutishness of the foul murder of Vaudine Maddox sent a shudder through the people of this entire section. Damaging evidence pointed an accusing finger at Harden and Pippen who confessed and implicated Clark. When a few days later a number of young hot-heads from the community in which the murder occurred made a demonstration in front of the courthouse Judge Foster and Sheriff Shamblin convinced them that they were doing wrong and the gang broke up. The case was docketed for trial. Relatives of the negroes employed able young counsel. The prosecution was apparently in the hands of our conscientious young assistant solicitor, William J. Foster, and the people went on about their business—giving no more thought to the case.

About one week before the case was to come to trial, out of a clear sky came the news that the International Labor Defense would inject itself into the case. At first interested, then alarmed and finally incensed, Tuscaloosa looked on as these carpet-baggers of 1933, "belled buzzards" from the east, swooped down upon us.

Tuscaloosa had followed the Scottsboro Case closely. We knew these confessed rapists had been defended by the same crowd—justice delayed, and prosecution witnesses gradually disappearing through what looked like trickery and bribery. Our people knew that one of the principal prosecuting witnesses, Ruby Bates, was now a heroine of Harlem. They knew that Morgan and Jackson counties were being bankrupted by the cases. They had seen the wrath of the radicals leveled at the heads of the governor and other constituted authorities of the state and counties. They were apprehensive lest the Scottsboro Case be repeated at Tuscaloosa. Two years or more ago, three young white women of Birmingham were forced by a negro man to drive into the woods at the outskirts of the city; only one lived to tell the horrible tale of rape and murder. The perpetrator of that crime has long since been identified by the only living person who could possibly identify him, but the case has not been disposed of.

Deep in the southern white man's breast is the determination that rape and murder of white women shall not go unpunished. Though lax in many ways, easy going in manner and speech, kindly by nature and honorable by instinct, the southern white man becomes a raging lion when alien hands are laid upon the women of his race.

The facts in the case of the foul murder of Vaudine Maddox had become pretty well known, and so, when the day of the trial came few people really believed that the ILD lawyers would appear upon the scene, but when they did actually appear, indignation swept the city—spread over the county and out through west Alabama. A large crowd gathered in the streets around the courthouse. Orderly in every move, curious, perplexed and indignant, the throng showed no sign of mob violence. With suppressed anger they saw the frightened Communists escorted to the railway station and out of the city.

Tuscaloosa was again ready to dismiss the case from its mind with the feeling that having been ruled out of the case the ILD would return no more. Tuscaloosa was glad that the court had appointed the ablest of counsel to assist in the defense of the negroes. Tuscaloosa wanted Pippen and Harden to have a fair trial, but Tuscaloosa did not want outsiders to come in and make a show place of our courts, obstruct justice and make another Scottsboro Case with all of its attendant notoriety. Judge Foster reset the case for trial. A few days later Constable King picked up a negro agent for the ILD, sent here to get money from local negroes and a contract for the defense tha would permit the radicals to re-enter th case. The negro agent broke down and tol the whole story—how he had been here be fore and collected money from Tuscaloos negroes. The names of many prominent ne groes were divluged by him. Authoritie tried to keep the information quit but i eaked out. It was proof that in spite of th efforts of many of the leading negroes t save the situation, members of their rac were actually aiding ILD and the ILD law yers let it be known that they WERE com ng back.

Resentment against the "belled buzzards from the north and against their negr aides steadily grew. It reached the burstin point. Leading citizens of the town wer constantly in conference, striving to aver disaster. It was apparent to every one tha the arrival of the ILD lawyers again woul be a signal for bloodshed. Alarm was every where. Feeling was at a high pitch. The National Guard was in summer camp at Anniston, but would be home before the day

of the trial. All thought of the best minds of Tuscaloosa was to avert an outbreak on the day of the trial. Few had any thought that there would be an overt act before the ILD lawyers appeared. August 22nd was being looked forward to with dread and fear. If those lawyers came, nothing but a miracle could prevent trouble. Pippen, Harden and Clark apparently were forgotten. A race riot of terrible consequences appeared not only possible but almost certain.

The storm broke. Out of a clear sky came the news that a mob had formed, taken the three negroes from deputy sheriffs and shot two of them to death.

Lynching is a horrible thing. The lynching of Pippen and Harden was a horrible thing —so is rape and murder a horrible thing, and as long as we have rape and murder there will be danger of lynching. Delay in bringing to justice the perpetrators of rape and murder surely contributes to lynching. The preaching of social equality in the south surely contributes to lynching. Glib writers openly defending those accused of defending those accused of rape or murder are surely contributors to lynching.

When a man is sick the doctor looks for the cause and seeks to remove it from the system. So it is with lynching. Raging cries of abuse and shouts of "shame" do not go deep enough. The cause must be removed.

In the state of Alabama wise and vigorous effort must be made to prevent the return of lynch law. Our largest city, Birmingham, is a regular cesspool of crime, fourth largest murder city in America. There the nests of Communists flourish, to reach out into communities like Tuscaloosa with their slime to breed discord and bloodshed. Birmingham officials and Birmingham newspapers can help far more by cleaning up their town own and driving the Communists from their borders than in any other way—certainly far more than by denouncing and abusing other communities.

The responsibility of preventing the return to Alabama of lynch law is the responsibility of every man within the borders of the state. It is the responsibility of every officer of the law to apprehend the lawbreaker. It is the responsibility of every judge to see that a fair but speedy trial of the accused is held. It is the responsibility of every prosecutor vigorously, honestly and speedily to collect his evidence, prepare his case and go before the court to demand justice. It is the responsibility of every defense lawyer to secure for his client a fair and honest trial without unnecessary delay.

Upon the whole people falls the stern duty of awakening to the menacing situation and filling all public offices with men of known quantity, men of real character and ability. Men who not only have, but by their record will hold, the confidence and respect of the people.

Finally, the best thinkers among the whites and the blacks must work harder than ever to lead their people into an harmonious relationship. We are here together. We must live together in peace and understanding.

Lynch law is an awful thing. It must not be allowed to return after all these years of exile. It will not if every person does an honest part—if every official plays an honest role, every preacher delivers only honest sermons, if every newspaper writes with an honest purpose ignoring the temptation of eastern plaudits or eastern prizes.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
September 5, 1933

Editorial Of The Day

(From The Sumter County Journal, York, Ala.)

CAUSE BEHIND THE LYNCHING

THE JOURNAL has maintained a thoughtful silence in the Tuscaloosa lynching, because it does not believe in caustic abuse or thoughtless prattle in such serious cases. Comments we have read have not tended to better the situation, in our opinion.

We believe in obedience to all laws and the proper enforcement of same. We believe that it was unnecessary and uncalled for in newspapers seeking notoriety and approval of the northern press, to carry on a constant stream of abuse of officials to secure action in ferreting out the perpetrators of the crime.

We believed from the occurrence of the unfortunate crime that Judge Foster would see that a thorough investigation would be made and if possible, would have the offenders indicted, tried and punished as promptly as possible, and so we have not rushed into columns of print with assaults against officials and the people of Tuscaloosa.

Now that passions have somewhat cooled and clear thinking can be done without undue criticism the Journal wants to call attention to a phrase of these mob outbursts that should have careful thought and consideration. We refer to the CAUSE of these occurrences as well as to the remedy.

The first cause may be attributed to the primal instinct of the family, tribe or community to protect the chastity of its womankind from the invasion of the brutal blacks. Nothing can so enrage the Anglo-Saxon peoples as such outrageous attacks.

The second cause may be attributed to unscrupulous lawyers, who use every known technicality of the law to prevent prompt and adequate punishment. The injection of outside lawyers, with their frenzied and scurrilous attacks on Alabama's courts, juries and citizens, has helped to inflame the public mind. The people of Alabama and the South are a proud people and deeply resent outside interference in their local affairs.

And the last cause we will mention is the constant and bitter abuse by a large section of the Alabama daily press.

The Journal does not condone violations of the law, by either individuals or mobs, but thinks restraint of criticism would help remove this evil. Violent abuse engenders in return violent thought, which may lead to violent acts. We believe reason, calm judgement, a fervid appeal to the sense of duty of public officials, should be the course of those who desire to rid Alabama of the stigma of lynch law. Abuse, vituperation and wholesale condemnation will not help the cause in such instances, we are constrained to believe.

Birmingham, Ala., News
September 4, 1933

"WHO IS TO BLAME"

To the Editor The News:

A great many Alabamians are feeling the shame of the recent lynching within our borders. Many have tried to look behind the occurrence to locate, if possible, the real responsibility for it. But not many of us, I am sure, are saying, even to ourselves, "Perhaps I am to blame," or "We are to blame; perhaps if we had done our duty this shame would not be ours."

May one who has been a church member for over 60 years and a minister of the gospel for over half a century, speaking for himself and in a measure for the church and its ministry—may such an one say, "I believe that we are to blame; that in some measure, at least, not only the shame but also the blame of this lynching is ours"?

Two years ago, when Alabama was smarting under those criticisms of outsiders which followed the Scottsboro trial, an Alabama village paper carried an article which expressed the opinion that it was a good thing for those critics that they were not in Alabama, where the "good old mountaineers knew how to deal with Negroes and horse thieves long before we had heard of the 'Reds' of 1931."

Another paper published in the same section of the state spoke approvingly of the behavior of "the Negroes in our neighborhood," for "they know that our hardware stores carry a plentiful supply of rope."

Not long after these articles appeared in print, I met both of the editors and took occasion to ask each one of them if he had received any protest from any source because of the implications in those paragraphs. Each one answered, "No." No doubt the majority of the readers of both those papers were Christians. No doubt the large majority of the ministers near where those papers are printed read their local papers regularly. Some of them frequently write for their papers. They are all good men. But they could read those paragraphs which plainly indicated approval of the lynching of Negroes under certain circumstances and never be moved by a word of protest.

Less than two weeks before the recent lynching, a religious weekly which has hundreds of readers all over Alabama carried an editorial on "Race Relations," from which I quote: "It is folly even to talk about ideal race relations. Let no one think that the problem is even on its way to solution." On a near-by page there was a sermon headline, "There Are No Can'ts On Calvary." That headline would have been inappropriate for the editorial page. The most logical and psychological effect of that editorial was to lead its reader easily to excuse himself and others for any such passion or prejudice as might lead, when the time was ripe, to a lynching bee.

And I wonder how many of the hundreds of Christian ministers and laymen who I suppose read that editorial protested against its denial of the power of the gospel to solve the race problem. Did anyone? The editor has printed no protest. Suppose that editor had printed an editorial favoring the repeal of the eighteenth amendment or in favor of a dance hall, how many would have written him in protest? Is this issue any less important?

Who is to blame for this lynching? Is the church? The minister? You? I? "If the watchman blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned, and the sword come, and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand." (Ezek. 33:6.) Unless we who are Alabama's "watchmen" awaken our own consciences and those of our people as to Alabama sin, the Lord himself will say to us, "This blood will I require at thy hand. The blame is thine, the shame is thine."

Thorsby, Ala. E. W. BUTLER.

CONCORD, N. C.
TRIBUNE

19

OCT 24 1933

MOB LAW TOO PREVALENT.

Raleigh News and Observer.

The lynching of a Negro in the Eastern Shore of Maryland is fresh evidence of a spirit of lawlessness liable to break out at any time during these days of tension. Only a few weeks ago an atrocious lynching took place in South Carolina. There was less excuse for the South Carolina lynching, as it appeared to have been done with the connivance of officers, but the Maryland mob none the less took the law into its own hands.

The Maryland Negro was accused of attaching a 71-year-old woman. It can be understood how such a crime would infuriate her neighbors, but it cannot excuse the lynching. For if mobs are permitted to take the law into their own hands, then a government of law ceases. Only brute force would then count. Such a condition of things is unthinkable in a civilized age.

Lynchings have been all too prevalent in America. While Southern States have led in the number of lynchings in the last 40 years, with only five exceptions every American state has had one or more lynchings. Maryland has had a score of lunchings in that time, all except three having been Negroes.

North Carolina's record isn't one to cause pride as more than three score have occurred in the last 40 years, but its record shines by comparison with other Southern States. No other Southern State has a record that approaches that of North Carolina. Virginia comes the nearest with 83 lynchings.

White Press, Southern

4087

Lynchings-1933
Discussions

Lancaster, S. C. News
July 18, 1933

We note that the papers referred to the killing of a negro named Dendy at Clinton as a lynching. However, it is our understanding of the term lynching to mean a killing by a large body of men in the heat of passion. Dendy was taken out of the Clinton jail by four men and it was done secretly instead of by a large body of people defying the law. There seems to be no reason by any act of Dendy's should have infuriated the public. For these reasons this killing was not a lynching but a murder and the murderers should be brought to justice.

Governor Blackwood is threatening to bring the culprits to justice and we hope that he succeeds. Unless there is something behind this thing that was not brought out in the news dispatches it was vengeance that prompted the killers to take Dendy out and beat him to death. It was cold blooded murder.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
RECORD

JUL 10 1933

South Carolina's Responsibility.

A negro, held on a charge of striking a white man and resisting arrest, was taken from the Clinton jail Wednesday and was beaten, choked and shot to death.

It was, as Governor Ibra C. Blackwood said, murder.

And the state of South Carolina is particularly concerned in it. The negro was the prisoner of South Carolina. He didn't have a chance since South Carolina saw to it that he couldn't escape.

What is South Carolina doing to apprehend and punish the four slayers? Murder is a crime against the state. In this case it is doubly so.

GREENVILE, S. C.
NEWS

JUL 8 1933

LYNCHING VS. MURDER

Governor Blackwood's comment that the killing of a negro who was spirited from the jail at Clinton, was "not a lynching but a murder," has aroused some comment as to what the difference is between a lynching and a murder.

Governor Blackwood probably had in mind the indication that this killing was not the work of an infuriated mob, but of a very small group of citizens who went about their nefarious business in a calm and deliberate way.

There is, however, no strictly legal distinction between a lynching and a murder. A lynching takes the life of a citizen without sanction of the courts. Civilized society cannot construe such an act as in any other way than a murder. Individual members of the mob might, perhaps, plead the pressure of passion in mitigation of their crime, but the net effect of the action of a mob, however large, in administering the death penalty upon a prisoner without a proper court trial cannot legally be regarded as anything less than a murder.

In the case of the Clinton negro it appears that there was no "mob." Three or four persons took it upon themselves to seize this negro from a poorly guarded jail and kill him, although his offense was not of a character to arouse any public sentiment that he deserved capital punshment. The perpetrators of this heinous crime have not even the excuse of mob action stirred by passion. It seems to be nothing less than a deliberate, cold blooded murder, and it is certainly to be hoped that the Laurens county and state authorities leave no stone unturned to apprehend the criminals and bring them to speedy justice.

SAVANNAH, GA.
NEWS

JUL 13 1933

Of course there must be a reason every time there is a lynching, but it has been very difficult to suggest one for the recent taking of the life of a negro at Clinton, S. C., because he had struck a white man with a stick. The Albany Herald advances as the excuse or justification for this evidence of mob law that it is to be found in the "present unrest," a "state of nerves which seems to run throughout our whole social structure," and expresses the hope that "when conditions get better perhaps this particular manifestation of lawlessness will pass." A proper comment would seem to be that a poor excuse is worse than none.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
STATE

JUL 13 1933

"Murder," Not "Lynching."

The Record, Anderson.

The murder at Clinton this week of a Negro by four white men who took the Negro from jail and to some deserted spot where they whipped him and then strangled him to death with a rope is another chapter in South Carolina criminal history which is revolting to those people who believe in law and order.

Governor Blackwood was right when he referred to the outrage as "murder" for it is patent from the facts in the case that the killing of the Negro was planned, premeditated and carried out with diabolical cunning.

The crime is typical of that fiend, mob violence, which has given the South, the nation, a black eye in the past. In this case the Negro probably deserved punishment for the offense which caused his incarceration, but whether the penalty was to be as severe as that which was meted out to him was not for four masked men who entered the Clinton jail in the dead of night to say.

The authorities of South Carolina should track down the persons who perpetrated this crime, but we imagine it is highly improbable that anyone ever will be brought to trial.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
STATE

JUL 14 1933

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LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
GAZETTE

50

JUL 5 1933

Says Lynchings Have Decreased Under Prohibition.

To the Editor of the Gazette:

All classes have been benefited by prohibition, but none greater than the Negro, and that is seen in the wonderful decrease in lynchings. Ever since the Civil war there have been a great many lynchings and the Negro was the principal victim, but since the enactment of the Eighteenth amendment there has been a steady decline in this barbarous practice, and last year there were less than one dozen in the United States and not one case in Arkansas, and none so far this year, and the best people hope that this record will be maintained, and that eventually we will be entirely free from this illegal custom.

What is the cause of this decline? It is well known that the dissolute Negroes, as well as the same kind in any class, are crazed by liquor, and when in that condition are driven to the commission of the great crime against white women, and then race hatred would be engendered and a lynching would follow. The saloon was the headquarters of the drunken Negroes, and as long as the flag of the nation floated above it, this crime was rampant, and each year lynchings were numbered by the hundreds, but since the coming of prohibition there has been a gradual decrease in the assaults on white women, and consequently lynchings have almost ceased.

There was the case of Shreveport, La., some 20-odd years ago, when a young accomplished high school girl was the victim of a drunken black brute, and she was assaulted, and the citizens were well nigh crazed with excitement over the diabolical crime. It was discovered that the villain was a saloon habitue, and he was speedily put to death, and then the citizens rose in their righteous wrath and overwhelmingly voted out the licensed saloon, although the liquor forces were strongly entrenched there. Shreveport was a liquor stronghold for parts of Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas, and many Southern cities followed suit, as there were many similar cases, and the gallant people of the Southland placed the value of a pure, noble Southern girl above all the revenue and trade that might come from liquor licenses. The files of the Arkansas Gazette and other leading papers contain a history of this brutal crime in Shreveport.

If the Eighteenth amendment is repealed and liquor again is given government protection, will not the same baneful results follow and will not the Southern girl be again exposed to this unnamed crime and then, naturally, lynchings will be resorted to and the Negro race will be the main object of these lynchings. The true Southern voter should ponder a long time before he casts his ballot for the removal of this Eighteenth amendment, which has done so much to protect the honor of Southern womanhood, and also which has brought about such a change in the conduct of the Negro race, and consequently such a better feeling between the whites and the blacks. No Southern state has yet voted for repeal and surely Arkansas will not be the first.

John C. Williams, D. D.
Washington, Ark.

DURHAM, N. C.
HERALD

JUL 8 1933

SUPREMACY OF A KIND

Down around Clinton South Carolina a Negro and a white man got into an argument. The Negro seized a stick and hit the white man, inflicting a painful but not serious wound upon his cheek. The Negro went on a "scout," as they usually do in such cases, but was later arrested and lodged in a skeleton of a jail. Sometime later four white men wrenched the lock from the make-shift jail and removed the Negro. The reports have little to say about what happened immediately following the jail delivery but the lifeless body of the Negro was found some distance from the jail.

Governor Blackwood of South Carolina says the act does not constitute lynching, on the theory that no rope was used. We are content to let the governor have his way but the fact remains that four white men removed a Negro from a jail and deprived him of his life. It may not be lynching but it is murder of the worst kind. The crime credited to the Negro was not a hideous one. It is unlawful for one person, white or black, to attack another with a stick or other weapon but it is not a capital felony in South Carolina or any other civilized community. Details are lacking, but we suspect a careful investigation would reveal that the fight which preceded the jailing of the Negro was not a one-sided affair.

The four white men who murdered the helpless Negro did so, we are told, in the interest of white supremacy. Now, is it a show white supremacy when four white men take one Negro off and beat him to death? The only evidence of supremacy we see in the performance is supremacy in number, which gave the Negro a four-to-one disadvantage. By the same token the Chinese can claim supremacy over the Japanese, though at this moment the Japs are taking whatever part of China they want. Of course the behavior of the four white men, who elected to operate under protection of darkness, indicates the supremacy of the animal qualities in their social make-up.

NORFOLK, VA.
VIRGINIAN-PILOT

JUL 7 1933

Lynching At Its Worst

The school of thought which holds lynching to be a necessary defense for the safety of Southern womanhood should turn its eyes toward the mob-murder of Norris Bendy, a Negro truck-driver, near Clinton, S. C. Bendy was charged with hitting another truck-driver, Marvin Lollis, with a stick, inflicting a gash on his cheek. Lollis happens to be a white man. He is not dead. As reported, he is not even seriously injured. If it is assumed that Bendy was wholly at fault (which, incidentally, has not been shown in any court), and if he had been convicted, he would have been sentenced to perhaps 18 months in prison or sent to a chain gang. We have such cases in Norfolk right along. Every community has them. Thousands of such fights occur weekly throughout the South and nobody becomes excited about them save the principals. The offense ought not to be disregarded, but it is neither unusual nor especially vicious nor—in any real sense—racial.

Treating such an incident as a justification for lynching can not be defended on any argument that Southern women have to be protected or that the Negro race is in revolt or that it must be held "in its place," or on any other specious pretence with which lynchings are commonly excused. Six persons were lynched in Southern States (none in Northern States) during the first half of 1933, and only one of those was charged with attacking a woman. Eight persons were lynched during 1932, and four were charged, respectively, with wounding an officer, dynamiting a store, threatening with a knife, and attempting murder. The Bendy lynching belongs in that category. From the animalism of mob vengeance for a relatively minor offense to the indefensible incompetence of the law in placing the prisoner in a jail which had no jailer, it is a perfect example of the savagery and stupidity of the lynching spirit.

ALBANY, GA.
HERALD

JUL 7 1933

LYNCHED FOR FIGHTING.

The spirit of these times is reflected in the increase of lynching, and particularly in the crimes which arouse mob spirit.

At Clinton, S. C., a white man and a Negro became involved in an altercation, and the Negro struck the white man with a stick, inflicting a wound on the cheek. The Negro fled, but was arrested and placed in jail.

That night a mob described by the jailer as "four white men" forced the door, took the prisoner and lynched him, his body being found next morning in a grave yard.

Perhaps the Negro was to blame for the trouble with the Clinton white man. If so, he should have been punished, but a jury should have passed on the question of his guilt or innocence. Certainly his crime, if crime there was, called for no severer punishment than a few years imprisonment, a good deal depending on the Negro's general character, record and reputation.

There was not the slightest excuse for summary "justice." Viewed in the worst light, the Negro's crime was a minor infraction of law, and to lynch him was to do irreparable harm to law and order in South Carolina.

There have been other lynchings in 1933 for which there was no more excuse or justification than this one in South Carolina. The explanation probably is to be found in the "present unrest"—a state of "nerves" which seems to run throughout our whole social structure.

When conditions get better, perhaps this particular manifestation will pass.

Nashville, Tenn. Tennessean
August 18, 1933

Alabama Mob Murders.

One is encouraged by the reported attitude of Judge Henry B. Foster of Tuscaloosa, Ala., to hope that some results will be obtained in the grand jury investigation of the mob-murder of two negroes and the shooting of a third.

The negroes were charged with the murder of a white woman and there is no doubt but that justice would have been dealt to them after trial by law if they were guilty of the crime attributed to them.

When it appeared that there was danger of mob action against the negroes, they were put in automobiles in charge of sheriff's deputies and the cars set out for Birmingham, presumably in an effort to save the negroes for the law. The officers were, of course, entrusted with the duty of preventing the escape of their prisoners, and were well armed to that end. They also were charged with the duty of protecting their prisoners and their arms were for use in this connection as well as in preventing the escape of the negroes.

But the guns which would certainly have been used if the negroes had undertaken to flee were not used in an effort to save their lives when members of the mob demanded them.

The participation of outside organizations in the dispensation of justice in Southern states might be a factor in the mob action at Tuscaloosa, but that does not excuse the officers for their failure to perform their duty by opposing the mob.

In charging the grand jury, Judge Foster referred to lynching as "mob murder" and ordered "a thorough investigation to ascertain the persons who participated in any way, directly or indirectly, in the lynching." Though press dispatches failed to say that the judge directly mentioned the part played by the deputies, he declared that "no modern community can afford to tolerate lynchings" and that "no fair-minded and law-abiding community, bent on protecting its citizens, will permit such a crime to go unpunished."

The guilt or innocence of the two slain negroes is no longer the point at issue. The point at issue is whether a sovereign state is to offer every accused person the right of a trial at court or whether a self-appointed group is to be allowed to appropriate that right to itself, taking human life and demoralizing a community. There can be but one answer to such a question.

Lynchings — 1933 & Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4088

GREENWOOD, S. C.
INDEX JOURNAL

OCT 12 1933

The Bennie Thompson Killing

The Ninety Six Lynching

From Columbia Record.

Yesterday's slaughter of a negro prisoner at Ninety Six was in many particulars typical of other lynchings.

It was a cowardly crime. The negro was unarmed, a prisoner, helpless, and four men or twenty as the case may have been ran no risk of harm from him in wrecking vengeance upon him. Even a negro, race superiority aside, is no match without weapons for four white men to twenty.

It was a brutal crime, degrading. Execution by bludgeon is a gory business, needlessly painful, revolting beyond the ordinary. "Blood spattered the floor at the back door of the jail," the newspaper accounts of the slaying set out, "and there was evidence that a body had been dragged from the (jail) building through weeds nearby and then placed in an automobile." Men of sensibility customarily shoot even a mad dog.

It was a needless crime. The negro, charged with threatening a group of white men with a knife or a pistol—the stories differ, had already been arrested. He was in jail where he could neither threaten nor do further harm for the time being. He would have been tried by white jurors before a white judge. If guilty he would have been punished; South Carolina juries may be trusted to convict a negro, guilty of crime. But he would not of course have been executed. Threatening a person or a group of persons with a deadly weapon—a knife or a pistol—is a serious offense, but it is not a capital offense.

It was an easily accomplished crime. There was no resistance to be overcome by the lynchers. They made their visit to the jail when the jailer wasn't there; he had gone to meet a train. They had no trouble in getting into the cell in which the negro had been housed. The lock wasn't broken.

It was a dangerous crime, subversive of all law and order, imperiling the state's judicial system, which the lynchers flouted. Southern justice is under fire on many fronts already. There is a hue and cry that negroes are not allowed to serve on juries and there are demands that the federal government assume jurisdiction, taking over entirely the burden of enforcing law and conducting trials, supplanting local police and state constables alike. Every lynching adds fuel to the flames, gives the advocates of federal anti-lynching laws another argument.

But here, to the honor and praise of Ninety Six and Greenwood's sheriff, comparison ends. It was not a typical lynching in one and significant particular. Within 24 hours of the crime two of four men, charged with the slaying, had been arrested. The two others are being sought by officers. The coroner's jury didn't bring in the customary verdict that the murdered negro "came to his death at the hands of persons unknown to the jury." The jurors, white jurors, instead ordered the four white men held for trial. And this is unusual; if it had been the practice to try lynchers in South Carolina as other murderers are tried there might not, maybe probably would not have been a lynching in Ninety Six.

For the way to prevent lynchings is to arrest the lynchers, try them and convict them. The law-abiding citizens of Ninety Six who are in the majority could not, lacking forewarning of the impending crime, have prevented the lynching, but they can see to it that the lynchers are punished and law and order upheld. This, it seems—and The Record does not attempt to prejudice the case of the four men arrested; their guilt or innocence must be established by a Greenwood jury—they are prepared to do. The cause of justice, South Carolina, Greenwood county and Ninety Six will profit from...

—BY ARTHUR BRISBANE—

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Brisbane's column is published as a news feature because of the interesting comments of this distinguished writer upon topics of the day. The views expressed are those of Mr. Brisbane.

Commercial Appeal 10-21-33 Memphis Tenn.

The story of the latest lynching is unpleasant, and arouses sympathy, not so much with the victim, dragged through the streets of the town by a rope attached to his neck at the rear end of an automobile, hanged, and his body burned, as with the mob, men, women and children "packed so closely about the fire that burned the negro's body that the police could not fight their way through."

The victim, it is alleged, had confessed his crime, for which no punishment that human beings might properly inflict could be too great.

The dreadful part of the whole performance is its revelation of human nature "when you scratch through the surface."

A boy of 18 cutting off the negro's ear while he was still alive and helpless, scarcely proves the superiority of his race, and, most amazing, in the south, where respect for women is great, The Associated Press reports: "Under the oak tree, despite the presence of women and children, all the victim's clothes were torn from his body, and he hung there for some minutes nude."

There is consolation in the knowledge that a mob's actions do not accurately represent the character of individuals that make up the mob. Members of a mob are as different from their ordinary selves as dogs hunting in a pack from an individual dog by the fireside. You realize it when you read, also from The Associated Press dispatch: "The mob members seemed crazed, continually leaping on the negro, even after he fell to the ground and was unable to rise."

The late Professor Shaler of Harvard, in his book, "The Mob," declares that under sufficient provocation even a group of clergymen might be transformed into a lynching mob.

Those that tortured, hanged and burned that negro are to be considered as a mob only, not as representing any race or section. The world saw such mobs, on a bigger scale, during the World War.

CHARLOTTE, N. C.
NEWS

OCT 10 1933

S. C. Goes One Up

South Carolina and Alabama between them are about to exercise a monopoly on lynching. First one, then the other, lifts a black from some flimsy and untended local bastile, takes him away and leaves his remains on the side of the road. If between times North Carolina hauls either the body of a Negro or the Negro himself off a truck and pumps lead into it or him, the competition only inspires Alabama and South Carolina to greater efforts.

It has got so in Alabama and South Carolina that they cannot wait for a Negro to commit a really serious offense, such as a raping, or a murder (which implies a white corpse). Cole Blease's "To hell with the Constitution" is a battle cry that now is shouted not only when the sanctity of Southern womanhood is threatened but whenever Southern manhood feels it is not obtaining the proper humble respect from the colored population.

Not so long ago in South Carolina a Negro was taken out of jail and killed because he had struck a white man in a quarrel. The circumstances prompted Governor Blackwood to exclaim, "That's no lynching; that's murder!" whereupon, with rare promptness, nothing came of it. The latest victim struck no one; he only threatened a group with knife in hand, and was arrested for it.

How Governor Blackwood will define the ensuing death by violence we cannot know, but observation of the State of South Carolina's tactics upon previous like occasions leads us to believe that definition is about all that is to be expected.

GREENWOOD, S. C.
INDEX JOURNAL

OCT 12 1933

The Ninety Six Lynching

From Greenville News

Greenwood county authorities merit the high praise of the state for the promptness with which they have acted in seeking to bring to justice the men who took Bennie Thompson, a youthful negro, from the town jail at Ninety Six Monday night and beat him to death.

The crime has been heralded as a "lyncing" but so far as the evidence has developed, the only resemblance it bore to a lynching lay in the fact that the victim was a prisoner in a jail and was taken therefrom. The crime was committed, it is fairly well established, by a small group of men; there was no evidence of any "mob" spirit; the negro, had according to all accounts committed no offense calculated to arouse mob indignation in sufficient degree to justify the term "lynching."

It hardly needs to be said that such a crime is a disgrace to the state, but Greenwood authorities have done their utmost to redeem the reputation of the county by their vigorous effort to see that justice is done. Before the crime was twelve hours old, they had in custody two white men charged with the crime one of whom is said to have confessed and implicated three others With that gratifying demonstration of a determination to see that the crime is punished, one has confidence that the search for the remaining members of the group will be prosecuted successfully and that the courts of Greenwood county will see that adequate justice is meted out.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
RECORD

OCT 10 1933

THE NINETY-SIX LYNCHING.

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ROCKY MOUNT, N. C.
TELEGRAM

OCT 11 1933

Lynching In South Carolina

A young Negro who quarreled with a group of white men near Ninety-Six, S. C., and was said to have made a threat against them, was taken from the jail where he was confined and beaten to death. Three arrests have followed the discovery of the body and one of the men, according to the Associated Press, admitted beating the Negro with an automobile tube.

In making his confession the suspect stated that they asked the officer in charge of the jail to leave the door of the Negro's cell unlocked and that the officer complied. No sign of force used to open the cell has been discovered. The officer of the law denied his part in the matter, but Governor Blackwood is sending State officers to the place for a thorough inquiry.

It is not necessary to say that the matter should be sifted to the bottom. If the officer is proved to be in collusion with the men who beat the Negro to death, he is, in a sense, the most guilty of the offenders. It is quite evident that the officer could have prevented the lynching, that there was no general uprising against the Negro, and that the crime he is alleged to have committed—namely, to have made a threat against white men who were, in all probability, tormenting him—was not one likely to arouse public sentiment to the point where there would be mass action to take the Negro's life.

One of the most effective methods for breaking up lynchings is to make a practice of bringing every party involved to justice. It is not an easy matter. A sheriff who uses the law against lynching, in some counties, is likely to become unpopular. Officers who insist on bringing men to trial who have violated laws designed to protect society from violence of mob action are doing nothing more than their duty.

An officer who assists in a lynching by making a prisoner easily accessible to a mob commits an unpardonable crime.

The least that can be expected in South Carolina is that a thorough investigation will be made and that prosecutions will follow.

RALEIGH, N. C.
NEWS OBSERVER

OCT 14 1933

DISGRACE TO SOUTH CAROLINA.

Columbia State.

Terming the killing of the young Negro, Bennie Thompson, at NinetySix, a "lynching" is to soften the reality, however lawless and uncivilized lynching may be.

Bennie Thompson was in the town jail, having been arrested on charges made against him by several young white men who "had had some trouble with him at a cafe" and who alleged he had drawn a pistol.

Thompson was taken from the jail by those having personal grievance for said trouble, and beaten to death. That was no lynching; it was cruel murder.

Cruel murder is bad enough, in all conscience, in a country claiming civilization and supposed to be governed by laws, made and administered by and for civilized people. Yet the story told of this Ninety-Six affair paints it in uglier colors than even cruel murder.

With promptness of action which has been commended by the governor of the state, Sheriff White of Greenwood arrested several suspects and the Associated Press dispatch from Ninety-Six records their confession. They confess to having taken the prisoner from the jail; to having beaten him with automobile top tubes and to have left him "still alive" by the roadside It was there the "terribly scarred body" was later found.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
NEWS

OCT 11 1933

Not a Lynching

Four men have been arrested on the charge of taking a negro out of "jail" in Ninety-Six and beating him to death. The Associated Press carefully avoids in the dispatch printed yesterday morning reference to this infamous act as a "lynching." It was no lynching, and a considerable number of offences in the South are classed as lynchings which in fact have nothing in common with slaughter by a mob or a community uprising.

When Gus Winkler, the Chicago gangster, was slain by "three killers" last Monday, it was a crime of revenge as was the slaying of the man in Ninety-Six on Sunday night.

The word "jail" in this state is usually given to a county prison in a courthouse town, and is a building of some strength and security. The village of Ninety-Six is not a courthouse town. It is not at all likely that the keeper of the jail in the city of Greenwood would have allowed four men who had had a quarrel with a negro to come into the jail and talk with him.

The chief of police of Ninety-Six admits that he "let the four boys (those who had quarreled with the negro) 'talk to the negro last night after he had been locked up." Unfortunately, officers of the law in villages sometimes have vague and loose notions of official duties.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
October 17, 1933

Race Relations

"As a Christian congregation, we denounce lawlessness, we denounce mob violence, we denounce lynching"—thus members of the Independent Presbyterian Church went on record Sunday in resolutions which praised Dr. Henry M Edmonds for the stand he has taken against race prejudice and its woeful fruit. And thus again Presbyterians of this state raise an enlightened voice against the lynching evil.

The leadership of Dr. Edmonds has been one of the most hopeful aspects of the situation in this commonwealth. He has not only spoken for understanding and tolerance—he has worked for it in many ways, thereby contributing to the fundamental soundness of the thought of our people toward mob violence. He has rendered a constructive service by his activities in the interracial movement which is precious beyond our immediate appreciation.

Asserting that a strengthened judiciary will make for justice to all and for quick punishment of the guilty, Dr. Edmonds' parishioners make the point that "all who so believe should work to replace prejudice and anger with a calm investigation of facts, followed by swift and orderly action in accordance with law." This is a summons to which all good citizens must heed. It is a call which goes to the heart of the problem of establishing righteous and civilized relations between the races in the South.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions

White Press, southern.

4089

4089

Talladega, Ala., Home
November 28, 1933

CALIFORNIA.

If anything could be worse than the San Jose lynching of two murder-kidnapers, it is the approval given to the deed by Governor James Rolph, Jr., of California. Until yesterday no one would have dreamed there was a governor of a sovereign state of the United States who would condone, much less frankly approve, such a wanton disregard for law and order. Even holding such views, it would seem that the responsibility of heading a great state would restrain his words, which are no more than a bid for further lawlessness, not only in California, but beyond, for it is easy to see that in the future when the mob spirit flares those who believe in such things will point to the Governor of California as a champion and defender. The Governor of California has dealt a serious blow to the forces of civilization by defending such a flareback to savagery as that exhibited in San Jose.

However much the kidnapers deserved death, and they certainly did, their execution should have been left to the state of California and not performed by an inflamed mob.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
November 28, 1933

INTERRACIAL HEAD RAPS GOV. ROLPH

Support Lent to Most Ruthless Form of Lawlessness, Says Alexander

Governor Rolph, of California, in expressing approval of the lynching at San Jose "has lent his support to the most ruthless form of lawlessness in America," Dr. W. W. Alexander, director of the commission on interracial co-operation, said here Monday.

The interracial commission is an organization composed of prominent white and negro citizens of both sexes which is to better understanding between the races. One of its main fights has been to stamp out lynching.

Dr. Alexander's statement said:

"The governor of California in expressing approval of the lynching at San Jose last night has lent his support to the most ruthless form of lawlessness in America. As between lynching and kidnaping, lynching is the more serious crime of the two. It involves not a few individual criminals here and there but enlists whole communities in orgies of violence and murder in which law and civilization are lynched no less truly than human victims.

"In recent months the authorities have demonstrated their ability to cope with kidnapers as they are doing in this case. On the contrary the almost universal failure to convict lynchers indicates that lynching is a much more difficult crime to eradicate. Governor Rolph's expressed approval of the San Jose lynching affair will only add to this difficulty and fix the lynching habit more firmly upon a nation that is already discredited by it around the world.

"Unfortunately, the governor's responsibility in the matter is not limited to the statement or the approval after the deed was done. In refusing the importunity of the sheriff for assistance in resisting the mob, the governor became also in effect an accessory before the fact. Probably his action and attitude in the matter constitutes the most surprising and deplorable aspect of it."

ORGANIZATIONS, INDIVIDUALS PROTEST ROLPH'S ATTITUDE

National organizations as well as prominent individuals Monday voiced protests against Governor James Rolph's attitude in connection with the California lynchings.

NEW YORK—The national committee for the defense of political prisoners addressed a letter to Governor Rolph declaring: "You are unfitted for the responsibilities placed upon you. We are as far from advocating kidnaping as you are. We believe that for their Crime, Thurmond and Holmes should have been tried and sentenced. We believe that they deserved the maximum penalty. We begin to understand clearly why you turn a deaf ear to the evidence in the Mooney-Billings case. Once more you have permitted your personal convictions to interfere with the impersonal and vigorous administration of your sworn duties."

OKLAHOMA CITY—Governor W. H. Murray said that the lynching of Thurmond and Holmes could have been averted if the public had been convinced that the kidnapers would have received the death penalty.

LINCOLN, Neb.—Uniform stat[e] laws, making death the penalty fo[r] kidnaping, "is the most sa[tisfact]or[y] way to deal with the kidnaping rack[et]," Governor Charles W. Bryan sai[d]. "Kidnaping," he said, "is the mos[t] dastardly of all crimes."

N. A. A. C. P. Attacks Rolph.

NEW YORK—Governor Rolph's attitude was attacked as a "shameful official encouragement to mobs to defy authorities," by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "No citizen," the association's statement said, "and no government is safe with anarchy sanctioned from the governor's chair."

DECATUR, Ala.—Thomas E. Knight Jr., Alabama attorney-general who is directing prosecution of the Scottsboro case, expressed opposition to mob violence "in any form."

NEW YORK—The American Civil Liberties Union sent the following telegram to Governor Rolph: "You are quoted as justifying San Jose lynching of kidnapers by saying: 'It is the best lesson California has even given the country.' Our board of directors denounces such an unprecedented official indorsement of lynching. It is an incitement to mob violence elsewhere with lynching on the increase. Statements credited to make you directly a party to the lynching. We express the indignation of thousands who deplore and condemn kidnaping but who abhor lynching and mob violence more."

Darrow Bewildered.

CHICAGO—Clarence Darrow expressed bewilderment over the reported remarks of Governor James Rolph, of California, condoning the lynching of two kidnapers.

"I do not approve of capital punishment, which is merely legal lynching, so I can only condemn illegal lynching," said Darrow. "That is a strange statement to come from the governor of any state," Darrow added. "I can't understand how any man in his position could do such a thing. It is thoroughly inconsistent with his duty and authority."

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. — Governor Henry Horner said today in commenting on the San Jose lynching that "every lynching is a defiance of law and order and an admission of the inadequacy of local authorities to prosecute crime."

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
November 28, 1933

LOCAL MINISTERS 'ABHOR' LYNCHING

Baptist Pastors Adopt Resolution on Hearing of Crime in California

Informed of the double lynching of kidnapers in California yesterday, the ministers of Macon Baptist churches, meeting in the First Baptist church, adopted a resolution expressing "abhorrence of lynching under all conditions."

Dr. J. P. Boone, pastor-elect of the First Baptist church, spoke to the group. He told them about the early founding of Southwestern seminary at Fort Worth, Texas. On all community projects for the betterment of the section, he pledged his co-operation and interest.

The ministers and the executive committee of the Rehoboth association adopted a resolution of appreciation to the First Baptist church for inviting Dr. Boone to become pastor here, and to Dr. Boone for accepting. Dr. Boone, who has resigned as pastor of the First Baptist church in Tuscaloosa, Ala., will become pastor of the church here December 17.

The resolution against lynching was proposed by Dr. J. E. Sammons, pastor of the Vineville Baptist church. Dr. Sammons said that he was not condemning the Californian government for its action in the slaying since he knew few of the particulars, but that he suggested that the group express its abhorrence of such crimes.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
November 28, 1933

THE CALIFORNIA LYNCHING.

As inexcusable as lynching is under any circumstances, it must be said in behalf of the people of California that if ever a lynching was justified the one taking place in San Jose Sunday night was.

It was the penalty for as heinous, cold-blooded and brutal crime as was ever committed. It combined the worst features of kidnaping and deliberate murder.

At a time when the country is inflamed over kidnap outrages the California outrage reached the ultimate in depravity in that its perpetrators deliberately planned the extortion of money from a frenzied family after they had thrown their victim's weighted body into the bay.

It is not surprising that the crime, committed against a promising and widely respected youth, should have so aroused public opinion that a mob estimated at more than 5,000 men and women should have taken the law into their hands and strung the confessed prisoners to trees in the center of a public park near the scene of the kidnaping.

The regrettable California outbreak proves, as has often been proven in the past, that when unusually provocative crimes are committed, the outraged citizenship of any section will be stirred to the extent of retaliation by the effort to take the law in their own hands.

Lynchings are deplorable from every standpoint, but there are crimes, brutal and revolting in nature, that are certain to arouse the passions of even so high type a citizenship as that of California.

Greensboro, N. C., News
November 27, 1933

A SOUTH CAROLINA EXHIBIT.

In all the condemnation, the major portion of which the Daily News concedes to be justified, of the south for lynchings in its midst and failure of authorities who are sworn to uphold the majesty of the law to do anything about them, an exception, from the generally maligned state of South Carolina, qualifies for a more or less glorified place in the records.

Early last week a band of masked and robed men, exemplifying not only mob violence but an ignominous return to kluckerism, entered the home of George Green, negro tenant farmer near Greenville. When the negro attempted to resist their entry, he was shot down; perhaps after a fashion which some of the legal brethren who insist upon the niceties of technical argument may term murder but which, to the lay mind, approaches lynching closely enough to fall under the general category, particularly since investigating authorities assert that the invasion was to do "whatever was necessary" to force Green from the tenant house which he was occupying. Patently, the act was an attempt of private agencies to take the law into their own hands; an attempt in which death stalked for the victim.

But that is getting ahead of the story. Now, less than a week after the crime, call it what you please, six white men have been arrested with the seventh, whose identity is declared known to officers, sought

and lodged in jail to face murder charges in connection with the slaying. Not only that, but Sheriff B. B. Smith, of Greenville county, who worked with W. Fred Newman, state constable on the case, claims to have signed confessions from five of the prisoners.

How the South Carolina officers pursued their investigation, meager dispatches do not state. The results, however, are sufficient to show an official will which refused to yield to the racial element, to raise the Palmetto investigators as an example of southern law triumphant for at least once in its life, and to elicit from this household publication the hope that Constable Newman and Sheriff Smith may be invited to become instructors in North Carolina's duly heralded school for local law enforcement agencies.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
November 28, 1933

California Lynchings

Governor James Rolph, Jr., of California says he will pardon the entire 5,000 lynchers if any of them are convicted or if any one of them is convicted of lynching the slayers of the young kidnaped Hart boy. He thinks the lynching was a fine lesson for the nation, and that it will reduce kidnaping in this country. He commends the mob for making a good job of the lynchings.

People who know what a severe strain organized society must undergo in its war against organized crime cannot agree with Governor Rolph. He's giving fine backing indeed to the fifty loyal and upright officers of the law who battled with the mob of 5,000 until resistance was no longer possible. The governor and every officer of the law is under oath to make people obey the law, and also to protect a prisoner that is brought into the custody of the law.

So far as the 5,000 members of the mob are concerned Governor Rolph has said a very politic thing. Perhaps he said it for policy's sake—but that's the kinds of politics that give anarchy a good race with organized government. This country is in a sad plight when nobody is left to defend the majesty of the law—when the governor will applaud its degradation. It is again sad when farmers against whom a court has rendered a legal decision in a mortgage case will through mob spirit take the judge and carry him out and spit on him to show their contempt of him and his court. It is a sad situation when a Maryland judge pleads with the mob to cease their efforts to lynch a Negro, telling them he knows the leaders, and then after the lynching, he finds that he does not dare remember one of the lynchers. Governor Rolph says the people created the law and they are superior to it. But did they not make it to keep any individual or set of individuals from becoming superior to it? They left no provision for lynching. If they want to lynch for certain crimes or under certain circumstances, certainly they have a right to give themselves the privilege, but under the mob plan any man or set of men may kill any other man or set of men at will, and get applause for doing so.

Organized crime is preying upon organized society. It is kidnaping and robbing and murdering at will, and society needs to pull itself together and hold itself together for self-protection, if for no better reason.

While the mob was fanning itself into a fury in California, the senate sub-committee on crime prevention was working with ex-Gov. Alfred E. Smith and others in public meetings in New York to see what the government shall do when the profits on whisky selling are supposed to be taken away from organized crime and put into other channels. Those meetings seem to agree that it is certainty of punishment that deters crime, and not the severity of punishment, and it was pointed out that the United States has already the greatest number of punishable crimes and the longest terms of punishment found in any of the leading nations, but too many criminals feel like Governor Rolph's mob feels—all who commit crime have many chances of finding a Governor Rolph or a Maryland judge.

THE MOB SPIRIT AND OTHER HUMAN EMOTIONS

The Advertiser has been much interested in the "reactions"—when will a better and less tiresome word come to take the place of "reaction?"—of people to the news of recent American mobs, particularly the much-glorified mob that performed its function in San Jose, California, a few days ago.

We have had a series of spectacular lynchings in the land lately, the only fortunate thing about them being that they diverted attention from poor Alabama and the proper noun, "Scottsboro."

The other day The Advertiser lamented the fact that civilization had not yet matured sufficiently in this country to hope that a politician like Governor Rolph of California would be impeached for his lawlessness and inflammatory applause of the San Jose mob.

A great many people commented on this utterance. One of them, a citizen noted for his devotion to law and order, said to the editor: "It's funny, while my heart applauds Rolph and the San Jose mob, my head applauds your editorial. The lynching pleased me, but I know you are right."

This gentleman voiced the sentiments of many others who discussed the matter with the editor.

A much esteemed citizen of Alabama writes a letter to The Advertiser in which he excuses the San Jose mob on the ground that our courts have failed the people.

An honest mechanic said to the editor, in speaking of a certain trial now in progress in this State: "It looks like the South ain't got no pride left about the white race. If so, why did we let this trial and scandal come on?" He meant that we should have lynched first and commented later.

Let us consider the mob spirit, and other human emotions. What would be the fate of the rest of us if civilization had not made a career of disciplining human emotions.

At last, where should most of us be if we did not let the head rather than the heart, modify our conduct?

The first test of the orderly man involves his ability to repress and direct his emotional nature.

First, civilization had to talk the average man out of the mood to kill his fancied enemy on sight.

It had to talk the average American out of the mood to carry a pistol, even to church.

It had to teach the average man and woman that they must accept certain inhibitions of the romantic spirit. It had to teach "patriots" that their first duty was not to hate and distrust the inhabitants of other countries and the members of other tribes.

It has had to teach the average citizen that in the end trial by jury is the last barrier between the fireside and chaos.

It is true that courts are slow and often seemingly unjust. But has a mob fan stopped to think how much less just and wise a mob is than an oathbound jury of responsible citizens?

Has the mob fan stopped to read once more the lessons in the Bill of Rights?

Has he paused to think of all the riches of the spirit that have flowed from the Bill of Rights, including the right of trial by a jury of his peers? Finally, does he not realize that the mob is far older than the jury, and that the mob record is nothing to crow about?

Once we repudiate trial by jury in an Anglo-Saxon country, we are lost! Be not deceived. The jury trial is the stoutest barrier known to man between the hearth and the raging mob.

The mob feeds on its own spirit. The mob at San Jose was inspired. But the next one may be moved by a base and curel spirit. It may strike down something precious and irretrievable.

The mob spirit feeds only on itself.

Give the mob dignity and respectability and in the end it will destroy all that we who are free hold dear.

In all reason, Rolph should be impeached. But he will not be. The court that attempts impeachment would itself be lynched.

In the end the race will be above thought of such a crime as punishing those who uphold decency, but at the moment the race is still the helpless victim of juvenile emotions.

Next to Roosevelt, the smiling leader of a despairing people, Rolph is at the moment probably the most popular politician in the land.

But the fact remains that he is a sorry white man.

ON THE CALIFORNIA LYNCHING AND ITS CAUSE

Editor The Advertiser:

While I approve your sentiments, expressed in your editorial of November 28, that mob violence is a menace to civilized society I, nevertheless feel that the lynching of murderers of Brook Hart is more of an indictment of our courts of justice than of the people of San Jose, Calif.

The crime which aroused the San Jose people to frenzy was monstrous beyond words; the indentity of the kidnaping murderers had been established beyond a shadow of a doubt. Yet, justice faced the possibility of defeat or indefinite delay through legal technicalities. A lawyer for the defense had been retained, ready to go to court with well worn and too frequently effective shield for criminals—the insanity dodge.

So the people at San Jose took the law in their own hands and meted out swift and deserved punishment to a pair of ghouls. Their procedure was illegal, their act was just. They simply did what they had empowered their courts to do, and what they feared the courts might not do.

If legal punishment of criminals were swift, sure, relentless mob violence would soon become non-existent. Miscarriage of justice is as great a danger to civilized society when brought about by legal technicalities as is mob violence. The surest way to stop the mob is to revamp and speed up our legal machinery for punishing criminals. Lynch law is deplorable, yes; but the defeat of justice by obstructive legal machinery is mainly responsible for mob violence.

At any rate, one can rather safely hazard the guess that hereafter kidnapping and murder are not going to be very popular means of getting hold of easy money in California.

JOHN W. FRAZER.

Selma, Ala.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4090

BELLED BUZZARDS OVER MARYLAND

The belled buzzards which recently swarmed over Alabama are now encircling the Free State of Maryland.

Euel Lee, a Negro hanged for murder in Baltimore this week, was made a martyr by the black-beaked birds.

The buzzards wanted the body of the dead Negro!

10-29-33

They wanted to take it back to Harlem, this body of a dead Negro!

They wanted to take the body of Euel Lee back to Harlem to put on display, to foment hate in the hearts of misled black men and women.

But the courts of Maryland ruled that the body of the Negro put to death for a crime against the people of the State of Maryland could not be taken back to New York to be displayed before a mass meeting.

"We are going to give Lee a decent burial," the warden at the Maryland prison said.

This fiendish plan to take the Negro's body to New York to display as a hate-inciting exhibit is born of the same type of mind which would drag the body of a lynched Negro through public streets, horrifying women and children. The idea is even more sickening for it was planned coolly and deliberately while the wrongs of a mob are inspired by passion.

At least the people of Maryland should understand why Alabama wants no belled buzzards winging their way over martyrs and carcasses of their own making.

MARYLAND LYNCHING

A lynching in Maryland or in New Jersey does not excuse a lynching in Alabama or Mississippi. Nor should a lynching in Harlem make a lynching in Alabama less deplorable.

Advertiser

Natives of the deep South may resent the description of the recent Maryland murder as "another lynching in the South," however, Alabamians, Georgians and Mississippians do not think of Maryland as a Southern State. But Maryland is proud to call itself a Southern State and so people living in the Deep South cannot object when the New York press refers to the killing of the Maryland Negro as "Another Southern Lynching."

10-28-33

The lynching in St. Anne's County, Maryland, was blamed on the delays in the case of Euel Lee, a Maryland Negro arrested two years ago on charges of rape.

And it may be remembered that the blame for the last three lynchings in Alabama was placed on the Scottsboro cases, outside interference in the cases.

To the credit of the Maryland press and the Maryland people, it must be said that those in Maryland who were quick to re-plore the lynchings in Alabama were just as hasty to condemn the lynching in Maryland.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.
ITEM

OCT 21 1933

More Lynching

LYNCHING again puts its ugly mark on Maryland. A mob of 3000 after being twice repulsed, seizes and hangs a Negro, drags the body through the streets, tosses it on telephone wires and there cremates it. Mobbery seldom goes further than this in ingenuity and thoroughness.

Until recently the entire South and such border States as Maryland had preserved a laudable record of few lynchings, and those far between, through more than three trying years of depression. The recent relapses have been dismal. The crime of which the latest victim was accused, an attack upon an elderly white farm woman, explains the exceptional fury of the mob. But now that the grisly episode is past, nothing has been gained that was not morally sure to be gained by lawful means, and something has been lost. That goes for every other state that within recent months has taken the law in its own hands, our own included. They may believe that they are proud of themselves and the record. But they can't help knowing that they have lost some of the respect of the rest of the country.

GREENSBORO, N. C.
RECORD

OCT 21 1933

Why Do Maryland Police Tote Guns?

A rather singular circumstance in the lynching of the negro, George Armwood, at Princess Anne, Md., was that state police, well armed, were present at the scene and, according to all accounts, could have repelled the invaders of the jail in which the prisoner was lodged had they chosen to fire on the mobsters.

State Police Captain Johnson and his men, though bearing weapons, preferred to risk their lives in hand-to-hand, fist and skull, fighting with the mobsters than to fire on them. Thus, when half a dozen officers faced by a mob of some 5,000 persons refused to use their arms, it can hardly be said that they offered resistance. Surely this Maryland officer and his men knew what their duty was and what was expected of them in the circumstances.

This incident is strangely paradoxical, in a way. In most cases police officers are too quick with the trigger finger. But here were armed officers who permitted a lawless mob to have its own way without firing a shot.

Why should Maryland be put to the expense of arming her state troopers with real weapons? Why not give them pop-guns or bean-shooters?

The action of the Maryland troopers reminds of a circumstance in North Carolina's latest lynching, the one in Pender county. There the sheriff, after a mob had taken a prisoner away from him and his deputies and lynched the former, told investigating officers he just "didn't know what to do" under such circumstances. The Maryland officers did put up a fight of a sort, whereas the Tar Heel sheriff and his men not knowing what to do did nothing.

The use of firearms in law enforcement is seldom necessary. But there is a time to shoot. Such a time comes when mobs start taking the law in their own hands. When leaders of a mob bent on lynching are met with hot lead the lynching usually fails to come off.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.
EXPRESS

OCT 20 1933

SAVAGERY—AND THE RECORD OF MARYLAND

Albert C. Ritchie's record as the longtime Governor of Maryland has been distinguished by highly intelligent constructive service which has redounded to the public benefit in many ways, and also by courage. The civilized, orderly, law-abiding majority of his own State's and the Nation's citizenry therefore look to him to make certain that the perpetrators of the attack upon the Somerset County jail, and of a lynch-murder relatively as foul in circumstance as the atrocious crime that had been committed by the mob's negro victim, shall be punished to the statutory limit.

Upon the Governor's insistence that his orders for a thorough investigation—by outside authorities—and speedy judicial action be carried out honestly and fully, may depend a continuance of Maryland's comparatively decent, civilized showing in the lynching record for more than a generation past.

Neither that "free" Commonwealth nor the Republic as a whole can afford to let go unpunished such attacks on State and county police and such degrading savagery as make the Princess Anne mob a horror and a hissing. That citizens of a Nation like the United States should allow their wives and children to look upon a spectacle so foul—instead of letting the law take its course to the end of the negro attacker's execution—is well-nigh incredible. But it is not altogether incredible, for like atrocities have been committed from time to time in other States—whose Governors and local authorities have done little or nothing honest either to protect courthouse or jail against the mob or to punish the lynchers if the protection failed or was attempted too late.

Maryland's Executive should be the sterner, the more eager, to bring the Princess Anne mob to justice because of the tragic misjudgment by State police and sheriff's forces as to the likelihood of a lynching attempt. Apparently those officers did all in their power to repel the attackers at the jail and to keep the prisoner out of mob hands—to their own injury. Yet it would seem that the wisdom of surrounding the jail with State troops and their machine-guns was indicated plainly enough when Governor Ritchie was inquiring about the reported threat of mob violence.

In such manner years ago did Governors Cooper of South Carolina, Bickett of North Carolina and Morrow of Kentucky, for examples, successfully defend their courthouses and jails against would-be lynchers. Now the only amends which Governor Ritchie can make—in defense of his State's good name—is strictly to enforce the law against the perpetrators of one of the most hideous mob murders in recent years.

During 1933 the anti-lynching cause has been suffering a grievous set-back.

...et not Maryland's government impede further by vacillation and weakness the wake of this mob crime.

Another Stigma on Georgia

Telegraph

It is never safe to point the finger of scorn at anyone else when it comes to this matter of mob violence.

We were just on the eve of saying that the lynching last week at Princess Anne, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, of a Negro, in circumstances of peculiar atrocity, had justly aroused the indignation of the entire country, and since it was the second lynching in two years at almost the same spot, with no one punished, it was time for the Maryland authorities to get busy. 10-25-33

But just at that juncture comes the news that a Negro was taken from the city jail, at Richland, Ga., in broad open daylight Monday morning and done to death by a mob.

It appears that the victim of mob law was arrested by a local policeman on a charge of having made an assault upon a ten-year-old Negro girl. Shortly after he was placed in the city lock-up a mob broke the outside lock and made their way to his cell. Macon, Ga.

The sheriff of the county was notified, and he trailed the mob to a point about two miles from town, where he found the Negro in a wood. He was brought to town and placed in the county jail, where he died of his wounds, having been shot four times and beaten.

The sheriff says he has not been able to learn the identity of any of the mob, "but it was not a large one."

In the Maryland case the newspapers are saying that the immunity of the lynchers, in December, 1931, undoubtedly gave encouragement to the blood-thirsty mob which took Armwood from the Princess Anne jail Wednesday night, hanged him, burned his body to a cinder, dancing around the bonfire with ghoulish cries of ecstacy and distributing pieces of the hangman's rope as gruesome souvenirs.

Tremendous pressure is being brought to bear to punish the guilty in the Maryland case, but the indications are not strong for success. The sheriff was in the jail with the mob. It is not denied that he was really overpowered and perhaps could not have prevented the lynching after the mob got inside. But someone was to blame for bringing the Negro back to Princess Anne after he had once been safely lodged in jail at Baltimore.

It is equally true that the sheriff knows every man in the county, but now he claims that every one in the mob was a complete stranger to him!

The judge of the court made an address to the mob, asking that the law takes its course. He told them that he recognized many of its members as they stood before him.

But he, too, has had a change. He contends that the mob which did the lynching was not the same mob he addressed a few minutes before.

Any criticism of Maryland on the part of Georgia newspapers would now bring the reply that we had better sweep before our own door.

The Richland case was not accompanied with those peculiarly atrocious acts which characterized the Maryland affair, but on the other hand, what becomes of the old contention about protecting the women of the white race? Certainly it does not in any degree condone the guilt of the attacker that his victim was a Negro girl, but it does take from the lynchers in the Richland case the one excuse so often offered about an "unwritten law" to protect white women.

The state of Georgia deplores this new blot on the state and we shall not assume any holier-than-thou attitude towards Maryland.

MIAMI, FLA
HERALD

OCT 21 1933

AVOIDABLE LYNCHING

AN EDITORIAL in The Baltimore Sun Wednesday morning commended the prompt action of the authorities in bringing to Baltimore for safekeeping a negro who had attacked an ~~aged~~ white woman in Somerset county. The newspaper said it was quite possible that the state was saved the disgrace of a lynching by the decision to get the man out of the reach of an angy mob. It pointed out that it was the duty of authorities to bear in mind the threat of violence and do what circumstances demand. "The sensible people of Somerset and the Eastern Shore assuredly are gratified that the vengeance of hotheads was averted."

A news item in the same edition of the paper announced that George Armwood, the negro, was taken from the Baltimore city jail back to the Princess Anne jail in Somerset county at the behest of the county authorities. He was surrounded by state police. John B. Robins, state's attorney, was quoted as saying he anticipated no trouble on the part of the populace.

On the same Wednesday night Armwood was removed from the jail by a mob of a thousand men, women and children, and lynched. He was hanged to a tree and later the body was burned. The vengeance of hotheads was not averted. Maryland was disgraced. This was directly due to the poor judgment of Somerset authorities and the willingness of the state to risk the neck of the negro after he was safely imprisoned in Baltimore. Certainly the law must have known the feeling that existed. It should have realized that removing the man back to the scene of the crime was an invitation to violence; that it was providing bait for the mob.

The aftermath is now developing. For some reason the Socialist party has assumed the lead in condemning the powers for the lynching. It demands the impeachment of Governor Ritchie for "criminal neglect of duty," which is not altogether clear. A governor must depend upon the advice of his subordinates. The Socialist committee is on firmer grounds when it asks the removal of Judge Duer and State's Attorney Robins of Somerset county, and calls for their prosecution "on charges of second degree manslaughter." Communists said the governor should order the arrest of the two officials.

Knowing the situation that existed the county authorities erred grievously in asking that the negro be returned to their jurisdiction and the state blundered in granting the request. The Maryland outrage was one that could have been easily avoided by a little sense on the part of those in control.

NORFOLK, VA.
VIRGINIAN PILOT

OCT 20 1933

Maryland Madness

If the stark fury of the men, women and children who murdered the Negro George Armwood in Princess Anne, Maryland, could be set aside, those who have followed Eastern Shore history in recent years will not be greatly surprised that its people have turned again to lynch law. The section is aflame, and has been for many months. It has brooded for two years over a case of wholesale murder of one Euel Lee. Although he confessed his crime in October, 1931, and has been convicted twice, a long series of legal maneuvers has dragged the case through court after court, and punishment has not been exacted yet. Deeply stirred by this procrastination, the Eastern Shore broke loose once before and wreaked its vengeance on another prisoner, Matthew Williams, hanging him on the courthouse lawn in Salisbury.

This was the background when George Armwood was arrested on charge of attacking an aged white woman. Maryland authorities realized the danger immediately and conveyed him to safety in Baltimore. But they forgot or overlooked the depth of Eastern Shore ferocity. Eventually the prisoner was returned, after Governor Ritchie had been assured by a local judge that the danger was past. It was a mistake, even if arrangements were made for 25 State police to stand guard.

We emphasize the setting because it is an important part of the whole ghastly picture. It means that what Maryland has to deal with is not the criminality of a handful of men whose fury was aroused by a terrible act, but a sullen and on occasion a seething spirit of revolt against the very conception of the State and its legal processes. The lawlessness of a small group could at least be understood and, given the right sort of determination, could be got at and stamped out. But the lawlessness of whole sections of the population is another matter. The Princess Anne lynching is more than an individual crime. It is more than a mob crime. It is a community crime in which the passions of women and children as well as men united in a throw-back to barbarity that would put naked savages to shame.

One has only to read the facts to understand that. The assault on the jail was so fierce that more than a score of policemen were thrust aside, beaten into insensibility and helplessness. The stripping of the Negro prisoner; the dragging of him ... around his neck, through the streets of the town; the attack of the sans-culottes who beat him, knocked him unconscious, cut off his ear; the hanging of the nude body to a tree adjacent to the yard of a judge who sought to restrain the mob; the burning of the dead body in the town square; the presence of women and of youngsters in their 'teens, and the scramble for sections of the rope as souvenirs—all these build up a story that can only be explained on the basis of the community's going mad.

This is the central fact which Maryland, from Governor Ritchie down, has to face. In sheer savagery the country has not suffered from such a lynching in years. But over and above the bestiality is the solemn truth that this kind of vengeance is a reflection of a whole countryside's feeling. Just as important as the duty of government to discover and punish the guilty—and may it proceed on that duty with courage—is the responsibility of rooting out a spirit among sections of the population which, as it now seems, is liable to spring out in berserker rage on any provocation

Lynchings-1933 & Discussions. White Press, Southern 4091

MOB RULE DENOUNCED IN TALK BY ANDERSON

Constitution 11-27-33

Decrying mob rule and the lack of civil liberties for a portion of the population of the south, W. T. Anderson, editor of the Macon Telegraph, was the principal speaker Sunday afternoon before the Atlanta Forum Association at the Congregational Christian church.

The widely-known newspaperman criticized the south for curtailing liberties for negroes and recited the history of the struggle of the people of the new world for the civic privileges they now enjoy. He denounced mob rule and violence.

Mr. Anderson paid high tribute to President Roosevelt and the administration program. He especially praised the national industrial recovery act and pointed out that the NRA in no way interferes with the freedom of the press.

WHERE THE FAULT LIES.

Constitution 11-29-33 Atlanta, Ga.

The open defense by Governor Rolph, of California, of the lynching by a San Jose mob of two confessed kidnapers held in jail in that city has led to a nation-wide controversy, illustrating the regrettable harm to the public weal that invariably follows when the citizens of a community take the law into their own hands. In this instance, the chief executive of a great state is being subjected to bitter criticism and dire forebodings of other and worse violations of law and order are being predicted. The south is injected into the controversy because of allusions to racial prejudice.

It is a situation from which only harm can result—and is chiefly attributable to the laxity of court procedure and the abuse of the pardon power in the United States.

No such outrages against law and order occur in Great Britain and her dominions because British justice is quick and certain—as illustrated in the recent execution in Canada of a father and son from Tennessee who had been convicted of the murder of a farmer in a western Canadian province.

These two men were traced back to their home in the United States, extradited, promptly tried and convicted and executed. Had they committed their crime in this country and escaped to Canada, it is likely they would never have been apprehended. If they had been caught and brought to trial, the odds are that they would have escaped the death sentence, and that before many years the executive power would have been used to cut short their incarceration.

In that difference is to be found the reason why mob violence is an unknown thing in one of the great English-speaking nations of the world but is lamentably frequent in the other.

Former President Taft, while chief justice of the supreme court, made the unqualified statement that "our criminal courts are a disgrace." Conditions were bad enough when it could be said that "the wheels of justice grind slowly but surely." Now they grind even more slowly and with every prospect that, in the long run, those guilty of even the most heinous crimes will be able to escape their just desert through resort to the loopholes with which our legal procedure abounds.

It is this condition that makes possible the extra-legal justice meted out by the San Jose mob and the recent lynching in Maryland which has finally resulted in the militia of the state being called out to arrest generally known members of the mob whom the local courts have refused to hail before the bar of justice.

The trouble is not with our judges, prosecuting attorneys or juries. As a whole the country has no more faithful nor capable public servants, but their efforts are all too often nullified by the technicalities which make our form of legal procedure more of a stumbling block than an aid to the rendition of justice.

For years committees of the American Bar Association and of the various state bar associations have been working on new and simpler codes, but their efforts have resulted in but little improvement.

The responsibility for the reworking of our antiquated and inefficient legal procedure lies primarily with these associations. It is to be hoped that, heeding the warning of increasing disrespect for the law, they will proceed with the least possible delay to formulate the legal reforms the country so badly needs.

NO JOINT JAIL.

Despite the unanimous approval expressed at the conference held Tuesday by representatives of the city and county governments of the proposed erection of a joint jail to care for the needs of both Atlanta and Fulton county, the evident inability to secure the necessary money for such a project makes its abandonment necessary.

The city has securities which it can place with the federal government for the advance of about $350,000 and the county can secure approximately $150,000. Neither government is able to augment these figures, and it is agreed that the proposed joint jail cannot be erected for less than a million dollars.

The only other way to secure the necessary money would be through the expensive and doubtful resort to a bond issue, a course which would involve considerable delay even if the approval of the voters could be obtained.

Through the use of the property and buildings now being used by both the local governments, the funds that can be secured will be sufficient to supply each with proper jail facilities for a long time. The remodeled and expanded city police station and county tower will, the architects assure, constitute jails that will be amply large, free from the present threat of escapes and modern and sanitary in every way.

In view of the uncertainty surrounding the joint project, and since it will be possible to get the separate jails under way at once, it has been decided to take the latter course in remedying the unbearable conditions surrounding the imprisonment of those held in both the city and county courts.

Since one of the main arguments in favor of the construction of two separate jails is that the work can be gotten under way at once, no step should be left untaken to see that this is done. The plans for both projects have been completed and the contracts should be let and construction started in the shortest possible time.

VETERAN EDITOR HONORED.

A unique and richly merited honor was paid Tuesday by admiring contemporaries and friends from all over the state to Editor J. C. Williams, of the Greensboro Herald-Journal upon the completion of his fiftieth year as an active newspaperman.

Editor Williams is the dean of the weekly newspaper editors of Georgia and his trenchant pen has always been used for the public good. Starting his career on The Constitution in the days of Evan P. Howell and Henry Grady, he has carved for himself a unique place in the annals of journalistic accomplishment in Georgia.

Fearless in his support of the principles to which he subscribes and possessed of rare combination of forceful attack and dry humor, his comment is often quoted in every section of the country.

It is but natural that an editor so true to the highest traditions of his chosen field should have inspired his sons to follow in his footsteps. The eldest, Cranston Williams, after a brilliant career as an active newspaperman is now secretary-manager of the Southern Newspaper Publishers' Association, while another, Carey Williams, is nationally known as one of the country's brightest editorial paragraphers.

Georgia has been richly blessed with courageous and able country editors, but it has never possessed one with a greater devotion to his profession nor to the state than the genial gentleman who on Tuesday was the recipient of the congratulations of his friends and colaborers incident to the celebration of his fiftieth anniversary in harness.

THE INEVITABLE AFTERMATH.

Constitution 11-30-33 Atlanta, Ga.

A lynching in Missouri and the violence following the arrest of four men in Maryland charged with participation in a recent lynching in that state illustrates the inevitable aftermath when the people of any community take the law into their hands.

The Brooke Hart kidnaping and murder were so fiendish in detail as to make not difficult an understanding of the tense conditions resulting. The deplorable feature of this outbreak of public resentment is not so much in the reflection cast upon the name of the peaceful and law-abiding city in which it occurred as in the influence exerted upon the lawless elements in other communities.

The history of lynching and mob violence in the United States shows that conspicuous instances of mob violence have, almost wtihout exception, been the inspiration for similar outbreaks elsewhere and in cases where the offense against public sentiment was less aggravated.

It is not surprising that a lynching in Missouri should have quickly followed the California hanging and that even in the thickly settled state of Maryland a condition of unrest should have been engendered.

These two unfortunate developments merely emphasize the fact that, for the sake of the public safety, the law, whatever its weaknesses, must be upheld, and that to condone a lynching in one instance simply leads to more lynching in cases in which there may be less justification.

In the last analysis, the law as represented in American court procedure is largely responsible for the mob outrages which have, without regard for section, disturbed the peace of the country so often.

It is because of the loopholes—the technicalities, the shunting of cases from one court to another, appeals and new trials—offered for the escape from justice of those guilty of crime, that these outrages have occurred.

The inadequacy of the American legal system, as compared to those in other countries, is forcefully illustrated, as pointed out by The Constitution in its comment Wednesday morning on the California lynching, by the recent indictment for murder by a Canadian court of two Tennessee men,

their extradition, trial, conviction and execution within a few weeks' time after the commission of the crime.

Under American laws these two men could have stretched out their cases for a year or more, with the chances that they would receive only penitentiary sentences and be pardoned or paroled long before their time was up.

Public resentment against the laxity of American law is emphasized by the records showing that most of these released prisoners return to lives of crime.

Our legal procedure should be so revised that the public may have reasonable assurance that when a man commits a crime he will receive prompt trial, certain conviction and full punishment.

If lynchings and mob violence are to be abolished in the United States there must be an end to the present court conditions under which a conviction is merely a preliminary step in the defense of a guilty man, promptly followed by resorts to technicalities which indefinitely delay the enforcement of justice.

KNOWS NO STATE LINE.

The outstanding lesson of the unfortunate mob violence during the past week in California, Missouri and Maryland is that lynch law knows no state lines.

That being the case, the south, which has in the past borne the brunt of so much adverse criticism because of its lynching record, should now set the standard for the nation in law observance and willingness to leave to the courts the meting out of justice.

There should be no further attempts in Georgia by the people of any community to take the law into their own hands. During the past year there have been several instances demonstrating that the courts of the state are determined that quick and sure justice shall be meted out in cases where public opinion has been outraged.

Governor Talmadge has made it clear that he will leave no steps untaken to preserve law and order, as evidenced by his calling out the militia on several occasions to assure the orderly trial of accused men.

That the people of the state are willing to co-operate with the courts and the governor to this end is illustrated by the promptness with which steps were taken at Milledgeville to prevent possible violence when rumors became current that an effort would be made to lynch a convicted murderer now being held at the state prison camp.

Apprised of these reports, the governor instructed the prison officials over long distance telephone to use every precaution. In addition, the local company of the state militia, although they had not been called out, assembled at their armory in order that they might instantly respond if their services became necessary.

Fortunately it developed that there were no foundations for the rumored attempt to lynch the negro in question, but even had such an effort been made, the promptness with which the state and its citizens moved was a guaranty that the sanctity of the law would have been upheld.

Every community in the state and in the south should stand for law enforcement and against mob law.

SOCIALISTS ASK ROOSEVELT TO DISAPPROVE LYNCHING

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30.—(AP)—President Roosevelt was called upon to make an appeal against lynching and to recommend anti-lynching legislation to congress in a telegram made public today by the public affairs committee of the socialist party.

"Governor Rolph's shocking eulogy of lynching has evidently accelerated wave of lynchings which disgraces America," the communication signed by Norman Thomas and Louis Waldman, chairmen, said. "Urge that you use power and prestige of your high office to arouse decent sentiment of our county to check epidemic of sadistic terror by issuing public declaration against lawlessness and on reassembling of congress specifically recommend to it federal anti-lynching legislation."

Chief Means of Combating Mob Spirit Lies in Proper Training of Youth

By Julia Collier Harris.
(For The Constitution.)

Just three years ago this month a particularly bestial lynching took place in Darien, Ga., and the circumstances surrounding it and the inertia of the then governor of Georgia in the face of it placed this state in a position similar to that of California today. At the time mentioned a representative group of Georgia women met in Atlanta and publicly denounced the Darien orgy, declaring that "lynching represents the complete breakdown of government and the triumph of anarchy," and stating that "lynching is not alone the crime of ignorant and irresponsible mobs, but every citizen who condones it, even by his silence, must accept a share of its guilt."

Also, The Constitution, which has always stood for law and order, which fought the Klan and the Black Shirts and all forms of mob rule, at the time of the Darien lynching published an editorial which contained the following paragraph:

"No governor with a backbone stronger than an eel's and a heart with more courage than a rabbit's, should let his constituents believe for a minute that he will allow lynchers to escape detection and prosecution to the last limit of a sovereign state's law."

I feel sure that if anyone had suggested to the protesting body of Georgia women or to the editor of The Constitution that the day was near at hand when an American governor not only would condone a double lynching, but would actually make a statement for the press defending the mob and promising its leaders protection, neither women of Georgia nor editor would have believed such a prediction possible of fulfillment.

Indeed, we had reason until lately to maintain that in the three years since the Darien outrage public sentiment among the educated element in the United States had steadily turned away from the sanction of mob rule. The press has almost universally condemned lynching; many clergymen have preached against it; civic leaders and clubs have denounced it and a body of 16,000 southern women in 13 states has met at stated intervals to consider ways and means of combating this manifestation of savagery. This same group, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, on Tuesday of the past week, sent a strong message of protest and disapproval of his course to Governor Rolph.

Record of Past Six Months.

Yet, in spite of all these hopeful indications, the past six months have witnessed more lynchings in the United States than at any previous time for many years, a governor has publicly defended lynchers and, today in Maryland, that state which has always prided itself on its defense of civil liberty, we have the unbelievable spectacle of a mob of more than a thousand men violently defying troops sent out by the governor to remove prisoners, and leaders of that mob shouting "Lynch Ritchie!" and overturning an automobile in which the attorney-general was supposed to be.

Various reasons have been advanced for the sinister breakdown of law observance in our country. I am not a sociologist or criminologist and shall not attempt to assay these suggestions. But I am a life-long student of education and of the home. I have been the mother of two children and the legal guardian, over a period of 15 years, of five brothers and sisters, and I have always had a large circle of friends amongst young people. Out of the knowledge which these relations has brought to me I do most earnestly affirm that the chief means of combating the mob spirit which seems to have infected every part of this land, is through the enlightened, loving, patient efforts of parents in the home and teachers in the schools.

During my stay of three months in Germany, in 1931, I made many friends among educators, social workers, and men and women in government positions. I have kept in touch with a number of these and have letters from them at frequent intervals. While their utterance is necessarily guarded, since the advent of the Hitler regime, all, with one accord, whether approving or disapproving, state the present movement in Germany to be a "youth movement." A careful reading of matter coming out of Germany gives the strongest possible impression that many of the violent mass acts which have shocked the world have been carried out by fanatical, inspired youths whose outlook has been distorted and deliberately poisoned by demagoguges. It would seem that Hitler has raised up a Frankenstein which has frequently run amuck and gone even further than the despot himself intended.

Morale of Youth Undermined.

The morale of American youth has also been severely undermined in recent years by the glorification of gangsteers, bootleggers and harlots who figure so largely in contemporary fiction and filmdom. Is it to be still further broken down by the spectacle of frequent lynching and the tacit approval of lynching when the victim is suspected of kidnaping?

Among the expressions sent to Governor Rolph have been a few of enthusiastic approval of his course. One of these was from a noted clergyman, another from a prominent woman, a leader in social and artistic life. Have these approvers of mob rule stopped to picture to themselves the awful effects upon immature minds of the bestial orgies of lynching mobs? Have they stopped to think that a mob never reasons and that in many cases perfectly innocent people have been its victims? As a matter of fact, young newspapermen and photographers were threatened by the Maryland mob and a group of them had to be hid away in a hotel whence they barely escaped with their lives.

One of the most horrifying accompaniments of the California outrage was the published story of a youthful participant who boasted of the revolting part which he played in the torturing of the prisoners. When his story appeared in print another youth came forward and greedily claimed that he, too, was a leader. In other words, boys in their teens quarreled for the distinction of leadership in the diabolically lawless deeds. Yet mothers and clergymen come to the defense of lynchers!

I repeat, everything else failing, the mothers and fathers of the land have a heavy obligation, if they wish to avert a state of Hitlerism in America. Our boys and girls are of the same racial stock as the youth of Germany, they are no better and no worse than these. Unless they are trained to respect civil liberties and law observance, as well as in the principles of humanity and chivalry, both in the home and in the school, they may easily be turned into paths of anarchy and callous sadism by outside influences.

If this occurs, God help America, for in this vast area of assorted races and numberless sects and traditions, such a swarm of racial, religious and class hatreds would break loose as to completely devour the liberties and safeguards for which our fathers fought, bled and died.

JULIA COLLIER HARRIS.
Atlanta, Nov. 30, 1933.

ORDERLY PROCESSES INSTEAD OF "DIRECT ACTION"

To the Editor The News:

I wish to thank you for your timely editorial in Tuesday's News headed "Shame on California, Shame on Gov. Rolph." The people of California, through their own executive, have sown the wind and will surely reap the whirlwind.

In these days of extreme tension of the mind of the average citizen, to whom no reasonable explanation is made of the widespread existence of poverty and want in the midst of the greatest plenty the country has ever known, expressions of violence are not at all uncommon. People of the Socialist faith, who abhor any resort to violence, are quietly, and to an extent unappreciated by the average citizen, exerting their influence upon the minds of those with whom they associate in an attempt to persuade and calm them into patiently awaiting the orderly processes of organized society rather than to resort to "direct action." The time is close at hand when it will take great effort and much sacrifice on the part of all lovers of peace to keep the situation within bounds; and in the face of these nation-wide conditions, for the chief executive of a sovereign state to boast that he was afraid to absent himself for fear some one would order out troops to protect the prisoners, is almost unbelievable.

Let us keep before our minds constantly and ponder the fateful words of Prof. Rexford Guy Tugwell with which he closes his latest book, "We can experiment now, and we ought to do it before it is too late. Otherwise we are surely committed to revolution." While we await the revolution, let us all exert ourselves in every possible way to see to it that when it comes it will be clothed in the habiliments of peace, order and good will to all men.

Birmingham. ARLIE BARBER.

BISHOP SCORES ROLPH FOR LYNCHING VIEWS

MACON, Ga., Nov. 29.—(AP)—Bishop W. N. Ainsworth, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in a statement before a meeting of the city council, said Governor James Rolph Jr., of California, "needs to be arraigned at the bar of public opinion until he may not be permitted to serve in any public office in America."

The bishop was referring to the position taken by Governor Rolph on the San Jose lynchings. Leading the city's dry forces before the council in protest at any move toward licensing of beer dealers here, Bishop Ainsworth declared "the mayor of any city which has presumed to license the sale of liquors prohibited by state law are in the same class, though not in so degraded a degree, as Governor Rolph, who proposed himself to lynch the law."

Lynchings-1933 6 Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

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ROCKY MOUNT, N. C.
TELEGRAM
OCT 20 1933

The Affair In Maryland

A mob of Maryland people ran over a detachment of state police, took a Negro from prison and lynched him. By the time the victim was dragged from his cell to a hastily improvised scaffold in an oak tree he was limp. Death came swiftly enough. Then the body was dragged a distance and burned.

Comment on the incident is clearly not necessary Its repulsiveness and brutality are plainly obvious. It is not necessary to cast aspersions on the people of Maryland who took part in the affair; they managed to provide their own publicity and with a vengeance. Nor is it reasonable to hope that the incident will be so shocking to the public mind that opinion will rise in all its might to bring participants in future mob crimes to the bar.

However, members of the mob shouted, when officials begged that they quit the jail and allow the courts to handle the affair, that they did not want another Euel Lee case in Maryland. Two years ago a Negro was convicted there and sentenced to die. Appeal after appeal has been made. Court after court has passed upon the conviction. Euel Lee remains in jail. No man should be denied the right to appeal but courts should expedite decisions in order that an end of a case can be reached before years have passed and before pople come to conclusions that nothing will be done.

There can be no justification for the lynching of a suspect in Maryland, but the delay in the Euel Lee case is a contributing factor, just the same.

Columbia, S. C. Record
November 23, 1933

FRUIT OF SURRENDER.

The slaying of George Green, shot and killed Thursday night in Greenville county's latest adventure into murcer because he resisted the efforts of a band of masked men to break into the house, was not apparently a lynching. It lacks some of the elements of the ordinary lynching.

Green wasn't for example even falsely accused of crime. No properly constituted peace officers sought his arrest. But the differences are not essential differences. Green was none the less a victim of mob violence and he is now just as dead as if he had been lynched with all the pomp and circumstance that attends these gory folk festivals. And Greenville county is as much responsible for his death as if he had been taken out from the county jail to be hanged and burned.

For the slaying of George Green was no isolated phenomenon. It wasn't even the only event of that Thursday night for which Greenville county is to be blamed. Near Greer, just about an hour or so before Green's death, two negroes were taken from their homes and beaten by a group of masked men. The theory in Greenville—how true it may be The Record doesn't pretend to know—is that the three attacks were the work of the same mob which apparently merely intended to whip Green as the others had been whipped. But they were armed and willing to shoot if their intended victim, as the law allows, should attempt to defend his home against invasion. And they were capable apparently of turning tail from their own handiwork. "When they saw he was in bad shape," Green's widow testified at the inquest to no conclusion, "they turned and ran from the house." And one of the Greer section victims was a woman. Brave fellows these Greenville gentlemen who must hide behind a mask and robe to beat up a woman or shoot a negro through the crack of a door!

Nor was even that Thursday night an isolated or new phenomenon in Greenville—and this is important to Greenville. A short time ago a crippled negro was beaten by masked men, working under cover of darkness, at his home on McDaniel avenue near the Greenville city limits. And even this was not Greenville's first adventure in masked and robed violence. For the truth is that Greenville has tended more and more to run to masks and robes. It has seemed to seek a solution of economic and labor disputes in whipping supposed Communists. It has attempted to enforce its laws by scaring negro bell boys. It has permitted self appointed agencies to take over the duties of its peace officers.

And Greenville citizens did nothing about it. Greenville officers investigated the "incidents" but nobody was punished. County officers can find only as much as the people of a community want them to find out and the people of Greenville were apparently willing enough simply to ignore and forget. They surrendered without a fight.

It would obviously be error to lay all these manifestations of the mob spirit to any one group. The motives behind those earlier whippings are not identical with the motives that moved Thursday's mob to murder. And until Thursday night Greenville had avoided bloodshed for all its penchant for the mask and strap. Some even of those who participated in the earlier and less serious forays will probably condemn the murderers of Green; they believe in whipping not killing. But the murder of Green is the natural and inevitable result of Greenville's prior surrender to mob violence.

For no community can surrender on law enforcement without paying the penalty. And George Green's murder is only part of the penalty for Greenville and South Carolina.

There are of course many law abiding men and women in Greenville county who will condemn the slaying of Green in terms that no outsider could use. Greenville is a white county, an Anglo-Saxon county, a literate county as South Carolina counties go, a church going county. It voted dry in the federal prohibition repeal referendum, and the ministers who were the leaders in South Carolina in opposing repeal congratulated it on its stand for law enforcement. But a vote against repeal, as the facts now make plain again, is not enough. The law-abiding and God-fearing folk of Greenville have more work ahead of them than behind them if they are to see law and order upheld in Greenville.

And now is the time for them to begin, and to begin by seeing to it that the members of Thursday's mobs are arrested. The first step in the curbing of mob violence is the arrest and conviction of the members of the mob.

Columbia, S. C. State
November 9, 1933

"Mocking the Law"—A Warning.

That is the caption given an editorial in The Springfield Republican commenting upon incidents of the recent lynching in Maryland, when the aauthorities permitted the transfer of the accused prisoner from a place of safety to a place where he was at the mercy of a mob.

The people of those states where lynchings are relatively safe for the lynchers, whether those states be in the South, on the border line, or Illinois, would do well to read this record as presented by the Springfield newspaper, and then do some thinking. Here it is:

> The aftermath of the recent lynching of a Negro at Princess Anne, Md., renders the case even more shocking as an index of the obstacles to be overcome in making such violent and brutal disregard of law impossible. In view of the indignation publicly expressed by Governor Ritchie in blaming the local judge and prosecuting attorney for the Negro's removal to Princess Anne after he had been safely lodged in a Baltimore jail, 100 miles away from the scene of the crime, it was to be expected that there would be some real effort to apprehend the ringleaders in the mob.
>
> That expectation was strengthened by the fact that the judge, recognizing his mistake too late, went to the jail in Princess Anne while the mob was milling around, but before it had broken in, and in his effort to avert the lynching told the men that he knew nearly all of them. It is also a matter of record that the sheriff was in the crowd when the lynching occurred and talked with the leaders of the mob when the jail doors were forced.
>
> In addition to the judge and the sheriff, both of whom were undoubtedly able to identify the mob leaders, a deputy sheriff, who had been personally warned in advance to get his family out of the jail, was present at the scene. And, as emphasized in the first dispatches telling of the lynching, there were a number of state policemen who had appeared to play a genuine part in resisting the mob in hand-to-hand encounter.
>
> In spite of all these facts, the state's attorney, ten days after the lynching, formally reported thaat he could find no evidence of sufficient importance to submit to a grand jury. Evidently there is intense local feeling, in abject deference to which the judge, the

sheriff, the deputy sheriff and the state police have been afraid to give evidence which they undoubtedly possess. The result is to make mockery of the law and of the authority of the state.

Accepting that presentation as true, and it bears the ear marks of truth, what must be the conclusion? The conclusion is that a state in a peculiarly obvious manner has failed to function in one of the most important functions of a "sovereign state."

And why do we say that people of "lynching states" should give thought to these allegations? Because a precedent has been established for the federal government to take a hand in running down criminals whose offense is not against United States laws. We refer to the crime of kidnaping. Law-respecting people in all states approve and applaud the successful operation of federal authorities against kidnapers. The states were impotent to check the operations of these gangs of criminals.

Cases like that in Maryland are surely going to invite renewed agitation for the federal government to take a hand in cases where mobs storm jails, take prisoners from the custody of state officers, and commit murder. There will be numbers of Democrats in congress to support federal action. Every case of lynching, where there is immunity for lynchers, weakens the position of those who have for so long resisted federal interference.

There is occasion for very serious thought on this subject. Some of it is due by South Carolina authorities.

Good Work of the Conference

Telegraph
Macon Ga.

No more important declaration was made by the South Georgia conference of the Methodist church at Brunswick last week than that which stressed the importance of putting an end to lynching. The board of temperance and social service stated that this evil had increased three-fold, and that every educational device that could be brought to bear against it should be used. 11-23-33

Lynching is a species of barbarism, and is so dangerous to every man that none can afford to tolerate it. For the fuel on which lynching feeds is the friendless and helpless today, only to have this insidious disease attack the higher-up tomorrow. It is seed that flowers and flourishes like fire, and is always likely to get out of control.

From 1885 to 1928 there were lynched in the United States a total of 4,321 people; of these 1,051 were white, and 3,260 were Negroes. From 1889 to 1930 Georgia led all the states in lynchings, 463 being the total number; while Mississippi was second with 452.

The Methodist conference urged that Georgias laws be changed so the governor would be vested with plenary power to act when it was necessary to protect prisoners and give them a court trial. This is a highly important recommendation, and should be adopted. Of those lynched in 1931 ten were in the hands of officers, seven were taken from jails, and one from a hospital; two had been released on bail, and one of the victims was hanged and his body burned.

There were 63 instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings; seven of these were in Northern and Western states, and 56 in Southern states; in 51 of the instances guards were increased or the prisoners removed or other precautions were taken. In the 12 other instances armed force was used to repel the lynchers. A total of 91 persons were saved from lynchers in this fashion, 19 of these being white, and 72 Negroes. The offenses charged were murder, and wounding men, attempted rape, (the supposed cause for all lynching) being five.

It has been amply demonstrated that where officers desire to prevent lynching, it can be done. If the governor were given authority to summarily remove an officer who permits a mob to take his prisoner, there would be a disappearance of the lynching evil. Mobs are not going to risk their own lives, and they are not apt to endanger the officers, with whom they are usually friendly.

No man, however powerful and influential, is safe unless all men are safe. The lynchers, once they get the taste of blood, become a lawless band that will assemble for righting all wrongs, holding their own courts (such as they are), and deciding on who has a right to live and what punishment shall be meted out. The greatest evil, though, is the fact that the accused is convicted before his hearing, and in many instances none is held. He is not permitted to produce witnesses, and the law is a dead letter. The right to a hearing before a court assembled and conducted in orderly fashion is something the forefathers fought strenuously through centuries to obtain, and no man who has half appreciation of what this means will lightly jeopardize it.

The conference wrought wisely in dedicating itself to an effort to remove the lynching blot from Georgia's more or less fair name. It is not surprising to see her name at the head of the list of lynchers, while she is at the bottom education[illegible]

MOBILE, ALA.
REGISTER
OCT 16 1933

CAMPAIGN AGAINST CRIME
(Tuscaloosa News)

The home and the school, institutional pillars in the erection of man's civilized state of affairs, have joined hands with other forces in Tuscaloosa city and county to bring an end to lawlessness. Their pledges, typical of the kind of response that is coming from every section of the county, were given late last week.

The school, represented by the white teachers of this county in one institute and the negro teachers of the county in the other, responded with an encouraging promise of educational co-operation. These teachers will teach obedience to the law, respect for the property and personal rights of all human beings and the shunning of corrupt and lawless elements which have contributed so much to the recent distress of this county.

The home, represented by parent-teacher associations and by countless individual expressions from mothers and fathers, has answered "Present" to the challenge presented by recent happenings. These parents and teachers are determined that the young people now under their guidance will never again be called upon to witness such violence as that which occurred recently and created the most distressing conditions of law seen in 50 years.

Action of the Romulus Parent-Teacher association is an example of the attitude felt in the homes. This organization with many leading citizens of that representative community present, voted unanimously in support of the county-wide campaign against crime, of the position taken by the Tuscaloosa News and of the plan of action adopted by the civic clubs.

Such unanimous rallying to the leadership of these civic forces means that the campaign will go deep into the hearts of all present citizens and build a more solid foundation for future generations.

SAVANNAH, GA.
NEWS
NOV 7 1933

COLLEGIANS OPPOSE LYNCHING

Strong arguments against lynching by frenzied mobs are contained in the leading editorial in a recent issue of "The Red and Black," official organ of the athletic association of the University of Georgia. The editorial says:

"A Morrisonville, Va., youth recently conceived of an excuse for 'playing hookey' which might have developed into a tragedy. After spending the day in the woods he emerged with his clothing torn to shreds, a terrified look in his eye, and a weird tale of being attacked by two negroes, beaten, bound and gagged.

"Inflamed Morrisonville citizens were soon up in arms. Posses were organized to hunt down the negroes and the countryside was scoured.

"Luckily, persistent questioning by the youth's father broke down the alibi.

"Suppose two unfortunate negroes fitting the descriptions had been found? It is not hard to visualize what their fate would have been.

"Hundreds of Southern negroes have met horrible death on less valid excuse. Established law, it seems, is not adequate for protection of society in the South. Southerners feel they are obligated to protect the virtue of women and the supremacy of the Nordic with flaming torch, rope, club and gun.

"The case against the Southern mob would be bad enough if it were only that justice is wrested from established authorities. The tragedy lies in the fact that too often a mistake is made, an innocent life is taken. Frenzied mobs do not give a 'damned nigger' opportunity to prove his innocence. An accused negro hasn't a dog's chance once he falls into the hands of a bloodthirsty mob bent on murder.

"From 1889 through 1930 Georgia led the United States in lynchings with a total of 463. Four hundred and thirty-nine of them were negroes. Do you want Georgia branded a state peopled with ignorant, bloodthirsty, race-prejudiced animals?

"As future citizens it is your duty to tolerate no mob violence and to bring these criminals of the mob to their deserved desserts.

"Remember the Morrisonville case."

Lynchings-1933 & Discussions

White Press, southern.

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Tallahassee, Fla., Democrat
November 28, 1933

That Lynching In California

Two men were threatened with mob violence yesterday in California. The governor was requested to send troops to prevent a lynching. He could see no reason to send troops to protect those men. The troops did not come. The men were taken from the jail and hanged in a public park in the presence of women and children.

Governor Rolfe was not requested to send troops to protect the victims of that mob.

The men were guilty. They had confessed a brutal kidnaping, murder and extortion. Under the law of the land and under the Mosaic law they had forfeited their lives. Had they been spared by the mob they would have died at the hands of California justice.

So it was not to protect the mob's victims that the troops were requested: It was to protect the laws of the state of California, which is a part of the universal law of civilization.

If lynch law is ever justified it is when the enforcement of the fundamental law of our race handed down as a heritage from the beginning of time is impossible through constituted authority. There was probably a time in the early history of California when it was necessary to govern through vigilance committees and other extra-legal and informal means.

There is no evidence that the courts had ceased to function in California, no evidence that justice would not have triumphed and that swiftly.

Granted that the victims of the mob received no worse treatment than they deserved, granted that Governor Rolfe may have sympathized with the members of the mob in their impatience to see the guilty punished, it is not well that the chief executive of a great state should publicly declare his approval of a lawless means to accomplish a lawful end.

It is not well that citizens should enter upon a public killing in holiday mood. It is not well that children should witness such a sight.

The events of Sunday night reflect no credit upon the state of California, Governor Rolfe to the contrary notwithstanding. Not, unfortunately, that we of Florida or perhaps of any of the concord of states are in a position to point to California's shame without self incriminating recollections of our own.

Athens, Ga., Banner-Herald
November 27, 1933

CONDEMNING LYNCHING

Before adjournment of the Georgia Baptist Convention, in Augusta, last week, a number of timely resolutions were read and adopted. Chief among the resolutions, condemning vice, crime and modern day social practices, a resolution bearing on lynchings was timely and appropriate for the occasion. While the number of lynchings committed this year has not shown any material increase over the number for last year, yet cognizance of the crime by an organization of the influence of the Georgia Baptist delegates, is bound to have an influence for checking and reducing the number of such outrages.

The resolution as adopted by that convention, reads:

"Our courts are able to mete out swift punishment for criminals and the law should be allowed to take its course."

"Lynching is a barbarous crime and the lawless and murderous tendency to thus take the law into one's own hands should be vigilantly opposed by all law-abiding citizens. And every perpetrator in the crime of lynching should be apprehended and brought to trial."

If all the church denominations and civic organizations would follow up the lead of the Baptist of Georgia, the evil would soon be eradicated. While crimes that cause lynching are of the henious type; crimes that stir the very soul of men into action, yet the law should be preserved and the guilty given a trial and on conviction, the extreme penalty should be imposed by the courts. Not until the law is enforced and the courts moved up to speedy trials will the crime of lynchings be entirely wiped out. The dilly-dallying court procedure in Alabama in the trial of the Scottboro negroes was responsible, in a great measure if not entirely, for the lynchings that have occurred in that state during the past few months.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
November 28, 1933

LYNCHING IN CALIFORNIA AND ALABAMA

WHEN law and order fail to function as they should, when criminals find it profitable to defy those in whom authority has been placed, an indignant people forgets its veneer of civilization and resorts to the primitive practice known as lynching.

This has never been more clearly illustrated than in the flourishing city of San Jose, Calif., where a furious mob broke through a jail, snatched two prisoners from their cells and proceeded to hang them in public view.

It was a brutal affair. But the fighting men who composed this mob forgot their own brutality and saw only the brutality of those two prisoners in kidnaping and putting to death a 22-year-old boy.

Mankind calls for retaliation when the laws for common welfare are defied. In our civilization, the public calls for death to the murderer in most instances. The courts have been set up to carry out this decree in an orderly manner and to see that no innocent man receives punishment.

But when the courts or any of their allied agencies fail, the criminal drops his fear and loses no time in satisfying his greed or lust. America has become a living illustration of this grave condition. More and more criminals have plied their trades, sometimes unmolested and rarely with the fear of stern punishment. They have been shielded in many ways, sometimes by corrupt and inefficient law enforcement agencies, sometimes by lenient courts, sometimes by the cumbersome technicalities of law.

The California mob saw an outrage against society. It feared a long delay in justice, perhaps an escape by those two prisoners. It sensed a defeat if its demands were left to the courts and it wasted no time in bringing about speedy retribution.

The feeling can no better be illustrated than in the statement of the governor of California himself, who terms the lynching "a fine lesson to the whole nation."

"There will be less kidnaping in the country now," Governor Rolph said. "They made a good job of it."

Whether or not Governor Rolph has been too rash, is not the question here, but no one can deny his courage and as for his logic, just keep a record of future kidnapings and especially those in California.

All of which brings us nearer to home, prompting these various and sundry questions:

Is it more outrageous to lynch a negro than a white man?

If not, why do Southern lynchings always bring a flood of calumny upon our people more severe than in any other part of the country?

Is it worse to kidnap a man and then murder him than to kidnap a woman, rape her and then murder her?

If not, why shouldn't the International Labor Defense have sent investigators and defense attorneys to California to work up a case in behalf of those kidnapers?

What would every big-wig in the East have said had Governor Miller issued the same sort of statement after the Pippen-Harden lynching that Governor Rolph did after the Thurmond-Holmes lynching?

Would such a statement, in the eyes of the East, have been motivated by a hatred of crime or by racial prejudice?

Will the Society for the Protection of Political Prisoners send investigators to California to study lynchings as it did to Tuscaloosa County?

If not, could the Tuscaloosa County kidnap-rape-murderers been more of "political prisoners" and less of "criminal prisoners" than the California kidnap-murderers?

The Tuscaloosa News has in the past, it does now and it will continue in the future to take the strongest stand within its power against lynching. But it knows when to face the facts. In common with every thinking man, it knows that the CAUSE MUST BE

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REMOVED before lynchings can be eliminated.

Primitive man ordered retribution for its criminals; civilized man orders retribution. The only difference lies in the orderly procedure which we of today prefer and when this procedure moves too slowly or breaks down, we resort to the primitive.

To prevent lynchings, police officers must be alert, prosecutors must be efficient, courts must be speedy and all must be honest. If any or all of these agencies relax or collapse, the criminal flourishes and the lynch mob retaliates.

Speed, justice and efficiency—these things throw fear into the heart of the wrongdoer and these things inspire a trust by the public that justice in its finest form will be meted out. This trust alone will stamp out lynchings.

Palatka, Fla. News
November 28, 1933

AN INEVITABLE REACTION

The surmise that should kidnaping ever become prevalent in the South it would be put down by lynch law is one based upon the hot tempers of Southerners and the hatred of this particular crime in Dixie. But the good guessers would have been slow to predict that mass infliction of the death penalty, without process of law, would have its inception in California.

Yet the state of the Native Sons stands branded before the world today as one that permits its avengers to run riot. Not only has the hempen rope and the fiery torch been called upon as weapons of retaliation, but the governor of the state has come forward with a public statement in which he upholds the action of the mob. Even to the extent of promising pardons to any of its members who might be convicted.

The California mob ran true to form. It was frenzied and hysterical. It lost all sense of reason and fear of consequences. Primal and savage in its instincts, it was equally as brutal as those of other sections that give men accused of heinous wrong-doing short shrift. It had no mercy for the guilty. It defied the terrors of tear gas. It showed no shrinking spirit in the face of deadly weapons. Even the sheriff, a brave man and a wonderful analysist of the criminal mind was knocked out and left to nurse his wounds. So reckless was this angered crowd that it did not hesitate to attack even the officers of the law who attempted to do their sworn duty.

All mobs are like this, and for this reason mob violence has been deplored by press and pulpit for decades. This continued preaching that one crime does not justify another has had its effect. Every year the number of those who are hurried into enternity without trial has grown less. There has been a hope that lynching might soon become a lost art.

This California outburst, however, will be defended upon the grounds that it was an inevitable reaction to the laxity of law-giving bodies in failing to provide suitably drastic penalties for the atrocious offense of kidnaping and a wide knowledge of the many legal loopholes that afford an out for the snatchers.

That present penalties are too mild could not be better established than by the action of Congress, aroused over the kidnaping and murder of the Lindbergh baby, in failing to provide the death sentence. Life imprisonment does not deter gangsters of the type who would murder an innocent babe for a financial reward, nor does it hold out a definite threat for such hardened racketeers as "Machine Gun" Kelley, now serving time in a federal prison. Men of this ilk trust to political pull and shrewd attorneys to escape the feeble net of the law. And in the past they have calculated wisely and well.

The most that can be said for the California lynching is that it has put the organized snatchers of American on notice that their lives are forfeit whenever they are caught. It is most regretable, however, that some less barbarous means for stamping out an intolerable condition could not have been found.

Rocky Mount, N. C., Telegram
November 28, 1933

Lynching In California

There are several reasons why the lynching of two confessed kidnapers and murderers in San Jose, openly approved by Governor Rolph, is deplorable. We assume that the men lynched by the mob were guilty of the crimes to which they were said to have confessed and that the death penalty for both of them was richly deserved. Intimate accounts of the lynching, according to the United Press, show that the actual lynchers were led by a youth of eighteen years and that a great number of his assistants were recruited from speakeasies. The young man offered this as an explanation of the fact that a great number of the mob members were intoxicated. Such a group, by any criterion, is in no position to determine the justice of any sentence it metes out. In the thousands of applauding bystanders were numbers of men who are substantial citizens in that community, business men, merchants, lawyers, men who rely upon the law to protect them from any whims of misguided mobs. Suppose the youth had accused a groceryman, for example, of taking advantage of the confidence of his customers by selling them short weight, not an unknown procedure. Few if any merchants or business men could have seen justice in a mob's sacking the man's store.

We have not come to the point that we can admit that the agencies created by society for its protection have collapsed or that they are so inefficient that they must be bolsetered by mob violence. Nor are we ready to admit that the Constitutional guarantee that every man is entitled to full protection of his life and property, no matter what his offense against society, until he has been proved guilty of an offense shall be abrogated because the mind of a mob becomes inflamed. One wrong cannot be avenged by the commission of another. Orderly processes, as traditionally a part of our government as the right of society to expect protection, have been erected. Departure from them is tantamount to the admission that basic principles established apply only to certain classes of crimes.

No matter how dastardly a crime the offender is entitled to defend himself in the court and before a jury of unbiased citizens. California punishes criminals convicted and sentenced to die by hanging. No punishment is more severe than the stay on "death row" between the time for sentence and the execution of that sentence when the ever present knowleged that death at a specified time awaits the hapless criminal confronts him.

California officers proved their efficiency by the dispatch with which the kidnapers were arrested and their confessions obtained. It was but a matter of time until the criminals would have been tried, sentenced and removed to death cells in San Quentin prison where the final penalty would have been exacted.

Violence is no check against crime. Rather, it encourages crime, and the members of this mob, who openely took the lives of two men, are as great a menace to the safety of law-abiding citizens as other unrestrained people at large. The appetite for swift punishment, once the appetite becomes whetted, becomes ungovernable and violence runs unchecked. The creation and the maintenance of a system for punishing enemies of society rather then trusting their punishment to mobs should serve as an example of the need for protecting the courts and the orderly processes.

The lynchings in California are deplorable. The attitude of Governor Rolph, a sworn officer under the Constitution, is impossible to understand. And if the example in that state leads to violence in other states, we shall be tasting some of the fruits of lynch law.

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6
Discussions.

White Press, Southern

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Rolph's Lynch Program

(Continued from Page 1)

Yesterday's News, Journal and Mirror and other papers heap praise upon Rolph and upon the lynching.

Daily Worker

BUT the editorial in the Herald-Tribune most consciously expresses the platform of lynch law which is the weapon to keep ten million Negroes in the South in subjection. Kidnapping, the Herald-Tribune says, in extenuation of the lynching, "presents to the advanced communities the same sort of apparently insoluble problem which racial or the simpler criminal issues present to the backward communities." The Herald-Tribune itself suggests the lynching in California as an incitement to the lynching of the Scottsboro boys now on trial in Decatur. To the capitalist class, "racial" issue means oppression of Negroes, with the weapon of lynch law. 11-29-33

The stand of Rolph is not the stand of an individual. It is the lynch law platform of the capitalist class to keep down the growing struggle of the Negroes against oppression and exploitation. Rolph is an important figure in the McAdoo machine in the Democratic Party of California, which at the last convention of that party fought for and assured the nomination of Roosevelt for President. Rolph is carrying out the policy of the lynch party of the ruling class of the South and of the country, the Democratic Party.

Rolph is the symbol and chief figure of the California and U. S. employers' class in keeping Tom Mooney imprisoned for fourteen years in a California prison when his innocence is well established. Mooney is a militant labor leader. Like the Republican Fuller of Massachusetts, Rolph is the standard bearer of the capitalist attack on the workers.

New York N.Y.

THE United States Government, as well as the State of California, is equally responsible. President Roosevelt, in the same lynch Democratic Party, has refused to send federal troops to protect the Scottsboro boys in Decatur. In the face of the imminent danger of lynching of these Negro workers and their attorneys of the International Labor Defense, Roosevelt refused them protection. Roosevelt refused the demand of the workers, led by the International Labor Defense, that he step in and prevent the legal lynching of Euel Lee in Maryland. Roosevelt refused to take steps for the arrest of the known lynchers of Armwood in Maryland.

The ruling class of the country, the boss class, and the ruling party, the Democratic Party, are consciously and solidly united behind Rolph's lynch program, as a menacing threat to the Scottsboro boys, as a warning to the Negro workers of the South.

The workers and toilers throughout the whole world must answer the openly proclaimed lynch program of the Governor of California, strikebreaker and terrorist against strikers, jailor of Mooney and lyncher.

Down with the bosses' lynch law against the Negroes and the workers.

Demand the immediate impeachment of Governor Rolph.

Demand of Roosevelt federal intervention to arrest lynchers.

HOOVER AND ROLPH COUNTER REBUKES IN LYNCH DISPUTE

Constitution

12-1-33

Former President Scores Governor's Approval of Mob Law as Bonus March Is Brought Up.

Atlanta Ga.

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 30.—(AP) Former President Herbert Hoover and Governor James Rolph Jr., exchanged rapid cross-fire of criticism today over the lynching of the kidnap-slayers of Brooke Hart at San Jose last Sunday night.

Said the former president: "The governor has been advocating lynch law. It is a subversion of the very spirit of organized society."

Said the governor: "I deplore the use of troops against our own people. Look at the mess we got into when troops were called out in Washington against the bonus marchers."

The exchange followed a rebuke to Rolph for his stand condoning the lynching of John M. Holmes and Thomas Harold Thurmond, which was contained in a joint statement issued yesterday by a group of prominent California citizens, including Mr. Hoover.

Rolph retorted this morning from Sacramento with his thrust at the Hoover administration for having called out troops against the bonus marchers.

Attack Charged.

"Men with guns and bombs were sent out to attack good American citizens—our World War veterans who fought for us," Rolph declared.

"I refused to call out troops for use in the San Jose trouble because one can never be certain what the outcome of such an action will be. Hot-headed young men armed with bayonets, rifles and bombs are liable to kill good citizens needlessly.

"It is up to local peace officials to maintain order and only after they have admitted they cannot handle a situation should a governor step in."

The former president promptly issued a statement from his home on the Stanford University campus, breaking the long silence of his retirement.

"One trouble with Governor Rolph's statement is his gross ignorance of the facts. Not a single shot was fired, not a single person was injured by the troops called out in Washington in response to the appeal of local authorities. The troops ended the bloodshed which was then in progress through conflicts between rioters and police.

"The issue here is plain, and not to be obscured by such misstatements. The governor has been advocating lynch law. It is a subversion of the very spirit of organized society. It is un-American and is a reflection on the state of California, and is not supported by its citizens."

In answer to questions today, Governor Rolph emphatically declared he was not recanting or apologizing for his previous statement that the lynching was "a lesson to the whole nation" that kidnaping would be stopped in California "no matter what the cost will be."

After word of the Hoover reply to his statement today had reached the governor here, he again issued an answer.

"I do not think that the ex-president's statement calls for any response by me," he said. "His statements and mine speak for themselves; the American people think for themselves. It is unbecoming for me as governor of this state to be carrying on a controversy with the ex-president.

"I cannot allow to stand, however, the ex-president's statement that I advocate 'lynch law.' On the contrary I have said and I repeat that I always will have profound respect for law and the same and orderly conduct of justice through the courts. And I repeat what I said in my original statement that while the law should have been permitted to take its course, the people by their action have given notice to the entire world that in California kidnaping will not be tolerated."

SOUTHERN WOMEN PROTEST TO ROLPH

Telegram From Association for Prevention of Lynching Sent Governor

Public approval by Governor Rolph, of California, of the lynching of the Brooke Hart kidnapers constitutes "a sinister menace to all forces of law and order throughout the country" and his action is "one of national concern," Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, executive director of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, Tuesday wired to Governor Rolph on behalf of the association.

Mrs. Ames, writing the telegram under the authorization of 16,000 women of the 13 southern states who have signed resolutions codemning lynching, told Governor Rolph that the association condemns lynching for any cause, and deplores "your astounding attitude." She said that "we are grateful that no southern governor today has made himself a public defender and protector of lynchers."

The wire was sent after she conferred with Mrs. Julian Harris, a member of the association, and over long distance with Mrs. Atwood Martin, of Louisville, Ky., chairman, Mrs. Ames said. The association, she pointed out, in the belief that the record of lynchings in the south has come about because public opinion has accepted the statement of lynchers and mob leaders that they were acting solely in defense of womanhood, condemns acts of lawlessness in the name of woman.

Mrs. Ames' telegram to Governor Rolph was as follows:

"The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, numbering thousands, condemn lynching for any cause. As southern white women working for a public conscience which will insure all persons the constitutional guarantee of trial by jury regardless of race or alleged crime, we deplore your astounding attitude. The south is still charged with brutal lawlessness because officers some time fail to protect prisoners against mobs but we are grateful that no southern governor today has made himself a public defender and protector of lynchers. Your public approval of these lynchings constitutes a sinister menace to all forces of law and order throughout the country and makes your action one of national concern."

INTERRACIAL HEAD RAPS GOV. ROLPH

Constitution

11-28-33

Support Lent to Most Ruthless Form of Lawlessness, Says Alexander

Atlanta, Ga.

Governor Rolph, of California, in expressing approval of the lynching at San Jose "has lent his support to the most ruthless form of lawlessness in America," Dr. W. W. Alexander, director of the commission on interracial co-operation, said here Monday.

The interracial commission is an organization composed of prominent white and negro citizens of both sexes which is to better understanding between the races. One of its main fights has been to stamp out lynching.

Dr. Alexander's statement said:

"The governor of California in expressing approval of the lynching at San Jose last night has lent his support to the most ruthless form of lawlessness in America. As between lynching and kidnaping, lynching is the more serious crime of the two. It involves not a few individual criminals here and there but enlists whole communities in orgies of violence and murder in which law and civilization are lynched no less truly than human victims.

"In recent months the authorities have demonstrated their ability to cope with kidnapers as they are doing in this case. On the contrary the almost universal failure to convict lynchers indicates that lynching is a much more difficult crime to eradicate. Governor Rolph's expressed approval of the San Jose lynching affair will only add to this difficulty and fix the lynching habit more firmly upon a nation that is already discredited by it around the world.

"Unfortunately, the governor's responsibility in the matter is not limited to the statement or the approval after the deed was done. In refusing the importunity of the sheriff for assistance in resisting the mob, the governor became also in effect an accessory before the fact. Probably his action and attitude in the matter constitutes the most surprising and deplorable aspect of it."

National organizations as well as prominent individuals Monday voiced protests against Governor James Rolph's attitude in connection with the California lynchings.

NEW YORK—The national committee for the defense of political prisoners addressed a letter to Governor Rolph declaring: "You are unfitted for the responsibilities placed upon you. We are as far from advocating kidnaping as you are. We believe that for their crime Thurmond and Holmes should have been tried and sentenced. We believe that they deserved the maximum penalty. We beg to understand clearly why you turn a deaf ear to the evidence in the Mooney-Billings case. Once more you have permitted your personal convictions to interfere with the impersonal and vigorous administration of your sworn duties."

Constitution 11-28-33 Atlanta Ga.

OKLAHOMA CITY—Governor W. H. Murray said that the lynching of Thurmond and Holmes would have been averted if the public had been convinced that the kidnapers would have received the death penalty.

LINCOLN, Neb.—Uniform state laws, making death the penalty for kidnaping, "is the most satisfactory way to deal with the kidnaping racket," Governor Charles W. Bryan said. "Kidnaping," he said, "is the most dastardly of all crimes."

N. A. A. C. P. Attacks Rolph.

NEW YORK—Governor Rolph's attitude was attacked as a "shameful official encouragement to mobs to defy authorities," by the National As-

sociation for the Advancement of Colored People. "No citizen," the association's statement said, "and no government is safe with anarchy sanctioned from the governor's chair."

DECATUR, Ala. — Thomas E. Knight Jr., Alabama attorney-general who is directing prosecution of the Scottsboro case, expressed opposition to mob violence "in any form."

NEW YORK—The American Civil Liberties Union sent the following telegram to Governor Rolph: "You are quoted as justifying San Jose lynching of kidnapers by saying: 'It is the best lesson California has even given the country.' Our board of directors denounces such an unprecedented official indorsement of lynching. It is an incitement to mob violence elsewhere with lynching on the increase. Statements credited to make you directly a party to the lynching. We express the indignation of thousands who deplore and condemn kidnaping but who abhor lynching and mob violence more."

Darrow Bewildered.

CHICAGO—Clarence Darrow expressed bewilderment over the reported remarks of Governor James Rolph, of California, condoning the lynching of two kidnapers.

"I do not approve of capital punishment, which is merely legal lynching, so I can only condemn illegal lynching," said Darrow. "That is a strange statement to come from the governor of any state," Darrow added. "I can't understand how any man in his position could do such a thing. It is thoroughly inconsistent with his duty and authority."

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. — Governor Henry Horner said today in commenting on the San Jose lynching that "every lynching is a defiance of law and order and an admission of the inadequacy of local authorities to prosecute crime."

Missouri Sheriff Suffers Heavy Loss As Mob Damages and Loots Home

Constitution 11-30-33 Atlanta, Ga.

ST. JOSEPH, Mo., Nov. 29.—(AP) Sheriff Otto Theisen stood in the wreckage of his home in the Buchanan county jail today and described an invasion by the crowd which lynched Lloyd Warner, 19-year-old negro who had confessed attacking a white girl Sunday night.

The 60-year-old self-styled "fighting Dutchman" told the howling throng "There are too many Irishmen here for me," as he announced he was ready to surrender his prisoner after several hours spent in defending him and the jail from attack. Then he led the crowd to the place where he had hidden the negro.

"I did everything I could to stop them," said the sheriff, leaning on the scarred piano in the living room. Windows in the room were smashed, the glass covering a picture on the wall had been shattered by a missile and was strewn over the rug. On the piano was all that remained of what had been a large vase.

$150 Vases.

"I bought two vases like that one 26 years ago and paid $510 apiece for them," he said. "Now look a it.

"They didn't stop with breaking up my home. They stole things. They took an overcoat of mine that cost $45. They took some hats which belonged to my men in the jail.

"I had learned that trouble was brewing and I though I was ready for it. We were equipped with tear gas. We deemed the jail mob proof.

"Some of the mob came to the front door at first and knocked. They wanted the negro, but I told them they couldn't have him. I locked the door and they tried to beat their way in.

"To pacify the crowd, I invited some of them to come in and see for themselves if we had the negro. But first I had hidden him. I won't say where but it was where they couldn't find him. They looked the place all over but never saw him. Then they went out.

"We began throwing tear gas bombs when the crowd started wrecking the jail. We had the city officers send over their supply.

"I called the governor at Jefferson City when I saw how things were going. I asked him for national guardsmen and he told me he would do whatever he could.

"The mob kept making headway. They tossed rocks and bricks and eggs —whatever they could lay their hands on. We fought 'em even after they got inside but I saw it was no use I had nine negroes in jail and I was afraid the mob would lynch them, too The crowd was wrecking everything in sight. Why they would have left nothing standing if I hadn't given in

"They were shooting through the windows and I expected one of my men to get hit any minute. So I told 'em I was ready to let them have Warner. I went outside and talked to them.

Too Many Irishmen.

" 'If you keep quiet and be careful you can have the negro in two minutes,' I said. 'There's no use tearing down any more. I can't hold out. I've never known an Irishman to lick a Dutchman before, but there are too many Irishmen here for me.' "

Exhausted, the gray-haired man shook his head in despair as he talked. Often he was interrupted by the milling hundreds who continued to wander curiously through his home and battered down jail entrances.

What did he propose to do about the mob violence?

"What can I do?" he asked. Then answered it: "Nothing."

"My worry now is to get the jail and my home back in order. Why, if I had been in here and seen what they were doing to my own house, I'd have shown them a real fight.

"Think of it, my own wife and relatives were somewhere in here."

The sheriff estimated the damage to the jail building, including his home, at $5,000.

Authorize Mob Action by Law

Telegraph 11-29-33 Macon, Ga.

Governor Rolph of California says in effect "fine work, boys, you did in lynching the kidnapers and murderers of Hart; if any of you get into trouble for this, I will pardon you." This is the way, the governor says, to stop kidnaping, and serve notice on the world that California will not stand for kidnaping.

This is the most brazen defiance of the law ever committed by one high in authority to see that the law is enforced. Governor Rolph has betrayed his oath and the trust of the people over whom he presides.

An 18-year-old boy named Anthony Catalbu writes a story of how he visited all the speakeasies and served notice on the drunks and gangsters in those places that 11 o'clock that night was the zero hour at the jail, and that there would be a lynching of the two kidnapers. Catalbu says the fact that he got his following from these places accounts for so many of the mob of 5,000 being drunk during the riot.

If this story of the boy is true, it is all the more sorry spectacle the governor presents in commending the drunken mob and gang of hoodlums which have "saved" the fair name of California.

It will be interesting to observe now whether or not this lynching does cure kidnaping in California, or acts as a deterrent. If it does, then the remedy has been found, and the future problems will be simple of solution. No more courts will be needed to try criminals. All that is necessary is to have the legislatures pass laws authorizing mob violence and executions for certain crimes, and legalize the procedure—so that society can still retain some self-respect. The laws should be amended to say that where the evidence in a heinous case is satisfactory to an 18-year-old boy and his drunken followers, then they without any deliberation or consideration shall be authorized to take the accused from the jail and hang them or burn them, and call it a day.

We are not minimizing the horror of the crime of these villains who did the kidnaping. Neither do we condone the viciousness in many other cases of criminality. In this instance the two kidnapers confessed that they captured the Hart youth, took him to the river bridge and knocked him in the head, and then threw his body into the stream. Then they contacted the parents and demanded $40,000 ransom under the pretext that the boy was still alive and would be delivered alive and free from harm if the money was paid. The sheriff caught one of the kidnapers as he was emerging from a telephone booth after having made the demand for ransom. There was no doubt about the guilt of the two when the decomposed body of their victim was found in the river. Circumstantial evidence substantiated the confessions.

Hardly any form of death would have been too severe, and the regret comes that they had only one life each to give for the crime committed.

But it is the method and the attendant circumstances that cry out against the lynching. Organized society and what is solemnly decreed as best for all mankind is at issue with the brute instincts of hoodlums and gangland. The very lawlessness that makes kidnapers is endorsed as a remedy for kidnaping, perhaps on the old theory that the hair of the dog is good for the bite. Organized society as represented by Governor Rolph admits its mistake in having laws and courts. It says to gangsters that you have been right all the time. It is society that has made the mistake. Society surrenders.

Then the laws should be amended so as to authorize the methods of the mob. Society should insist on being obeyed, even if it has to adapt itself to circumstances and methods of the mob. Dignity and the peace and good order of the state should be protected at all costs, even to making a truce with the thing it would suppress. If Governor Rolph's idea of organized society's impotency is correct, then change the laws. Civilized people cannot maintain their self-respect by blowing hot and cold—by having laws only to have some laws to break. If Governor Rolph's organized society cannot control itself, certainly it cannot control criminals. With the law delegating certain duties to the mob under certain circumstances, nobody will be safe. But if that is what the people want, then let's have it. But let organized society insist upon being obeyed.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4095

Chattanooga, Tenn. News
December 7, 1933

The Lynching Record

IT IS rare that a President feels it necessary to rebuke a Governor, and yet Mr. Roosevelt took that action in his speech to the Federal Council of Churches on Wednesday night. Calling lynching a "vile form of collective murder," the President said: "We do not excuse those in high places or in low who condone lynch law." The President felt that the American people, as a nation, needed to be put on record again for law and order, since the Governor of a great State had openly supported mob action.

Governor Rolph has found no echo of sympathy from Southern Governors. The South realizes what has been accomplished in curbing the lynching evil, and it wants no new fuel added to the flames.

In past decades we have had officials who have rivaled Governor Rolph's utterances in defense of mobs. Cole Blease, for instance, when Governor of South Carolina, in 1911, said: "Whenever the Constitution comes between men and the virtue of white women of South Carolina, I say to hell with the Constitution." The best indication of the change in this mob sentiment in the South is found in the leagues of Southern women who are doing effective work in curbing lynching.

A Governor of Texas once said to National Guardsmen: "Hold the Negro, if possible, but don't shoot anybody." And Sydney J. Catts, when Governor of Florida, once declared: "There is no use bringing the lynchers to trial; the citizenship will not stand for it. If any man, white or black, should dishonor one of my family, he would meet my pistol square from the shoulder, and every white man in the South who is a red-blooded American, fells the same as I do."

These utterances were popular in the old days. They purposely misinterpreted as mob lust the righteous anger and desire for vengeance, which any man, when cruelly wronged, naturally feels. And the reason the Bleases and the Catts spoke as they did has been set forth by Dr. Arthur Raper, of the Southern Commission Against Lynching, who told how "certain types of politicians kept themselves in office by appeals to racial fear and antagonism."

The temper of the South has changed, because it has been proved that by proper investigation and proper measures lynching can be curbed.

In 1889, 176 persons were lynched in the United States, while in 1932 only eight were lynched. Seventeen persons have been lynched to date this year—certainly far below the black record of 1889. In 1930, twenty-one were lynched, and in 1931, thirteen.

Furthermore, the popular notion that rape is the principal cause for lynching is untrue. The records show that 1,406 lynchings since 1889 were for homicide, while but 632 were for rape.

An 18-year-old boy went the rounds of San Jose's speakeasies, getting out the mob and organizing the lynching of Thurmond and Holmes. Dr. Raper discloses that the average age of members of mobs is between 18 and 25 years. These groups are not the ones who bring serious thought to great problems.

The South has been thinking seriously on this lynching question for a number of years. Now that progress has been made, Southern officials generally hope that nothing will arise to throw the situation back to where it was, for instance, in 1889.

Cleveland, Tenn., Herald
December 1, 1933

That California lynching in which two confessed kidnap murderers were taken from jail by force, beaten and hung and their bodies saturated and set on fire was a terrible thing. Yet there is perhaps a feeling in the minds of most people who knew anything of their offense, that the kidnapers got what they deserved. It was an aggravated case. The governor of the state refused to send troops to protect the jail and uphold the sheriff, evidently in the expectation and apparently in the hope that the jail would be attacked, the sheriff overpowered or intimidated and the very thing done which was done. Officials of other states and even ministers of the gospel have sent messages to the governor of California joining him in the sentiment that it "was a good job." And yet this is lawlessness of the worst sort. Every one of these people admit that. A spirit of this kind is liable to result in mobs taking governors from their office and stringing them up in case they do not do what conceivably should be done. Such would be an extreme case, but it is perfectly possible, and there is nothing truer than that mob violence is anarchy. What then is the cause that makes us—practically all of us—approve tacitly of a thing we know is absolutely in contravention of every instinct of orderly government? The answer is not hard to find. It is the frequent miscarriage and the usual delay in the orderly working of the courts. If the people of that California city had known that the kidnapers were just as sure to be swiftly and adequately punished as the sitting of court came, there would have been no lynching. But they have become accustomed to delays and miscarriages. It is no credit to Gov. Rolph to approve or condone the lynching. If he and other officials had uniformly done their duty by upholding the law and seeing to its swift execution the lynching would not have been considered necessary. It is time to have a lot of law enforcement with a vengeance in this country, so as to assure the public that mob violence is not and will not be necessary or desirable, and without that very thing, the country will drift even more swiftly into anarchy and revolution.

Chester, S. C., Reporter
December 7, 1933

The three latest and most sensational lynchings in the United States occurred outside the South — to be specific, in Maryland, California, and Missouri. This may serve to show that the lynching habit is spreading, or it may demonstrate, as has long been contended, that the lynching spirit is latent everywhere, and lack of provocation, or more probably ample law enforcement forces, keeps it down.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
TIMES
DEC 1 1933

ANYONE WHO APPROVES OF ONE LYNCHING, MR. ROLPH, IS LYNCHING ADVOCATE

HERBERT HOOVER has the advantage of the Governor of California before persons whose thinking about lynching is not muddled.

"The issue here is plain * * * The Governor has been advocating lynch law," says Mr. HOOVER. "It is a subversion of the very spirit of organized society."

The Governor of California says he doesn't approve of lynching, but reiterates his unqualified approval of the San Jose lynching.

That shows that if the Governor of California is capable of thinking—the question of his ability to think is raised by his silly reference, in connection with lynching, to President HERBERT HOOVER's use of troops to maintain order in Washington—he thinks, about lynching, in a muddled way.

The Governor of California, holding that the San Jose lynching was a fine lesson, a constructive incident, cannot reasonably deny to others the right to approve other lynchings, as fine lessons.

And there is where the trouble lies. Because so many Americans have their pet lynchings; cases actual, or hypothetical, in which they think lynching defensible, mob murders are virtually institutional in this country.

If ever there was a case in which lynching was permissible it was, surely, that of the confessed kidnapers and murderers of BROOKE HART.

If ever anyone had good reasons for defending lynching that man is the Governor of California.

But no one can approve of any lynching without proclaiming himself an advocate of mob murder whenever, and wherever, the crime alleged against the prospective victim of the mob is sufficiently atrocious.

The rape of an old woman seems to Maryland mobsters, reasonably enough, as atrocious as the murder of a young man seems to California mobsters.

Upon a basis of the record, the difference between the Governor of Maryland and the Governor of California is that the former is fit to be a Governor and the latter is not fit to hold any public office.

But to say this will not influence those who, glibly, say they don't approve of lynching but who, when the crime alleged appeals to them as being sufficiently atrocious—it may be the murder of a young man, the rape of an old woman or the murder of an old man or the rape of a young woman—sympathize with lynchers. And they are, in this country, so numerous that they affect civilization.

Asheville, N. C., Citizen
December 9, 1933

Lynching In The Air

The crime for which David Gregory, negro ex-convict, has been lynched in Texas was a horrible affair. Gregory was accused of having criminally assaulted a young white woman and of having killed her and set fire to her body. The reasons for the belief of the officers of the law and of the countryside that Gregory was the guilty person are not known. There may have been specific evidence pointing definitely and positively to his guilt. It may be that he was simply a "bad negro," known to be in the neighborhood at the time of the crime, and toward whom suspicion turned. That is left, on the news reports available, to conjecture.

Mobs do not wait for evidence. If the search for a criminal has been started the conviction that he is guilty follows unhesitatingly. This is always the case and it is especially the case when, as now, lynching is in the air. The Texas mob was not satisfied with the death of the negro who was lynched in this instance. It dragged his body by chains for more than half an hour through the negro district. It cut out his heart. It burned his body. The revulsion excited by the crime of which he was accused vented itself horribly. The idea evidently was to make of Gregory a terrifying example. The story of his lynching is that—but in more ways than one.

Rocky Mount, N. C., Telegram
December 7, 1933

Lynching Not Sectional

Lynchings bees are not confined to any particular section on the country, as recent events illustrate, and there is, as the Charlotte Observer says, no reason for labelling the South the center of lynching activities. The Observer writes:

"The South may still hold to the distinction of being 'the Bible Belt,' and glory in it, but this section of the Nation can no longer be pointed to as 'the lynching belt,' for recent occurrences have shifted the location and in manner not to be mistaken. As a matter of fact, the South has never deserved distinction of the kind imposed upon it, for the lynching record, kept by Tuskegee Institute, will show that lynchings have been common the country over. It was because Negroes were the chief victims in the South and for the crime that maddens men's brains, that the lynching occurrences in this part of the country have been emphasized as peculiar to the South, by Northern racial agitators, their eyes blinded to occurrences at their own homes. They will now have to sweep before their own doors, as they were forced to do in the case of child labor. It is exactly true, as argued by The Houston Post, that the record of lynchings will reveal many cases of this form of lawlessness outside the Southern States, and, also, that a goodly portion of the victims of mobs in the South are white people. It is not to be denied that a number of lynchings of Negroes occur in the South each year, though the number has been decreasing almost every year for a considerable period of time. But Negroes have no monopoly on being mob victims. White men, and even white women, have been put to death by mobs in this section.

"The three latest and most sensational lynchings that have disgraced the country occurred outside the South. This section can take grim satisfaction in that fact, not because it condones mob action, but because it effectually refutes the charge so often made that the South constitutes the 'lynching belt.' If there is a lynching belt, it has been considerably extended, reaching into California on the west, into North Missouri on the north, and into Maryland on the east. San Jose, St. Joseph and Baltimore certainly are not Southern."

There is, however, no "grim satisfaction" for this newspaper in that fact that other states have deprived the South of the unofficial title of the "lynching belt." Lynching anywhere is contrary to every establis[illegible]d tradition, whether it occurs in North Carolina or California. Furthermore, there is additional cause for alarm when it crops out in all sections of the nation.

Tallahassee, Fla. Democrat
December 8, 1933

Roosevelt Denounces Lynch Law of Mob

Calling lynching, "a vile form of collective murder," President Franklin D. Roosevelt has joined the large number of citizens who deplore this extra-means of dealing with criminals.

Mr. Roosevelt expressed faith in the "new generation" as a preliminary to his strong condemnation of mob violence.

"This new generation, for example," he said, "is not content with preaching against that vile form of collective murder—lynch law—which has broken out in our midst anew. We know that it is murder—and a deliberate and definite disobedience of the commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill.' We do not excuse those in high places or in low who condone lynch law."

The Daily Democrat was one of the first newspapers to take issue with the stand of Governor Rolph of California and to take a firm stand against the rule of the mob.

But, while many columns have been published on this subject, in every important newspaper in America, the subject is not exhausted until the question of mass action in cases such as that recently exposed in Louisiana, has been discussed.

In Louisiana, the courts were unable to function. Injunctions were ignored by order of a friendly assistant attorney general. The troops can only be called by the governor who is the king pin in the trouble. The citizens of a Congressional district were deprived of the right of franchise when the regular primary was skipped and the name of but one hand picked candidate submitted to their vote.

In that Louisiana district the people had the right to choose. They could vote for the Huey (Hitler) Long candidate or not vote. It was an exact parallel with the German elections where names of only Nazi candidates appeared on the ballot.

Probably mass murders would not be justified even in such an extreme case. But when legal machinery and law enforcement are seized by a little Nazi dictator in one of our own states, our sympathies are with the irate citizens who burned ballots, guarded the polls with a show of force and otherwise interrupted what was intended to be another Long picnic.

The courts had not ceased to function in California. The law enforcement officers were making a good job of apprehending the culprits and bringing them to justice. And so, even though someone had been hurt in Louisiana there would have been more justification for it than there was in Governor Rolph's bailiwick.

Speakers at San Jose Protest Two Lynchings

SAN JOSE, Cal., Dec. [illegible]3.—(AP) In St. James park, [illegible] re Jack H[illegible]es and [illegible]nd, conf[illegible] murderers [illegible] Brooke Hart, were lyn[illegible] a [illegible] ago, a crowd of seve[illegible] hundred persons toda[illegible] speakers prot[illegible] mob viol[illegible] statements of Governor James Rolph Jr., [illegible]holding the hanging. Prin[illegible] speakers were John D. Barry, San Francisco publicist, and the Rev. C. B. Sylvester, pastor of the First Methodist church of San Jose.

Talladega, Ala., Home
December 7, 1933

A survey shows only two deaths from playing football the season just closed, and strange to say one of the victims was a 13-year-old girl playing with a group of children at Helena, Montana.

In an address before the Federal Council of Crurches of Christ President Roosevelt described lynching as "a vile form of collective murder." His description of lynching is an apt one.

Lynchings-1933 & Discussions.

White Press, Southern

4096

Tifton, Ga. Gazette
November 29, 1933

Nobody likes to encourage lynchings, but those Californians took the right method in discouraging kidnapings. We can't help but admire the stand Governor Rolph has taken. The courts are so unpardonably slow at times that it seems that a lynching is the only way for justice to be done. If Chicago had put on a few gangster lynchings in the beginning of their troubles there, the gangsters never would have gained the hold they did in the Windy City. Instead of the gangsters being lynched, they were made heroes by the newspapers. Even after the notorious leader was sent to the federal prison, the reporters and photographers followed him and have tried to make a martyr of him. Lynching is a terrible thing and should be the last resort on all occasions—but there are times when it would seem that the circumstances justify a lynching.

Cordele, Ga. Dispatch
November 28, 1933

LYNCHING OF THE HART KIDNAPERS

We have always realized that lynching constituted a breaking of the laws and often has resulted in severe mistakes. Every one knew the Hart slayers to be guilty, since they had confessed their dastardly crime. The mob was inflamed by the brutality of the murder as it had been described but they had not attempted to lynch the slayers until the body was found. That seemed to arouse them to action and they took the jail by storm and did away with the murderers.

They disobeyed the law which says that every person is entitled to a trial by jury, etc They were entirely cognizant of that fact as was Governor Rolph. He lauded their action for the effect it will have, supposedly, on future kidnapers.

A governor of a state has lauded the breaking of the law. The newspapers of Georgia, the state where lynching occurs very, very, often have taken occasion to condemn his action. They should condemn it for the effect the condemnation will have on the people of Georgia in the case of future mob justice in Georgia. It will make the people of this state realize that we do not approve of lynchings in any form. In this state it is the negro who is lynched and it is often unjust and out of proportion to the crime. Some of the most horrible deaths have been brought about by lynchings. Georgia is no place to condone lynchings.

We believe that this lynching will have a strong effect on future would-be kidnapers. It shows very strongly the disfavor and the hate of the nation for such wickedness and brutality. It shows that the nation will not tolerate a cold blooded murder of this kind. A trial and sentencing by court procedure would serve the ends of justice and would be fairer to the two murderers but it would be so far from the impassioned action of the mob that it could hardly hope to have a very favorable result in future cases of this kind.

We do not say that the Governor is right in his attitude. It is his duty to uphold the law and not to tear it down. He has made a bad move that none of us can rightly favor. He could have at least remained silent.

The present condition of law and order in the United States is indeed foul due to the repeal amendment and the advent of beer. Beer in Georgia is just as free and plentiful as it is in any other state. There is no enforcement of the law. Liquor can be bought by any one who has the price in Georgia regardless of the fact that it is against the state law and against the federal law. There is no law that suggests temperance in our actions that is enforced to the extent that it could be enforced. Speed laws where there is no patrol are laughed at. Tax laws are laughed at by the millionaires. Bankers join together in the highest type of organized crime. Gangsters are growing rank in our larger cities.

These things must be curbed and there is no better time than the present to do it. We do not approve in any way of Governor Rolph's defense of the leaders of the lynching and we think that these things should be stamped out along with the cause, that of kidnaping. We will always strive to do away with the lawlessness that is overrunning and choking valuable life blood out of our nation.

Macon, Ga. News
November 29, 1933

Two Governors

The shameless conduct of Gov. James Rolph, Jr., of California, in commending the outlaws who hanged a couple of kidnapers, with the assurance that he would pardon any member of the mob who might be convicted, stands in striking contrast with that of Gov. Ritchie, of Maryland, who ordered a regiment of national guard into Somerset county to arrest nine persons who have been identified as participating in the lynching of a negro a few weeks ago.

The culprits were identified by members of the state police. The state's prosecuting attorney ordered the local prosecutor to have these offenders arrested. The Somerset county prosecutor insisted that if he had them arrested a mob would release them from jail.

The discussion of the question went on for about a week when the governor of Maryland, who has been insistent from the beginning on a vigorous prosecution of the mob, finally ordered out the national guard.

There are few cases which really justify a declaration of martial law. It should never be invoked except under the strictest terms of the constitution, which is to say, in practically every state, only in case of riot, invasion or the failure of the civil courts and authorities to function.

Approximately a month has elapsed since the brutal lynching of a negro on the eastern shore of Maryland. Admittedly the crime became all the easier because another lynching had taken place in the same county two years ago and by reason of official indifference, nothing was done about it. Nothing again has been done about it, but the governor of Maryland happens to be a man of more than ordinary force, with a keen realization that the defiance of law in one instance led almost inevitably to such defiance in other instances, was determined that this atrocious crime should not go unpunished.

He was absolutely justified, therefore, in calling out the national guard and will still be justified if he puts Somerset county under martial law.

All this, as we have said, is in impressive contrast with the course taken by Governor Rolph. Nothing more shameful in the history of this country has occurred in recent years than the glorification of outlawry by the governor of a great state.

The fiends who kidnapped and murdered an unoffending youth committed an abominable crime, but they were in custody and there is no reason to doubt that they would have been promptly tried and properly punished. Surely it is not the way to correct one sin against society by committing another. If a prisoner is to be given over to mob violence and the deed not only condoned but applauded, it becomes a direct incentive to such violence in some other case.

What right has the governor of California to say what type of crime and what circumstances justify the intervention of mob violence while other crimes, committed in other circumstances, are allowed to follow the orderly processes of the law.

The governor of California has dealt a deadly blow to the cause of law and order and should be promptly impeached.

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
November 29, 1933

Authorize Mob Action by Law

Governor Rolph of California says in effect, "fine work, boys, you did in lynching the kidnapers and murderers of Hart; if any of you get into trouble for this, I will pardon you." This is the way, the governor says, to stop kidnaping, and serve notice on the world that California will not stand for kidnaping.

This is the most brazen defiance of the law ever committed by one high in authority to see that the law is enforced. Governor Rolph has betrayed his oath and the trust of the people over whom he presides.

An 18-year-old boy named Anthony Catalbu writes a story of how he visited all the speakeasies and served notice on the drunks and gangsters in those places that 11 o'clock that night was the zero hour at the jail, and that there would be a lynching of the two kidnapers. Catalbu says the fact that he got his following from these places accounts for so many of the mob of 5,000 being drunk during the riot.

If this story of the boy is true, it is all the more sorry spectacle the governor presents in commending the drunken mob and gang of hoodlums which have "saved" the fair name of California.

It will be interesting to observe now whether or not this lynching does cure kidnaping in California, or acts as a deterrent. If it does, then the remedy has been found, and the future problems will be simple of solution. No more courts will be needed to try criminals. All that is necessary is to have the legislatures pass laws authorizing mob violence and executions for certain crimes, and legalize the procedure—so that society can still retain some self-respect. The laws should be amended to say that where the evidence in a heinous case is satisfactory to an 18-year-old boy and his drunken followers, then they without any deliberation or consideration shall be authorized to take the accused from the jail and hang them or burn them, and call it a day.

We are not minimizing the horror of the crime of these villains who did the kidnaping. Neither do we condone the viciousness in many other cases of criminality. In this instance the two kidnapers confessed that they captured the Hart youth, took him to the river bridge and knocked him in the head, and then threw his body into the stream. Then they contacted the parents and demanded $40,000 ransom under the pretext that the boy was still alive and would be delivered alive and free from harm if the money was paid. The sheriff caught one of the kidnapers as he was emerging from a telephone booth after having made the demand for ransom. There was no doubt about the guilt of the two when the decomposed body of their victim was found in the river. Circumstantial evidence substantiated the confessions.

Hardly any form of death would have been too severe, and the regret comes that they had only one life each to give for the crime committed.

But it is the method and the attendant circumstances that cry out against the lynching. Organized society and what is solemnly decreed as best for all mankind is at issue with the brute instincts of hoodlums and gangland. The very lawlessness that makes kidnapers is endorsed as a remedy for kidnaping, perhaps on the old theory that the hair of the dog is good for the bite. Organized society as represented by Governor Rolph admits its mistake in having laws and courts. It says to gangsters that you have been right all the time. It is society that has made the mistake. Society surrenders.

Then the laws should be amended so as to authorize the methods of the mob. Society should insist on being obeyed, even if it has to adapt itself to circumstances and methods of the mob. Dignity and the peace and good order of the state should be protected at all costs, even to making a truce with the thing it would suppress. If Governor Rolph's idea of organized society's impotency is correct, then change the laws. Civilized people cannot maintain their self-respect by blowing hot and cold—by having laws only to have some laws to break. If Governor Rolph's organized society cannot control itself, certainly it cannot control criminals. With the law delegating certain duties to the mob under certain circumstances, nobody will be safe. But if that is what the people want, then let's have it. But let organized society insist upon being obeyed.

Moultrie, Ga., Observer
November 29, 1933

We have another lynching sensation, and this time it comes from the Pacific coast, and the parties lynched are whites. The governor of California practically gave his endorsement to the job. Now the editorial writers, the ministerial reformers and the associations to prevent lynching can come to the front and sermonize some more. The Observer deplores every act of the mob that circumvents the processes of the courts. It is not blind to the fact that there are some crimes so shocking that they stir the desire for immediate punishment and vengeance. When men are in that state of excitement and rage there is little that reasoning can do with them. They seem to think that the crime is so unusual that the punishment should be unusual. They doubtless feel that those who show no pity, humanity or justice in dealing with their fellows have no right to receive sympathy or justice in facing the consequences of their crime. In our fight against mob law we progress a little and then slip back a little. To rid ourselves of it entirely we will have to work from two angles. We must prevent crimes of some types as well as educating to the end that all men are entitled to a fair trial before the law.

Dublin, Ga. Courier-Herald
November 29, 1933

If there ever was a lynching that was pardonable, then that of the California kidnapers was. But it would sound much better if Governor Rolph would not publicly praise the lynchers. Kidnaping is against the law, but so is lynching.

Lynchings-1933
Discussions.

White Press, Southern.

4097

Marion, N. C., News
December 5, 1933

THE SAN JOSE LYNCHING

THE San Jose double lynching is widely condoned. Gov. Rolph, the chief law officer of California, announces that he will pardon the lynchers if any attempt is made to punish them. Rolph speaks, of course, not as a responsible public official but as a particularly low order of politician. He senses that his appeal to the mob spirit is popular.

There is no denying that Rolph's attitude is representative of a rather large block of public opinion not only in San Jose but elsewhere in the nation. Even many persons who usually abhor the crime of lynching are saying now, "they had it coming to them."

Why?

Obviously kidnaping provokes a blind public rage greater than almost any other crime. And when the kidnaping turns into fiendish murder, the brutality of the criminal fires the mob brutality. In this case also there was doubtless something of the spirit of the old California Vigilantes. Though there was no reason to fear that these criminals would escape legal punishment, the kidnaping terror throughout the country has inspired a terrorist mood on the part of the public which demands vengeance.

Until very recently the law was not catching and punishing kidnapers. Our legal system was too inefficient or corrupt, or both. That is now being remedied, especially by the Federal Government. But we are still paying in mob spirit for the old break-down of justice.

So it is easy enough to explain, in one way and another, the tendency of many persons to condone the San Jose lynching. But this newspaper cannot condone it.

The reasons against lynching go much deeper than the conventional arguments against barbarity.

This is a time of vast unrest. Otherwise law-abiding citizens are taking law into their own hands. Farmers are using violence against officers and judges. Strikers are being shot down. The country is on edge. For many months whole communities and classes have been under nervous tension almost to the point of breaking. And now we enter another winter of mass suffering.

In such an explosive situation, for Gov. Rolph or any other sworn officer of the law to feed the mob spirit is no respecter of persons or institutions. Those who raise up the mob must be prepared for the destruction of the nation.

Fortunately the Federal Government and most state governments today are more intelligent than Gov. Rolph.

GOVERNORS BEWARE.

Anderson, S. C. Mail
December 4, 1933

WHEN governors put the stamp of approval on lynching they may be storing up future personal trouble, as The Columbia Record sees it, commenting as follows:

"This business of gubernatorial support of lynchings is a dangerous thing and it is doubly dangerous when it is predicated on the theory that the mob can do no wrong, the hypothesis that a crowd sanctifies any act. 'The people,' learning their 'fine lesson' from the San Jose horror, may take it into their minds somewhere sometime to lynch a governor, lynchings being swifter and perhaps cheaper than impeachment proceedings.

"And governors of course ought not to be lynched even when they advocate lynching."

This short cut to a vacancy in the chief executive's office might appeal especially to the people of Oklahoma, famous for its impeachment proceedings. If the Tammanyites of New York city should become peeved at the New York governor for backing on investigation of their "business," it might be halted by a little necktie party. If Louisiana's head man—who is said to take orders from the Kingfish—does not arrange the balloting procedure to suit some of the residents of that fair state a "new deal" might be had very quickly and completely through the same method. And so it goes.

Governors may achieve intense unpopularity in various ways and in numerous sections of their states. Vetoing a bill that would give a particular county a much-desired project or pardoning a convict much against the sentiment in the section from which he came might well be the inspiration for a mob doing its bit, especially if it becomes the custom to do nothing about such incidents. However satisfactory direct action of this sort might be to a few, though, it is best to stick to the old-fashioned way of voting 'em in and voting 'em out. Besides, it is much less messy and more convenient to cast a ballot than to break down a few doors, smash heads and pull a rope.

Tennessean
NASHVILLE
TENNESSEE

DEC 2 1933

Lynching Epidemic.

Behind the 1933 epidemic of lynching, which reached a climax this week with mob action in three widely separated states, lie grave evils in our system of dealing with crime which must be corrected.

The disgraceful demonstrations in Maryland, California and Missouri cannot be condoned, but there can be made a searching investigation of the conditions which turn a peaceful and law-abiding community overnight into a howling, shrieking, sadistic and murdered mob, and these conditions altered.

Lynchings in the United States have doubled this year over the record for 1932. This outburst of mob rule follows a crime wave during which it appeared for a time that the racketeer, the gangster, the kidnaper, the murderer and the whole of the organized underworld had the upper hand and the forces of law and order were incapable of protecting organized society.

Loopholes in the law, lax enforcement, a prevailing disrespect for law in general, which grew up during the days of national prohibition; the illegal associations of police and criminals, the ease with which pardons and paroles have been granted, the pampering of convicts while serving sentences and the great delays allowed in bringing criminals to trial have contributed to the condition which has resulted in losses of much of the gain made in this country against mob action during the last half a century.

The strengthening of the anti-lynching law is not sufficient to cope with the problem, though it might help. The factors which are responsible for the conversion of a law-abiding community into a murderous mob must be dealt with. Stricter laws, better enforcement, fewer pardons and paroles, a policy of treating convicts like convicts while they are in prison, and sure and quicker justice in the courts are reforms society has a right to demand and their adoption would take care of most of the cases which inspire mob action. In addition, California has a problem peculiarly its own.

Governor Rolph of California has brought nationwide criticism upon himself for his position with regard to the lynching of Brooke Hart's kidnapers.

It might be true, as Governor Rolph says, that the California lynching will teach other kidnapers a good lesson. He has, it is conceivable, a right, as a private citizen, to hold the opinion that the members of the California mob are "fine patriots." As governor of a state he has no right to entertain such an opinion. His refusal to send troops to San Jose, leaving the sheriff and his deputies to do the best they could against overwhelming numbers to protect their prisoners, constituted in itself an immoral, if not a criminal, act in keeping with his attitude toward the lynchers after the two kidnapers had been slain. His moral lapse has brought bitter denunciation from a fellow Californian, a fellow Republican and a former President, Herbert Hoover, Mr. Hoover breaking the silence which he has maintained since he left the White House to express criticism of the governor's policy in regard to the lynching.

As governor of California, Mr. Rolph is under obligation to support the laws of his state and nation. His failure to lend assistance to the sheriff constituted a grave offense and his position afterward

constituted another offense.

Instead of promises of investigations to bring the lynchers to justice, as were made in Missouri and Maryland, California has the promise that as long as Rolph is governor kidnapers will be paroled to lynchers and no questions asked.

Selma, Ala. Times
December 10, 1933

A FEDERAL LAW AGAINST LYNCHING

The reverbations against the San Jose lynching, coupled with President Roosevelt's vigorous denunciation of mob violence and the outbreak of this form of lawlessness on a wide scale combine to make imminent the passage by Congress at its next session some kind of anti-lynching law. It is quite possible that Federal legislation dealing with this crying and growing evil will be enacted, but we indulge in no illusions—the act will prove abortive and worthless so long as the constitutional right of trial by jury remains in effect.

As we have iterated many times before, the stream cannot be made to rise above its source. Under our peculiar governmental system crimes are triable where they are committed and no sort of duress is available where courts and juries refuse to discharge the functions the law puts upon them.

Recently we have had two glaring examples of the utter impotence of the law to do anything—one in Tuscaloosa county, Alabama and the other at Princess Ann, Maryland. Appeals to the bulwarks of the law in these respective jurisdictions were as vain as the wailings of an infant in a storm. Had the judges gotten cantankerous and been true to their oaths they would have been booted out of office, and might have been roughly handled before then. No elected official is ever qualified to deal effectively with a lynching. He faces a gruelling alternative—he must go along with public opinion or he must subject himself to being kicked into oblivion. Few of them are of that high metal who prefer martyrdom to their jobs.

In trying to justify lynching it is also an imbecile plea to charge as Gov. Talmadge of Georgia does, that these outbreaks are due to the "delays and technicalities of the courts." Nothing could be wider of the mark. Mobs are not imbued with a consuming rage toward the courts and their inexact methods of procedure. They are generally overwrought by racial hatred, or a shocked sense of outrage, re-enforced by a consciousness of numerical superiority. A mob sets free all of man's savage instincts which must find culmination and relief in striking back. All mobs become subdued a short while after they have wreaked their vengeance, and the records show that it does not matter whether the victim is innocent or guilty. The lynching disease is a cancerous growth on society and civilization in the United States and we have no faith in any form of legislative therapeutics to cure it.

Anderson, S. C., Record
December 8, 1933

LYNCH LAW.

President Roosevelt's condemnation of lynch law was timely and appropriate, and it is heartening as well to those who deplore the several recent blights upon the records of several states where mobs invoked the noose law as a means of accomplishing something that was the function of the law.

Lynchings are to be deplored, and under no circumstances can they be condoned by persons who respect the majesty of the law of the land. And yet it is not so surprising that such outbreaks should occur at times and we cannot in good conscience hold our courts altogether blameless in this matter.

Here is a very significant part of the President's message in connection with his condemnation of recent lynching parties:

"The judicial function of the government is the protection of the individual and the community through quick and certain justice. That function in many places has fallen into a sad state of disrepair. It must be a part of our program to re-establish it."

In these few words we believe that President Roosevelt has diagnosed about ninety per cent. or more of our trouble. It is not the idea of right thinking citizens that a defendant should be "railroaded" through his trial in court, but on the other hand, long delays by courts in many of our states have the effect of trying the patience of those who believe that justice should be certain. But even court delays are no excuse for a mob of citizens to take the law into their own hands and commit disgraces such as those told of recently in flaming headlines.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
December 6, 1933

MANY WILL CHANGE THEIR MIND

The Rev. Dr. Henry Darlington, rector of the Church of the Heavenly Rest in New York, surprised the world last week by sending a telegram to Governor Rolph of California commending him on his praise of the San Jose lynchers.

Not that the world was surprised because the Rev. Dr. Darlington applauded Rolph's stand. Not many persons outside of New York—and not very many persons in New York—knew this minister. But the world was shocked to learn that a preacher had commended the Rolph attitude.

Sunday the Rev. Dr. Darlington stood up in his pulpit and said: "I should not have sent the telegram to Governor Rolph. It is the duty of all good citizens to uphold the law and I do not condone in any way the attempts of groups or individuals to take matters into their own hands."

Many persons who have commended the Governor of California will change their minds.

But most persons will not be placed in what might be considered so embarrassing a position as was that of the New York minister who doubtless was overcome by emotion when he dispatched the laudatory telegram to the California lynch exponent.

The minister doubtless was thinking of the brutality of the murder for which the two lynch victims were put to death when he voiced approval of the Rolph attitude. At the moment he saw only that one case.

But Sunday when he stepped into his pulpit, as a spiritual leader and as a first citizen, he condemned mob law because he had had time to think over his first emotional outburst, to realize that his first "approval" of the California outbreak was motivated by the desire to see society rid itself of crime—but that his "approval" was shortsighted. He realized that to protect themselves against crime men first must protect their government and that the lynch spirit tears down government, law and order.

One wonders how many persons who congratulated the Governor of California for his utterances will change their mind, and how soon?

Many who spoke out in favor of the lynchings last week will change their mind.

RALEIGH, N. C.
TIMES

NOV 29 1933

GOVERNOR ROLPH'S OUTBREAK AND AN ILL-TIMED REACTION

Governor Rolph's asinine deliverance in connection with the lynching of the kidnapers at San Jose, California, is followed by two outrageous instances of mob violence in Maryland and Missouri. An Eastern Shore mob fought with militia ordered by Governor Ritchie to arrest members guilty of a recent lynching, men whom the local authorities had point blank refused to proceed against. In Missouri occurred an old-fashioned lynching, in which a mob "over-powered" the sherif fand his deputies and summarily killed a negro youth accused of the "crime against womanhood". Elsewhere there are lynchings and efforts to arrest mobsters who have been engaged in staging a revival of a major crime far worse than the use of bootleg liquor in its destructive effect on respect for law.

Governor Rolph's deliverance to the mob of murderers who were supposed to be under the protection of the State until they could have an orderly trial was coupled with a public condonation of the offense and a statement that he would pardon anyone who might be subjected to legal process on account of participation in the lynching. That nothing could have been worse timed is shown by occurrences which threaten a veritable epidemic of lynch law. Aside from the psychological effect of a Governor's open alignment with the spirit of anarchy, there are two things to consider that are of the greatest concern to every citizen.

First, there is an accentuation of the spirit of crime itself, started by the bootleggers, rum-runners, beer barons, hi-jackers and gang murderers and bombers of the Prohibition Era. These thugs battened on crime until they made all manner of atrocity a common-place—including murder and kidnaping—in rougue's argot, the "snatch." Racketeers succeeded in organizing blackmail and violence, with the result that they enlisted the lawful business they intimidated in the ranks of the law-breakers. The result has been a growing familiarity with crime, violence and graft, coupled with a resort to the even more dangerous—because basic—excitation of the public to "fight fire with fire," to descend to criminal action in order to establish honesty and virtue over crime and vice by the use of similar means—a thing that cannot be managed and, whenever tried, has bred the whirlwind.

Second, the He-Man-Native-Son Thow-back to the Vigilante has by example worked disastrously upon the South, long afflicted with lynching by reason of the desperation visited upon its people through the ancient Reconstruction business. Of recent years we had seemed to have outgrown this violent impulse and been ready to engage in reason. Lynchings fell off. They have now begun to increase in number—and Governor Rolph puts a torch in every mobster's hand and furnishes him with a light for the pyre that in every instance burns the sole protection of the law, along with the criminal victim tied to the stake.

Every law-abiding citizen, every Southerner, in particular, who wishes to refute the reputation for barbarity with which he has been stigmatized in public opinion by the low breed of whites who indulge their cowardice in lynchings needs sorely the active assistance of law officers in general, high and low.

Lynchings-1933 & Discussions

White Press, southern.

4098

THE PUBLIC ACTS

Oxford, N. C. Ledger
December 5, 1933

The lynching at San Jose, Calif., of two men who kidnapped and murdered Brooke Harte and then sought to collect ransom brought from Governor James Rolph, Jr., a statement which has brought him as much ridicule as praise.

In a statement short of anything that looks like tact, the Governor took occasion to say of the lynchers, "They did a good job," and referred to them as "fine, patriotic citizens."

Notwithstanding what one may think of the entire affair, it is not devoid of its lessons. In the first place, the hanging is an indictment against the way of justice. Faith in the power or ability of officers to arrest and the courts to handle the desperate criminals that desert their lairs and prey upon life and wealth is slipping. It shows that the rank and file of the people want justice.

Uncouth in his statement, the California Governor slipped from the brink of public acclaim when he failed to speak more tactfully on the lynching. Consequently, he has been abused verbally by those who realize the danger of permitting mob action even in cases most offensive to society. On the other hand, there are as many people who were proud of his bold stand and have lauded him from that point of view.

The San Jose lynching, then, may be viewed by criminals as a lesson for them. One inclined to wantonly take the life of another or to do bodily abuse will think a second time if he knows that the masses of the people will step in and take charge when there is possibility of escape through the courts.

Madison, Fla., Recorder
December 1, 1933

We heard of the lynching Monday afternoon, and the writer's first comment was that he did not approve of the procedure, but the kidnapers got exactly what they deserved.

Chattanooga, Tenn. Times
December 3, 1933

SOME OF THE CAUSES OF LYNCHING.

In one of its recent issues the Chicago Tribune printed a six-part cartoon, "Cause and Effect," attempting to explain the phenomenon of lynching in the United States, a civilized, self-governing country. The cartoon was based on the crime of kidnaping, and its reading matter ran as follows:

> The crime of kidnaping, plus legal delays, plus the crafty cupidity of criminal lawyers, plus the inefficiency or complacency of some judges, plus lack of faith in the dispensing of justice equals lynch law.

There is no doubt but that delay and uncertainty in the meting out of justice to serious offenders tend to cause outraged, impetuous citizens to take the law into their own hands and brutally extinguish the lives of some of those charged with the commission of heinous crimes. And this situation must be faced, notwithstanding the fact that delay and uncertainty in the dealing out of justice do not justify mob executions.

As the Chicago Tribune cartoon points out, "legal red tape" and "the inefficiency or complacency of some judges" are contributing factors to the lynching phenomenon. But is not "the crafty cupidity of criminal lawyers" a larger factor than either defects in the law or "the inefficiency or complacency of some judges" in the promotion of mob violence? In other words, is not the profit element in defending criminals the greatest cause of growing impatience with courts and of the crime of lynching?

It is notorious that an alleged criminal who has money with which to employ crafty lawyers to take advantage of legal technicalities can delay justice indefinitely and in all too many instances accomplish what the public considers its defeat. In recent years there have appeared on the scene organizations which, for reasons which are apparent to all, fly to the defense of some obscure offenders without financial means and keep their cases in the courts year after year. The longer a case can be kept in the courts, even if justice should be done in the end, the greater the fees of the defense lawyers.

Various methods of preventing the fee or profit motive from operating so powerfully in the interest of some of those accused of crimes have been proposed. Changes in procedure have been suggested, reformation of the bar has been advocated and the idea of providing public defenders, along with public prosecutors, has been advanced. This last idea may or may not be the remedy but it would at least seem to be worth considering. And it should be growing increasingly clear to all that in some way the financial motive which enters into the defense of criminals must be reckoned with in a way that will make justice swifter and surer.

Madison, Fla., Recorder
December 1, 1933

Governor Horner of Illinois said: "Every lynching is a defiance of law and order and an admission of the inadequacy of local authorities to prosecute crime."

Governor Murray of Oklahoma probably put his finger on the sore spot when he said: "The lynching of Thurmond and Holmes could have been averted if the public had been convinced that the kidnapers would have received the death penalty."

Regardless of what may be said in defense of the California lynching, the lynching method is a dangerous method.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
December 5, 1933

WHY GO THROUGH THE MOTIONS

It is devoutly hoped that the authorities at San Jose where the most spectacular lynching of modern times has occurred will not go through with the solemn farce of a public probing, that juries will not be empanneled and that the eminent judge whoever he may be, will not solemnly pledge a searching investigation and the punishment of the guilty. We have travelled over this course often enough. We have listened to these meaningless assurances on so many similar occasions in the past that we feel that the long-suffering public is due a little immunity from the familiar proceedings. The futility of the courts when faced by these local upheavals is too complete and tragic and does not warrant the expenditure of effort or expense.

The lynching evil is a disease of our civilization and the cure cannot be effected by dealing with the outward manifestations. In old and settled countries like England, where respect for the law is inbred in the people and prevails universally, lynchings do not occur. Neither do the barbaric crimes of kidnaping and murder and the other long list of unspeakable offenses that occur daily in the polyglot life of our country. It is going to be hard to separate the prevalence of these outrages that shock so many of our communities, from summary visitations, such as mob law where brute force and unbridled passions of the people break over the bounds. Possibly a hundred years hence passion will cool in a more settled social order and crime of all kinds will have run its more turbulent course and the law and public morality will command more general respect.

GREENSBORO, N. C.
NEWS

NOV 30 1933

Three widely separated incidents, in the day after California's courageous governor gave the nation a fine lesson in justice, clamor for a place in the sun.

At Salisbury, Md., a mob estimated at more than 1,000 attempted to storm the state armory in an unsuccessful effort to liberate four men, arrested by the military on charges of participating in last month's lynching in Princess Anne county, after the state's attorney had refused to order them into custody as instructed by the attorney general. Cries of "Lynch Ritchie" and "Lynch Lane" (Maryland's attorney general who instituted the investigation leading to the arrests) went up from the mob as it hurled stones at soldiers surrounding the armory and was forced to give ground before tear gas bombs and bayonets.

At St. Joseph, Mo., a young negro, reported to have confessed to attacking a white girl, was taken from jail and hanged to a tree on the courthouse lawn. A mob estimated at 7,000 surged past army tanks manned by national guardsmen, although the dispatches do not say what resistance the military offered, to break into the prison and take the accused negro from the sheriff.

At St. Paul, Minn., four alleged members of the Touhy gang,

charged with the kidnaping of William Hamm, Jr., were exonerated of the counts which the federal government had preferred against them. In the midst of whatever criticism the verdict may precipitate, it must be remembered that a jury, which heard all the evidence in the case in accordance with constitutional guarantees and legal procedure, decided that their guilt was not established beyond all reasonable doubt. Acquittal, in the face of the full power of the federal government, which suffered its first reversal since Washington launched an attack on the kidnaping racket, to secure conviction, elicited from Chief of Police Thomas Dahill head of St. Paul's enforcement agencies, the direct assertion that "If this is the attitude the American juries take towards kidnapers, I applaud San Jose citizens for taking justice into their own hands."

With these three incidents reported to Governor Rolph, one can imagine California's courageous executive rubbing his hands in glee and sweetly cooing "Fine, fine; our lesson's taking hold."

WHEELING, W. VA.
NEWS

NOV 28 1933

WHEELING OPINION DIVIDED ON CALIFORNIA LYNCHING

PROSECUTOR DON McKEE DISAGREES WITH GOV. ROLPH ON PARDONING MOB

"LYNCHERS ARE MURDERERS," SAYS BISHOP—"GOOD LESSON," MANY SAY

Was the lynching of Brooke Hart's kidnapers and murderers justified?

Was Governor James Rolph, Jr. of California justified in pardoning the mob which stormed the San Jose jail and hanged John M. Holmes and Thomas H. Thurmond?

Well, if the answers rest with Wheeling people the lynching was not justified and it was justified and the action of Governor Rolph was justified and was not justified.

Because Wheeling is divided on these questions. Law enforcement officers and clergymen almost unanimously condemn the lynching. But the man in the street is for it.

"No group of citizens should be allowed to do what the California mob did," said Prosecuting Attorney Don McKee. "The law courts should handle such cases and the penalty should be severe but these citizens were not justified in their action. And I positively disagree with Governor Rolph."

Bad Precedent

Chief of Police Joseph Burkhart concurs with Governor Rolph in the belief that the lynching will be a good lesson for the country and will do much to stop kidnaping and murders. "But the lynchings may establish a bad precedent," he said. "Lynching is a bad thing, although at times it looks reasonable."

"Murderers!" That's what the lynchers are, according to Rt. Rev. J. J. Swint, Bishop of the Catholic diocese of Wheeling. "Lynching is never justifiable under any conditions," the bishop declared. "The only justifiable taking of human life is execution by the properly constituted authorities after fair trial. Aside from that, those who take the law into their own hands are murderers."

"My personal reaction is that the lynching was unchristian," said Rev. Gordon Vincent, Baptist minister. "It could not be condoned by the teachings of our Saviour. However, as this lynching has become history, I believe it will be a tremendous deterrent to kidnaping. It would be difficult for Governor Rolph to single out an individual for blame but I don't believe he should have given public expression."

Lesson to Kidnapers

The lynching will be a great lesson to kidnapers, according to Rev. W. H. Fields, pastor of the First Christian church. "But I don't believe in mob law. The courts should take up such things. I don't agree with the governor in pardoning the lynchers."

"Burn 'em at the stake," cried Holly Sayre, Island grocer. "Sure, it was a good thing. For a crime such as those fellows committed, I believe in lynching and even worse."

"The governor showed poor judgment" and "law abiding citizens cannot condone things of that kind," said Rev. Jo W. G. Fast, pastor of the Fourth Street M. E. church.

State Senator George Beneke, lawyer, stands for enforcement but he believes that when the law is ineffective, "lynching is a good move." "I am in favor of law but when enforcement officers are hampered, citizens should take the law in their own hands. But I wouldn't go as far as the governor in absolving the lynchers. It will be a good lesson."

"Those men deserved a trial," Rev. C. A. Portz, Edgwood Lutheran church said. "I don't approve lynching but certainly something drastic is needed. Public opinion has been aroused. The governor is backed by public opinion but he should watch the mob spirit."

Justifiable

"It was justifiable," declared John Ulrich, former member of the House of Delegates. "I don't believe in mob law but think such action as this was justifiable, especially in the brutal Hart murder. I agree with Governor Rolph on pardoning the lynchers."

Macon, Ga. News
December 5, 1933

SPEECH DEPLORES MANY LYNCHINGS

Anderson Says Snatching Away of Civil Liberties Is Serious Offense

"Up until 1930, the latest figures available, 4,300 people were lynched in the United States," W. T. Anderson, editor and publisher of The Telegraph and News, told Lions at their meeting in the Hotel Dempsey this afternoon, "and Georgia lead the list with the largest number of lynchings, while Georgia is at the bottom of the list when it comes to education."

Mr. Anderson was introduced by Carl Bloch, and used as the keynote of his talk, Governor Rolph's open approval of the recent California lynchings.

"Lynching is a throw-back," continued Mr. Anderson, "a return to the primitive. When you take the law in your own hands you are tramping on the civil liberties rights that your ancestors have built up for you through the centuries.

Murder by Group

"And, why should a group be pardoned for an act that an individual would be punished for? If one person hangs another that is murder and the guilty one is punished. If a group hangs a person, that is lynching and the guilty parties go free.

"Lynching in Georgia has come as a result of race hatred—a thing that didn't exist before the Civil war. During the war masters went off and left their wives and babies in the care of the Negroes—and they knew their loved ones would be well taken care of.

"When the Negroes were freed, six million of them, they were thrown into the road, with no home, clothes, or food. The government freed them and left them alone. Carpetbaggers, scallywags and camp followers from the North probably started the race hatred when they told Negroes that the southern people were enemies of Negroes.

Negroes Handicapped

"This race hatred has developed through the years. The Negro is handicapped in every way possible and then lynched on the least pretense. We hold him back and thereby hold ourself back.

"Eleven million Negroes are being held back by us, and this 11,000,000 Negroes thereby cause eleven million wihtes to be held back. We cannot hold down a race or group without keeping ourselves down. If we want to rise we must stop holding them down."

Mr. Anderson traced the origin of civil liberties through history, and gave as a reason for the backwardness of the South, the fact that southern people do not give the Negroes a fair deal.

Hudson Edwards was a guest of Elbert Peabody at the meeting.

Art Nims, president, announced that the annual election of officers and directors would be held in two weeks.

Tuscaloosa, Ala., News
December 5, 1933

AN EASTERN PAPER FACES THE FACTS ON LYNCHING

To prevent lynching, remove the cause," The Tuscaloosa News repeats while an important portion of the Alabama daily press howls with indignation over the action of Governor Rolph in condoning the mob murder of two men in California.

Apparently trembling lest the praises of the East be denied them, these newspapers have devoted column after column in a mighty tirade against lynchings, but their high-sounding words make no effort to discuss the cause or cure. Consequently, it is with a certain degree of satisfaction that we see The New York Sun, one of the nation's most celebrated journals of a conservative trend, face the facts as they should be faced.

"Lynching is always to be decried, if only for the reason that it is a reflection upon the processes of the law," The Sun says. "Yet it is possible to understand the state of mind of the mob which took the murderers of Brooke Hart from the San Jose jail and hanged them."

The Sun then observes that no kidnaping and murder could have been more horrifying than that of which Thurmond and Holmes were guilty. The victim had no chance, even through ransom. He was brutally slain at once so that his captors could bargain with greater ease.

"If the crime had been designed to flout public indignation and defy new laws and punishments for kidnaping it could not have been planned otherwise. The action of the mob, however regrettable, was an expression of the fury that has accumulated in the popular mind because of the succession of atrocities perpetrated by wretches engaged in the most terrible of rackets."

This position by a sound New York newspaper must come as something of a shock to that portion of the Alabama press which has been beating its head against a stone wall in an effort, perhaps valiant but utterly foolish, to end lynchings.

Let these newspapers go to the root of all lynchings and they will meet with more success.

Let them realize that the laws against criminals were enacted for the benefit of the public and not for the benefit of the malefactor.

Let them realize that the masses will never resort to lynching as long as the agencies of the law exact a speedy justice, but that these masses feel it within their power to take the matter in hand when legal processes have failed them in the past.

Let them realize that when the law enforcement of this country becomes as stern and efficient as it should be, criminals such as those in California will not be apt to ply their trade with so much audacity and frequency.

And let them realize finally that our task in handing the professional criminal who paves the way to lynchings is much more important than our task in handling the occasional mob.

One never hears of a lynching in Canada or the British Isles—reason? Swift punishment is meted out to the kidnaper, the rapist and the murderer in those countries.

ATLANTA, GA.
CONSTITUTION

As inexcusable as lynching is under any circumstances, it must be said in behalf of the people of California that if ever a lynching was justified the one taking place in San Jose Sunday night was.

It was the penalty for as heinous, cold-blooded and brutal crime as was ever committed. It combined the worst features of kidnaping and deliberate murder.

At a time when the country is inflamed over kidnap outrages the California outrage reached the ultimate in depravity in that its perpetrators deliberately planned the extortion of money from a frenzied family after they had thrown their victim's weighted body into the bay.

It is not surprising that the crime, committed against a promising and widely respected youth, should have so aroused public opinion that a mob estimated at more than 5,000 men and women should have taken the law into their hands and strung the confessed prisoners to trees in the center of a public park near the scene of the kidnaping.

The regrettable California outbreak proves, as has often been proven in the past, that when unusually provocative crimes are committed, the outraged citizenship of any section will be stirred to the extent of retaliation by the effort to take the law in their own hands.

Lynchings are deplorable from every standpoint, but there are crimes, brutal and revolting in nature, that are certain to arouse the passions of even so high type a citi-

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Chattanooga, Tenn
TIMES
NOV 30 1933

LYNCHING ACTION IN TWO STATES.

Yesterday was marked by action in connection with lynchings in Missouri and Maryland, in both of which there were disturbances on the preceding day.

In Missouri, where Lloyd Warner, 19-year-old Negro was lynched at St. Joseph Tuesday night, Governor Guy B. Park ordered a State investigation into the lynching, declaring there was "no justification" for the mob's action. The State's Assistant Attorney-General was sent to the scene of the crime to conduct the inquiry. "If the responsibility for the lynchings can be fixed," he declared, "this office will assist in the prosecution."

In Maryland the turn of events was disheartening to the lovers of law and order. The four men who had been arrested by National Guardsmen in connection with a lynching in Somerset County returned to Princess Anne riding on the running boards of the car in which they were brought from Baltimore. They were waving to their friends. They entered the courthouse for a habeas corpus hearing, and Judge Robert F. Duer released them, holding that there was "insufficient evidence" to justify holding them.

Doubtless the Maryland case is over. If so, it has ended in a way to reflect dishonor on one of the great States of the Union. But this dishonor is reflected upon its citizens, especially those of Somerset County, not upon Governor Ritchie, whose efforts to bring the lynchers to justice resulted in cries from members of an infuriated mob that even he be lynched.

The outcome of the Missouri case remains to be seen. Proper-minded citizens throughout the country will await its issue with interest. Shall the investigation come to naught, as such probes usually do? Shall it result in arrests, only for the alleged offenders to be released by a judge influenced by public opinion? Shall it result in indictments, only for the accused to be acquitted by jurors in sympathy with the lynchers and disregardful of their oaths and their duties as citizens?

Regardless of whether the Maryland case is over and regardless of the outcome of the Missouri case, it is earnestly to be hoped that there will be no more gubernatorial connivance at lynching, approval of it and promises of immunity for lynchers, such as marked the conduct of Governor Rolph, of California. Also, it is to be hoped that there will be no more such judicial approval of mob violence, such as was given to the California lynching by City Judge Fleming, of this city.

If there shall come a time in the United States when every man may consider himself a hangman, the safety of individuals will have become a memory and American civilization will have hit the toboggan.

GREENWOOD, S. C.
INDEX JOURNAL
NOV 25 1933

BRUTAL LAWLESSNESS

So far as news reports go the killing of the old negro Green near Taylors in Greenville county one night last week, was another case of brutal and inexcusable lawlessness.

Green may have been a villain. Reports say he was a quiet, inoffensive fellow. But if he had been a menace to peace and order in that community there was a way to handle him. He could have been brought into court and made to pay an adequate penalty.

This business of individuals taking the law into their own hands is one of the greatest dangers all law in this country has to face. If not checked it means the eventual breaking down of our present protection.

Newport, Tenn., Tribune
December 4, 1933

Probably for the first time in our history a lynching has received the commendation of the American people. When Thomas H. Thrumond and John M. Holmes, confessed kidnapper-slayers of Brooke Hart, San Jose Calif. youth, whose mutilated body was found in San Francisco Bay, were hung to a tree in St. James Park, there was no revulsion of emotion among the spectators, nor has there been any pronounced criticism of the lynching by peoople or press. Their crime was so henious that the swift vengence meted out by an enraged California citizenary is viewed as an act of sublime justice.

Minister Who Condoned Lynching Recants as Students Picket Church

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

NEW YORK, Dec. 3.—(AP)—Theological students today picketed the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Heavenly Rest in protest against an indorsement by its pastor, Dr. Henry Darlington, of Governor James Rolph's commendation of the San Jose lynchings. The demonstration resulted in three arrests.

Although Dr. Darlington recanted his indorsement at the morning service, the students—18 young men and two young women—paced up and down the sidewalks of Fifth Avenue bearing placards denouncing his stand.

Police arrested two men and one of the girls on disorderly charges preferred by Mrs. Mary Brown, who tore to bits two of the signs and, in the excitement, slipped and fell to the pavement.

The young woman, Miss Lillian Migrath, 21, of Butler, N. J., preferred a charge of assault against Mrs. Brown, but the desk lieutenant at the precinct station to which they were taken refused to receive it.

The other two arrested were Louis Goldberg, 25, of Brooklyn, and William Chamberlain, 27, of Lakeside, Mich. All have been ordered to appear in Harlem court Monday morning.

The picketers are students at the Union Theological Seminary, and said they were members of the Intercollegiate League for Industrial Democracy.

Dr. Darlington, during the reading of church announcements prior to his sermon, told the congregation he had come to the conclusion he should not have sent his telegram to Governor Rolph, of California, in which he had said: "Congratulations on the stand you have taken."

"It was the result," he said today, "of being deeply stirred at the time, and upon further consideration of the facts, I have come to the conclusion that it should not have been sent.

"It is the duty of all good citizens to uphold the law, and I do not condone in any way the attempt of groups or individuals to take matters into their own hands".

Citronelle, Ala., Call
November 30, 1933

SWIFT JUSTICE

Naturally, not many people condone lynching, and believe the law should take its course, but there are times when summary justice seems justified. The brutes who murdered young Brooke Hart showed no compassion, but wantonly killed him first and tried to collect ransom afterwards.

The friends of the Hart family became incensed to fury when two fishermen recovered the body and it was ascertained that the men had told the truth about the dastardly crime, and wreaked their vengeance on them.

Of course, the so-called defense league put in its oar, and remanded that the lynchers be punished by hanging, which in this case would affect about 5,000 people.

If these defense associations would quit their meddling tactics, and not try to direct the courts of the country from their headquarters in New York there would be a great deal less sectional feeling in this country.

Smithfield, N. C. Herald
December 1, 1933

SEVERE BLOW TO ORDERLY PROCEDURE

THE South has been proud, in recent years, to note the decreasing number of lynchings which in the days of Reconstruction following the War Between the States were all to numerous and were a blot on our civilization. It has taken years to live down the mob rule and to build up a sentiment for orderly handling of violations of the law.

It will take California a long time to live down the stigma that comes to that fair state because of the lynching of two alleged kidnapers, heinous though the crime may be. It will be hard to live down this untoward act because the governor of the State, the supreme head of justice in the State, gives his sanction to the hangings. Brooke Hart, son of a wealthy San Jose citizen, was kidnaped. To this terrible crime, which no one denies has alarmingly increased in recent years, was added that of murder. The body of the young man was fastened to a cement block and sunk into a stream where he drowned. Two men were later apprehended when they attempted to collect a $40,000 ransom. They were placed in jail

Then the jail was stormed; the men taken to a public park, and their bodies hanged from a tree. Horrible? All of it—the kidnaping, the murder, the mob gathered from speakeasies, the lynching, but did two wrongs ever make a right? Who knows but that the parents of one of those lynched men are right in maintaining the innocence of their son? They claim they know where he was almost all of the time of the night of the kidnaping and murder of young Hart.

The governor of a state is over all of his people—the good and the bad. It is his duty to protect the life and liberty of every one within the bounds of his commonwealth. In spite of the crying need to stop the kidnaping racket, for a high official, or any official for that matter, to condone mob rule strikes a severe blow at the cause of orderly procedure.

ATLANTA, GA.
CONSTITUTION
NOV 29 1933

WHERE THE FAULT LIES.

The open defense by Governor Rolph, of California, of the lynching by a San Jose mob of the two confessed kidnapers held in jail in that city has led to a nation-wide controversy, illustrating the regrettable harm to the public weal that invariably follows when the citizens of a community take the law into their own hands. In this instance, the chief executive of a great state is being subjected to bitter criticism and dire forebodings of other and worse violations of law and order are being predicted. The south is injected into the controversy because of allusions to racial prejudice.

It is a situation from which only harm can result—and is chiefly attributable to the laxity of court procedure and the abuse of the pardon power in the United States.

No such outrages against law and order occur in Great Britain and her dominions because British justice is quick and certain—as illustrated in the recent execution in Canada of a father and son from Tennessee who had been convicted of the murder of a farmer in a western Canadian province.

These two men were traced back to their home in the United States, extradited, promptly tried and convicted and executed. Had they committed their crime in this country and escaped to Canada, it is likely they would never have been apprehended. If they had been caught and brought to trial, the odds are that they would have escaped the death sentence, and that before many years the executive power would have been used to cut short their incarceration.

In that difference is to be found the reason why mob violence is an unknown thing in one of the great English-speaking nations of the world but is lamentably frequent in the other.

Former President Taft, while chief justice of the supreme court, made the unqualified statement that "our criminal courts are a disgrace." Conditions were bad enough when it could be said that "the wheels of justice grind slowly but surely." Now they grind even more slowly and with every prospect that, in the long run, those guilty of even the most heinous crimes will be able to escape their just desert through resort to the loopholes with which our legal procedure abounds.

It is this condition that makes possible the extra-legal justice meted out by the San Jose mob and the recent lynching in Maryland which has finally resulted in the militia of the state being called out to arrest generally known members of the mob whom the local courts have refused to hail before the bar of justice.

The trouble is not with our judges, prosecuting attorneys or juries. As a whole the country has no more faithful nor capable public servants, but their efforts are all too often nullified by the technicalities which make our form of legal procedure more of a stumbling block than an aid to the rendition of justice.

For years committees of the American Bar Association and of the various state bar associations have been working on new and manly with these associations. It is to be hoped that, heeding the warning of increasing disrespect for the law, they will proceed with the least possible delay to formulate the legal reforms the country so badly needs.

December 8, 1933
Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald

"We know that it is murder, and a deliberate and defiant disobedience of the commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill.' We do not excuse those in high places or in low who condone lynch law."

* * *

LIKE civilization's own silver arrow was this word that crossed the ethers from Washington to Sacramento last Wednesday night. It was a word of stinging and unstinting rebuke from the president of the United States to the governor of California. And it was spoken in the presence of 120,000,000 Americans who have learned to look upon Franklin Roosevelt as the heart of all that's brave, all that's fair, all that's decent in America today. If, as Georgia's Julian Harris wrote last Sunday, Gov. Rolph's demagogic defense of lynching destroyed many years of labor for a sentiment against the thing in the South, President Roosevelt must surely have recreated that sentiment in as many minutes, and made it storm-proof against all the winds of passion stupidity and lust.

* * *

The president minced no words He called lynching "murder" and named every patriot and every decent citizen to denounce, oppose and defeat it. Like Walter Lippmann, whose fine article on the subject appeared the same day, he recognized the need of a judicial system more prompt and perfect in the doing of justice than the existing one manages to be. But, also like Lippmann, he put his denunciation of lynching definitely first and left no place in conscience or civilization for those who would destroy the law merely because they are not satisfied with its operation.

"Murder" is an ugly word. But it has been made the uncompromising word for lynchers now by America's first citizen and the South's great friend.

* * *

In many respects the South is today what Count Keyserling and other observers have already called it —"the hope of America." It has the climate and geography and ways to which the rest of America must turn more and more for a life worth living. It has resources and economic potentialities which were beginning to attract nation-wide attention before the depression and which will attract that attention in even greater measure as recovery comes. It has the colorfulness and individuality to save America from the deadening uniformities of mass and machine. And, most of all, it has a native people whose fine qualities need only a proper expression and direction to command for them the first ranks of the golden age now in making. Never in history was it more necessary or worth while for the South to rid itself of every hateful or illiberal force in its ways and days and to hug to its bosom the multitude of braver forces which promise it so much.

St. Petersburg, Fla. Independent
November 29, 1933

Lynch-law has raised its head with an ugly flourish the past few days. In the East the governor of Maryland sent soldiers to hold back the mob when members of a lynching party were arrested; in the West the governor of California is receiving congratulations and denunciations for the part he played in approving the lynching of two kidnapers; in Missouri a mob battled officers to seize a negro and lynch him for assault; in Kansas officials spirited away a man before a mob broke into the jail, and the Kansas legislature, meeting in night session, voted to return to capital punishment—all this within twelve hours!

December 5, 1933
Morganton, N. C., News-Herald

LYNCHING:—Smeared over the front pages today we have a complete study of lynchings; its cause, effect and cure. California, Alabama, Maryland.

Gov. Ritchie making every effort to bring lynchers to justice, while Gov. Rolph has nothing but kind words for the lynching bee held in his state.

Gov. Rolph, who prides himself on his descent from Pocohontas, must have forgotten the part taken by his ancestors in preventing an act of violence.

No punishment is too horrible for kidnapers; and no crime horrible enough to justify lynching its perpetrators.

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NEW YORK [EVENING] WORLD — Telegram
DEC 1 1933

It Seems to Me by HEYWOOD BROUN

A WOMAN of San Jose, now living in New York, writes to me and says:—

"When I think of the day I shall go home and must inevitably pass St. James' Park, with its hitherto pretty green lawn and gentle trees, where 'it' happened, I shrink. Something has been taken from 'the old home town' that will never belong to it again.

"The stain is there, as you say. Not only did the 15,000 who were present see the lynching; all of us who were away and who will one day go back must also 'see' it and shudder.

"With an almost personal sense of guilt I have been wondering whether any of the many with whom I went to grammar, high school and college in San Jose could have been participants in that grewsome spectacle."

An Interesting Inhuman Document.

JAMES ROLPH, JR., Governor of California, has issued an extraordinary document upon which it is difficult to comment. If it represents any sincerity of thought whatsoever the statement stamps Uncle Jim as a mental illiterate. If, as seems more likely to me this is no more than the mouthing of an unprincipled politician rejoinder may again seem unnecessary, since the plea is as hollow as an empty hogshead.

Take, for instance, a sentence such as the following:—"Lynchings are not pleasant, and as a matter of policy I do not either personally or officially condone them."

This is either impertinence or imbecility upon the part of Uncle Jim. He spoke of the lynching as "a lesson to the nation." He said that anybody who took part in "this good job" would be pardoned. Indeed in his present statement he says, "Today all California except the criminals themselves feel safer."

If Uncle Jim has a dictionary and can get somebody to help him look up the word I wish he would inform himself of the meaning of "condone." Uncle Jim has not yet made the leader of the mob an honorary colonel on his staff; nor has he, as far as I know, caused medals to be struck off and presented to all who kicked and beat the two criminals as they were dragged across the square. Short of that I can think of nothing which the Governor has not done to show his approval and even his enthusiasm for the lynching.

The Duty of the Courts.

GOVERNOR ROLPH'S argument is that our system of judicial procedure has broken down. "The processes of punishment are slow and cumbersome. Many escape by technicalities; others are subjected to punishment that is farcically inadequate with the heinous atrociousness of their crimes."

Governor Rolph then goes on to say that the Lindbergh case made people feel that this condition should be changed. In fact, he makes two additional refernces to that kidnaping. Somebody ought to remind the Governor that the case was never solved and that no arrests were made. I can conceive of no legal procedure adequate to mete out proper punishment to criminals wholly unknown and at large.

It seems very much as if Governor Rolph leans to the familiar lynch philosophy that when an atrocious crime has been committed it is a good idea to kill somebody even if you don't happen to catch the right person.

This is by no means a fantastic interpretation of lynch law. A careful examination of a number of lynchings in the course of a year in the United States revealed the fact that more than half the victims were probably innocent and that at least one-third were undoubtedly so.

Only by a very narrow margin did the San Jose mob avoid lynching a prisoner who had no connection whatsoever with the murder of Brooke Hart. Fortunately the error was discovered just before he was swept out the jail door. Once in the hands of the mob no protestations of mistaken identity would have availed him.

"Are You Certain, Governor?"

GOVERNOR ROLPH feels certain that the lynching has ended kidnaping in California "for a long, long time."

All the weight of evidence is against any such supposition. The scheme of attempting to discourage crime by mob violence has been tried in this country over and over again. Many hundreds of men have been hanged, burned and tortured by mobs on the charge that they were guilty of rape. There is no indication that this has diminished the incidence of the crime. But there is one thing which can be said with surety—lynching begets lynching.

James Rolph, Jr., says that the philosophy which causes criminals to cringe is that "those who live by force and violence must expect to take their chances of dying in the same way."

Lynching is crime. Lynchers are criminals. It is just as sure as tomorrow's dawn that the enterprise to which Governor Rolph gave his benediction will live to plague him all the days of his life. Not till the day of his death will James Rolph, Jr., pick up a newspaper without being gripped by that terror which he set loose. He is not a sensitive man, but the thing will beat and beat upon him until his defenses are broken down. He will carry with him the thought, "Where has it broken out now?"

And depend upon it—Uncle Jim will cringe.

Chattanooga, Tenn. Times
November 30, 1933

LYNCHING ACTION IN TWO STATES.

Yesterday was marked by action in connection with lynchings in Missouri and Maryland, in both of which there were disturbances on the preceding day.

In Missouri, where Lloyd Warner, 19-year-old Negro was lynched at St. Joseph Tuesday night, Governor Guy B. Park ordered a State investigation into the lynching, declaring there was "no justification" for the mob's action. The State's Assistant Attorney-General was sent to the scene of the crime to conduct the inquiry. "If the responsibility for the lynchings can be fixed," he declared, "this office will assist in the prosecution."

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The outcome of the Missouri case remains to be seen. Proper-minded citizens throughout the country will await its issue with interest. Shall the investigation come to naught, as such probes usually do? Shall it result in arrests, only for the alleged offenders to be released by a judge influenced by public opinion? Shall it result in indictments, only for the accused to be acquitted by jurors in sympathy with the lynchers and disregardful of their oaths and their duties as citizens?

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If there shall come a time in the United States when every man may consider himself a hangman, the safety of individuals will have become a memory and American civilization will have hit the toboggan.

MEMPHIS, TENN.
PRESS-SCIMITAR

NOV 29 1933

The Maryland Rebellion

Salisbury, Maryland, is in rebellion against the state. Its citizens attacked state officials and state troops, driving them out of town.

The issue is no longer merely the apprehension and punishment of the Princess Anne lynchers. The issue now is whether the state of Maryland will re-establish authority over its rebellious citizens.

The duty of the governor is plain. Local authorities having failed—if indeed they tried—to prevent anarchy and wholesale violence, state troops should be kept there until the reign of law is recognized and respected.

Whether state officials and police by their inaction were partly to blame for the lynching last month is still an open question. Nevertheless Governor Ritchie deserves credit for his belated attempt to use the power of the state to capture the lynch leaders protected by the local authorities.

But the fact that only four of the nine lynching suspects were captured, coupled with the fact that the attorney general and the troops yesterday retreated from the town under attack by another mob, leaves a much more dangerous situation than existed after the lynching.

By yesterday's violence the mob spirit was encouraged. Lawless elements all over the state will grow.

Maryland, like any other state, is made up chiefly of peaceful and law-abiding citizens. The purpose of law is to protect the community from the lawless minority. Governor Ritchie cannot compromise with mob rebellion.

GREENVILE, S. C.
NEWS

NOV 30 1933

GUBERNATORIAL CONTRASTS

Another lynching occurred Tuesday night—this time in Missouri, the victim being a negro who confessed an attack upon a white woman.

But one observes a pleasing contrast between the attitude of Governor Park of Missouri toward this affair and that of Governor Rolph of California toward the lawless act that took place in the western state a few days ago.

Although conceding that the negro's crime was an atrocious one, Governor Park asserted that the lynching was in no sense warranted or excusable. And he is, of course, eminently right.

The country will hear more from Governor Rolph's strange statement setting his official approval upon a lynching. The result will be more lynchings in this country, and lynchers will find comfort in the California executive's characterization of a mob of lynchers as "fine, patriotic citizens." More lawlessness and a greater spirit of contempt for the courts and for constituted authority will become evident.

But it is gratifying to observe that Governor Rolph's remarkable doctrine is unequivocably repudiated in the words and actions of at least two governors within the last day or two—Governor Park of Missouri and Governor Ritchie of Maryland—and the hope persists that their sound and vigorous position in support of law and the maintenance of the orderly processes of justice will help to quench the firebrand of lawlessness which Governor Rolph has tossed out upon an astounded nation.

RICHMOND, VA.
NEWS LEADER

NOV 29 1933

AN INSPIRED LYNCHING.

America will be lucky if the lynching at St. Joseph, Mo., is the only one to follow in the wake of Governor ROLPH'S indecent defence of mob-violence. Bestiality never wholly dies in the human heart; it is quickly aroused whenever it is countenanced: Defiance of law is expressed by a multitude the moment it is justified by those in power. Governor ROLPH'S incendiary language, logically applied, would substitute the mind of the mob for the judgment of the courts, and would make ten new criminals for every one it deters.

Contrast with the words of the California governor this calm appeal to the American people:

> There have been lynchings, and every one of them has been a blow at the heart of ordered law and humane justice. No man who loves America, no man who really cares for her fame and honor and character, or who is truly loyal to her institutions, can justify mob action while the courts of justice to open and the governments of the states and the nation are ready and able to do their duty. . . . I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob or gives it any sort of countenance is no true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer. . . . How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples, if we disgrace our own by proving that it is, after all, no protection to the weak?

That was President WILSON'S appeal to the country on July 26, 1918. We should like to hear it read today on every street in America as an answer to ROLPH.

MIAMI, FLA.
HERALD

NOV 29 1933

IN TODAY'S NEWS

PEACEFUL, civilized, educated America. Mob of more than 1,000 stormed the state armory at Salisbury, Md., yesterday in unsuccessful effort to free four men accused of participating in last month's lynching of negro at Princess Anne. Beaten back by gas and bayonets. Then the state troopers departed for Baltimore with their prisoners. "Lynch Ritchie," cried the crowd. It was the natural consequence of the mob spirit that has no respect for law and order, that defies the highest authorities. It resorts to violence to punish violence of the individual. Lawlessness of the mass is more threatening to the existence of society than that of the criminal. It can seldom be condoned. Yet the law is largely to blame because of its failure to penalize the guilty. Disgusted with court justice the crowd takes the reins. Warning judges and juries they must mend their ways.

DIVIDED opinion expressed on the stand of Governor Rolph of California in approving the lynching of the two kidnaper-killers. The cases of Maryland and California are not alike. In Maryland the cause was racial, the victim was accused of an assault. In California the two lynched had confessed a most brutal crime. Their fate was deservedly death. Rather than wait for the slow and doubtful processes of the law, society acted directly.

ILLUSTRATION of why mobs may be necessary. Federal court jury in St. Paul yesterday acquitted four Chicagoans on charges in kidnaping of William Hamm, jr., millionaire brewer. Defendants and their counsel smiled — "sweetest story ever told." Federal prosecutor said government was convinced of guilt. Police Chief Thomas Dahill remarked: "If this is attitude the American juries take toward kidnapers I applaud San Jose citizens for taking justice in their own hands." Perhaps safety in America rests in the insecurity of mob action.

BUT those who take the law into their own hands must bow to the law. Five men in North Carolina pleaded guilty to flogging another; sentenced to two years on the roads. The victim had been accused of insulting a woman. Knight errantry of this type belongs in another age.

Madison, Fla., Recorder
December 1, 1933

In our own section of the nation, lynching has been resorted to more than once in punishment of the nameless crime and of murder.

It is not a far step from lynching for the grosser crimes to lynching for stealing, as was often practiced out West in earlier days.

It is not a far step from this to lynching for general cussedness and minor crimes and to the breaking down of all constituted law and order.

Our safe procedure is to stand by the courts we have set up. And we should purify them and keep them pure by purging them of technicalities, driving out shyster lawyers and corrupt judges and jurors, and meting out justice stern, swift and sure.

Lynchings-1933

Federal Council of Churches

4101

Federal Council Of Churches Reports Only 8 Lynchings

2-4-33

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The forthcoming issue of the Church Year Book of the Federal Council of Churches will contain a summary of significant trends in race relations during 1932, by Dr. George Edmund Haynes, executive secretary of its department of race relations.

The summary includes developments in religion, economic, civic, and political life, education, athletics, and the drama.

Norfolk Va.

The publication will say that the number of victims of the mob showed the biggest decrease in any year since 1886. It reports six Negroes and two whites lynched in 1932.

1932 Lynchless States

The honor roll of states free from lynching, published annually by the Federal Council's department of race relations, has shown a fluctuating record of lynchless states from 39 in 1923 to 43 in 1928; 38 in 1931; and 41 in 1932.

Attention of churches is drawn in a special manner to problems of other non-white groups in the country. Copies of the Church Year Book may be secured by writing the Federal Council at 105 East 22nd Street, New York, N. Y.

No Lynching In 40 States Last Year

Report Says Best Record Yet Of

2-9-33

SUCH OCCURRENCES

Florida Only State Never Free of Lynching

New York, Feb. 5—Forty states of the Union passed through 1932 without a recorded lynching, as shown by the Honor Roll of States free from the evil, announced today by the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches.

In publishing the list Dr. Geo. E. Haynes, executive secretary, said: "In 1932 there were 40 states that held places on the Honor Roll of the Federal Council of Churches through having had a record of freedom from lynching during the year. This is an increase of one state over 193 and over 1931. It is three fewer than 1929. The total number of lynchings during 1932 was eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept. Five states—Arkansas, Kansas, Kentucky, Ohio and Virginia—formerly on the Honor Roll, lost their places in 1932. Six other states—Alabama, Maryland, Missouri, North Dakota, Tennessee and West Virginia—which had lost their places on the Honor Roll in preceding years regained them in 1932. The state of Mississippi is on the Honor Roll this year for the first time. Florida is now the only state that has not at some time been on the roll. There were three states recorded as having lynchings in both 1931 and 1932.

"A growing tendency toward prevention of the evil is indicated in two signficant developments," continued Dr. Haynes. "One is the fact that, according to records given by the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute, there were 31 instances in 1932 in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, four of them in northern and twenty-seven in southern states. In 1931 there were 57 such preventions. Another trend that grew stronger last year was the vigilance of the press, of the churches and of the people of the several states who try to protect their own territory from the acts of lynchers. Notable along this line was the activity of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, which has state councils in all of the thirteen southern states."

The Honor Roll of states for 1932 as issued by the Federal Council of Churches, gives the following states free of the lynching evil last year according to available records:

Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Nevada, North Dakota, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

2-9-33

The standing of these states over longer periods is shown by available records as follows:

Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont have always been free from lynching; in addition Maine and New Jersey have been free for 4? years. Delaware, Iowa, Nevada, Michigan, Wisconsin have had no lynching for 25 years. This makes a total of twelve states that have had no lynching for a quarter of a century. Idaho, Pennsylvania and South Dakota have been free from the evil for 20 years; Arizona, New York, Oregon and Montana for 15 years; California, Colorado, Minnesota, Nebraska, Washington and Wyoming for ten years. This gives a total of twenty-five states that have had no lynching within a decade. Illinois and Utah have been free from lynching for 5 years. Georgia, Indiana, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and South Carolina for 2 years. Alabama, Maryland, Missouri, Mississippi, North Dakota, Tennessee and West Virginia were free during 1932. This brings the total up to 40 states with no lynching in 1932.

A summary of lynching situation since 1929 discloses the following:

	1929	1930	1931	193[illegible]
Total states free from lynching	43	39	39	4[illegible]
Total No. of victims of lynching	10	21	12	
Race of victims				
White	3	1	1	
Negro	7	20	12	

Lynchings for '1932 Hit New Low Mark

NEW YORK, Feb. 5.—(AP)—Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept. The department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches reported today.

2-6-33

The number was eight, the department said, as compared with 13 in 1931, 21 in 1930 and 10 in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six negroes.

Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary of the department, said, "a growing tendency toward prevention of the evil is indicated in two significant developments.

"One is the fact that, according to records given by the department of records and research of Tuskegee Institute, there were 31 instances in 1932 in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, four of them in northern and 27 in southern states. In 1931, there were 57 such preventions.

"Another trend that grew stronger last year," Dr. Haynes said, "was the vigilance of the press, of the churches and of the people of the several states who try to protect their own territory from the acts of lynchers."

ELMIRA N Y ADVERTISER
FEBRUARY 6, 1933

FEW LYNCHINGS ARE REPORTED

New York, Feb. 5—(AP)—Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept, the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches reported today.

The number was eight, the department said, as compared with 13 in 1931, 11 in 1930 and 10 in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six Negroes.

Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary of the department said "A growing tendency toward prevention of the evil is indicated in two significant developments.

"One is the fact that, according to records given by the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute, there were 31 instances in 1932 in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, four of them in northern and 27 in southern states. In 1931, there were 57 such preventions.

"Another trend that grew stronger last year," Dr. Haynes said, "was the vigilance of the press, of the churches and of the people of the several states who try to protect their own territory from acts of lynchers."

TROY N Y RECORD
FEBRUARY 6, 1933

LYNCHINGS FEWER DURING 1932 THAN IN ANY PREVIOUS YEAR

New York, Feb. 5—(AP)—Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept, the department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches reported today.

The number was eight, the department said, as compared with 13 in 1931, 21 in 1930 and ten in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six Negroes.

Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary of the department, said "a growing tendency toward prevention of the evil is indicated in two significant developments.

"One is the fact that, according to records given by the department of records and research of Tuskegee Institute, there were 31 instances in 1932 in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, four of them in northern and 27 in southern states. In 1931, there were 57 such preventions.

"Another trend that grew stronger last year," Dr. Haynes said, "was the vigilance of the press, of the churches and of the people of the several states who try to protect their own territory from the acts of lynchers."

LYNCHINGS AT NEW LOW.

Drop to Eight Last Year Puts 40 States on Church Honor Roll.

2-5-33

Forty States are listed on the honor roll of the Federal Council of Churches for 1932, having had a record of freedom from lynching during the year, according to the annual report of Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary of the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

"The total number of lynchings during 1932 was eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept," the report continues. "Five States—Arkansas, Kansas, Kentucky, Ohio and Virginia—formerly on the honor roll, lost their places in 1932. Six other States, Alabama, Maryland, Missouri, North Dakota, Tennessee and West Virginia, which had lost their places on the honor roll in preceding years, regained them in 1932. The State of Mississippi is on the honor roll this year for the first time. Florida is now the only State that has not at some time been on the roll. There were three States recorded as having lynchings in both 1931 and 1932.

TROY, N. Y.
EVE. RECORD

FEB 6 1933

FEWER LYNCHINGS.

The report of the Federal Council of Churches that fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept should be most gratifying to the nation. The fact there were eight is a reflection upon the restraint which should be exercised by an intelligent and law-abiding people. But the decreasing number annually encourages the opinion that the outrages will soon cease entirely in this country.

The commendable record of the last year is owing to the greater vigilance of peace officers and the attitude of the press and church. The sentiment of the people of the various states has also been a restraining factor. There is another element of restraint and this is the growing conviction that the courts will handle felony cases justly and promptly.

While provocations are sometimes intense through the brutality of offenses, lynchings can never be justified. Legal procedure might delay retribution but punishment, commensurate to the crime, is practically certain. The year should not be far distant when not a single lynching will disgrace the civilization of the United States.

PEORIA, ILL.
JOURNAL

FEB 7 1933

THE DECLINE IN LYNCHINGS

Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States during 1932 than in any year since lynching records have been kept, according to an annoucement of the department of race relationships of the Federal Council of Churches. Eight persons died as a result of mob vengeance in 1932. Two of the victims were white; the other four were Negroes. This compares with 13 persons lynched in 1931, 21 in 1930, and 10 in 1929.

The campaign against lynching seems to be bearing fruit.

Florence, S. C., News
Monday, February 6, 1933

THAT—Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept. The department of race relations of the federal council of churches reported yesterday. The number was eight, the department said, as compared with 13 in 1931, 21 in 1930 and 10 in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six negroes.

NO LYNCHING IN FORTY STATES DURING 1932

Federal Council Reports Lowest Number of Occurrences on Record

New York, February 5.—Forty States of the Union passed through 1932 without a recorded lynching, as shown by the Honor Roll of States free from the evil, announced today by the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches.

In publishing the list Dr. George E. Haynes, Executive Secretary, said: "In 1932 there were 40 States that held places on the Honor Roll of the Federal Council of Churches through having had a record of freedom from lynching during the year. This is an increase of one state over 1930 and over 1931; it is three fewer than 1929. The total number of lynchings during 1932 was eight - the smallest number in any year since records have been kept. Five States - Arkansas, Kansas, Kentucky, Ohio and Virginia - formerly on the Honor Roll, lost their places in 1932. Six other states - Alabama, Maryland, Missouri, North Dakota, Tennessee and West Virginia, which had lost their places on the Honor Roll in receding years regained them in 1932. The State of Mississippi is on the Honor Roll this year for the first time. Florida is now the only State that has not at some time been on the Roll. There were three States recorded as having lynchings in both 1931 and 1932.

" A growng tendency toward prevention of the evil is indicated in two significant developments," continued Dr. Haynes. "One is the fact that, according to records given by the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute, there were 31 instances in 1932 in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, 4 of them in northern and twenty-seven in southern states. In 1931 there were 57 such preventions. Another trend that grew stronger last year was the vigilance of the press, of the churches and of the people of the several States who try to protect their own territory from the acts of lynchers. Notable along his line was the activity of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, which has State Councils in all the thirteen Southern States.

The Honor Roll of States for 1932, as issued by the Federal Council of Churches gives the following States as free of the lynching evil last year according to available records:

Alabama, Arizona, California Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware Georgia, Idaho. Illinois, Indiana Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

The standing of these States over longer periods is shown by available records as follows:

Connecticut, Massachusetts. New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont have always been free from lynching; in addition Maine and New Jersey have been free for 46 years. Delaware, Iowa, Nevada, Michigan, Wisconsin have had no lynching for 25 years. Ths makes a total of 12 States that have had no lynchings for a quarter of a century. Idaho, Pennsylvania and South Dakota have been free from the evil for 20 years; Arizona, New York, Oregon and Montana for 15 years; California, Colorado, Minnesota, Nebraska, Washington and Wyoming for ten years. This gives a total of 25 States that have had no lynching within a decade. Illinois and Utah have been free from lynching for 5 years; Georgia, Indiana, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma and South Dakota, Tennessee and West Virginia were free during 1932. This brings the total up to 40 States with no lynching in 1932.

HIGH POINT, N. C.
ENTERPRISE

MAR 3 1933

LYNCHING ON THE WANE

Cause for a genuine feeling of pride on the part of the South is seen by the Richmond Times-Dispatch which is very much encouraged by the decline of lynching and the fact that there is no geographical significance to the report for the past year's mob murders.

Commenting editorially it says:

"In its annual report on lynchings in the United States, the department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches strikes a distinct note of encouragement. Apparently, this blot on American civilization is fast disappearing.

"The council's body of inquiry has found that, during 1932, there occurred just eight of these mob murders. Six of the victims were Negroes and two of them white men. There was no geographical significance in the report.

"This . . . number . . . is to be compared with thirteen for the year preceding and thirty-one for the year before that. . . .

"The reason for this lies largely in massed public opinion. Lynching, for any cause, has become decidedly unpopular in this country. It is an affront to the courts, which are set up to do even justice as between man and man. It reveals weakness in government, which should be prepared at all times to deal effectively with mobs.

"In this work the newspapers have rendered yeoman service. In season and out, they have preached against mob murders. Several years ago a Virginia editor won the Pulitzer prize for such a series of articles. No right-thinking man can do other than denounce this practice. Never-ceasing crusades against it at least are bearing magnificent fruit."

Lynchings - 1933

Federal Council of Churches.

4162

CLEVELAND, O.
PLAIN DEALER

FEB 7 1933

A Hopeful Decline.

One 1932 decline should be greeted with general approval. Fewer lynchings occurred in the last twelvemonth than ~~in any~~ other year since records have been kept, the department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches reports. The number was eight.

This showing is as surprising as it is gratifying. One might have expected that the mental tension and short temper which is born of depression would have sharpened racial prejudices and led to more of the social explosions which end in Judge Lynch's "court."

There were thirteen lynchings in 1931, and 21 in 1930. These two years both showed a substantial increase over 1929 and led to the assumption that depression had increased racial friction. One hopes the assumption was unfounded and that 1933 will further reduce the 1932 record for this form of lawlessness.

N. Y. SUN

FEB 6 1933

FEWER LYNCHINGS REPORTED IN '32

Church Council Puts Forty States on Honor Roll.

The Federal Council of Churches in America made public today its annual honor roll of States in which there was no lynching, listing forty as free from such mob murders in 1932 and saying that the total number of lynchings in the year was eight, the lowest on record.

Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary, issued the report, which does not agree with that of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, another organization which issues annual statistics on lynchings. The N. A. A. C. P. announced on December 27 that there had been eleven lynchings in 1932.

The Federal Council omits from its honor roll Arkansas, Florida, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Ohio, Texas and Virginia. The report of the N. A. A. C. P. said that there had been lynchings in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Ohio, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia. The Negro organization reported two lynchings in Florida, the Federal Council but one.

The Federal Council report includes this statement of States' records:

Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont always have been free from lynching; Maine and New Jersey have been free for forty-six years. Delaware, Iowa, Nevada, Michigan, Wisconsin have had no lynching for twenty-five years. This makes a total of twelve States that have had no lynching for a quarter of a century. Idaho, Pennsylvania and South Dakota have been free from the evil for twenty years; Arizona, New York, Oregon and Montana for fifteen years; California, Colorado, Minnesota, Nebraska, Washington and Wyoming for ten years. This gives a total of twenty-five States that have had no lynching within a decade. Illinois and Utah have been free from lynching for five years; Georgia, Indiana, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma and South Carolina for two years.

New York American

FEB 6 1933

FEWER LYNCHINGS REPORTED FOR 1932

Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept, the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches reported yesterday.

The number was eight, the department said, as compared with 13 in 1931. Two of the victims were Whites and six Negroes.

NEW YORK TIMES

FEB 6 1933

LYNCHINGS AT NEW LOW.

Drop to Eight Last Year Puts 40 States on Church Honor Roll.

Forty States are listed on the honor roll of the Federal Council of Churches for 1932, having had a record of freedom from lynching during the year, according to the annual report of Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary of the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

"The total number of lynchings during 1932 was eight—the smallest number in any year since records have been kept," the report continues. "Five States—Arkansas, Kansas, Kentucky, Ohio and Virginia—formerly on the honor roll, lost their places in 1932. Six other States, Alabama, Maryland, Missouri, North Dakota, Tennessee and West Virginia, which had lost their places on the honor roll in preceding years, regained them in 1932. The State of Mississippi is on the honor roll this year for the first time. Florida is now the only State that has not at some time been on the roll. There were three States recorded as having lynchings in both 1931 and 1932.

N. Y. HERALD

FEB 6 1933

8 U. S. Lynchings in '32 Drop of 5 From '31 Total

Forty States Had Clear Record, Church Council Reports

There were eight lynchings in the United States in 1932, five below the 1931 total, and the smallest number in any year since records have been kept, according to a report yesterday by the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches. Forty of the forty-eight states achieved the honor roll by recording no lynchings during the year, which is an increase of one state over both 1931 and 1930, but three less than in 1929.

For the first time, Mississippi has no recorded lynchings. Florida is now the only state that has never been on the honor roll. The seven other states in which lynchings were reported last year are: Arkansas, Kansas, Kentucky, Ohio, Virginia, Louisiana and Texas.

According to the report, thirty-one lynchings were prevented by police in 1932, as against fifty-seven in 1931.

Atlanta, Ga., Journal
Monday, February 6, 1933

Lynchings in U. S. Fewest in History, 1932 Report Shows

NEW YORK, Feb. 6.—(AP)—Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept. The Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches reported Sunday.

The number was eight, the department said, as compared with thirteen in 1931, twenty-one in 1930 and ten in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six negroes.

Dr. George E. Haynes, executive secretary of the department, said "a growing tendency toward prevention of the evil is indicated in two significant developments.

"One is the fact that, according to records given by the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute, there were thirty-one instances in 1932 in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, four of them in northern and twenty-seven in southern states. In 1931, there were fifty-seven such preventions.

"Another trend that grew stronger last year," Dr. Haynes said, "was the vigilance of the press, of the churches and of the people of the several states who try to protect their own territory from the acts of lynchers."

Columbus, Ga. Enquirer-Sun
Monday, February 6, 1933

Fewer Lynchings Reported In 1932

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"Another trend that grew stronger last year," Dr. Haynes said, "was the vigilance of the press, of the churches and of the people of the several states who try to protect their own territory from the act of lynchers."

Cairo, Ga., Messenger
Friday, February 10, 1933

Lynchings For 1932 Hit New Low Mark

Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept, the department of race relation of the Federal Council of Churches reported in New York this week.

The number was eight, the department said, as compared with 13 in 1931, 21 in 1930 and 10 in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six negroes.

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Tifton, Ga. Gazette
Monday, February 6, 1933

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Atlanta, Ga., Constitution
Monday, February 6, 1933

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Ft. Valley, Ga., Leader-Tribune
Thursday, February 9, 1933

Lynchings in U. S. Fewest in History, 1932 Report Shows

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Hartwell, Ga., Sun
Friday, February 10, 1933

FEWER LUNCHINGS IN 1932 THAN IN ANY YEAR OF RECENT HISTORY

New York, Feb. 5.—Fewer lunchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept, the department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches reported today.

The number was eight, the department said, as compared with 13 in 1931, 21 in 1930 and 10 in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six negroes.

Abbeville, S. C. Press and Banner
Monday, February 6, 1933

Fewer Lynchings In 1932 Than Any Year In Recent History

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The number was eight, the department said, as compared with 13 in 1931, 21 in 1930 and 10 in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six negroes.

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RICHMOND, VA.
TIMES DISPATCH

FEB 8 1933

Fewer Lynchings

In its annual report on lynchings in the United States, the department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches strikes a distinct note of encouragement. Apparently, this blot on American civilization is fast disappearing.

The council's body of inquiry has found that, during 1932, there occurred just eight of these mob murders. Six of the victims were Negroes and two of them white men. There was no geographical significance in the report.

This comparatively small number of eight murdered men is to be compared with thirteen for the year preceding and thirty-one for the year before that. It will be seen that the lynching rate has declined since 1930 by nearly 400 per cent.

The reason for this lies largely in massed public opinion. Lynching, for any cause, has become decidedly unpopular in this country. It is an affront to the courts, which are set up to do even justice as between man and man. It reveals weakness in government, which should be prepared at all times to deal effectively with mobs.

In this work the newspapers have rendered yeoman service. In season and out, they have preached against mob murders. Several years ago a Virginia editor won the PULITZER prize for such a series of articles. No right-thinking man can do other than denounce this practice. Never-ceasing crusades against it at last are bearing magnificent fruit.

Bishopville, S. C., Messenger
Thursday, February 9, 1933

Only Eight Lynchings Recorded Last Year

New York, Feb. 5—Forty states of the union passed through 1932 without a recorded lynching, according to a report made public today by the race relations department of the Federal Council of Churches.

There were eight lynchings during the year, the report states, the smallest number in any year since the records have been kept.

Lynchings Last Year Revealed Sharp Decrease

1-6-33

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The number was eight, the department said, as compared with 13 in 1931, 21 in 1930 and 10 in 1929. Two of the victims were whites and six negroes.

Dr. George E. Heynes, executive secretary of the department, said "a growing tendency toward prevention of the evil is indicated in two significant developments.

"One is the fact that, according to records given by the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute, there were 31 instances in 1932 in which officers of the law prevented lynchings, four of them in northern and 27 in Southern States. In 1931, there were 57 such preventions.

"Another trend that grew stronger last year," Dr. Heynes said, "was the several states who try to protect their own territory from the acts of lynchers."

Pensacola, Fla. Journal
Monday, February 6, 1933

LYNCHINGS DWINDLE

NEW YORK, Feb. 5.—(AP)—Fewer lynchings occurred in the United States in 1932 than in any other year since records have been kept. The department of race relations of the Federal Council of Churches reported today.

Lynchings-1933
International Labor Defense Report.

4486

47 Reported Lynchings in 1933 As Bosses Push their Fascist Program Against Toilers

NEW YORK.—Forty-seven lynchings were reported in 1933, according to records kept by the International Labor Defense, it was announced today. The number reported for 1932 by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights was 37.

Of the 47 victims, 42 were Negroes, and five white. Among the former were four women, three lynched in Florida, and one in Alabama, though the last, the I.L.D. said, had not been confirmed from more than one source, and was never reported in the newspapers.

1-2-34

Lynchings occured in 14 states, with Florida in the lead with eight; Georgia second with seven; Alabama third with six; South Carolina and Tennessee each recording five; Mississippi three; California two, and North Carolina, Maryland, Missouri, Texas, Michigan and Arkansas one each.

Public Officials Involved

Notable in the list was the fact that in fourteen cases of lynching, involving 16 victims, police and officials are on record as participants, as having lent material aid, approval, or as being passive spectators.

No person has been prosecuted for any of these lynchings, though four men were arrested in Maryland for participation, and immediately released, and in South Carolina indictments were handed down against several men for participation in a lynching, but never pressed.

Another notable fact upon the records is the fact that in very few cases were large "mobs" involved in lynchings. Small, carefully organized gangs, in many cases with county officers at their head, in some composed of police officers, carried out these lynchings. In 27 cases, involvnig more than 30 victims, the lynchings were carried out by gangs of less than than 25 men each. No murder is counted as a lynching in this compilation unless three or more persons, more or less organized for the purpose, participated, the I. L. D. statement said.

Contrary to the custody of reformist organizations, which keep records of lynching, the sporting of sheriff's or other badge of authority by a member of a lynch gang or mob, however, was not considered sufficient to make the occurrence ineligible for the lynch list, the I. L. D. said.

"Causes" Reveal Economic Base of Lynch Terror

In ten cases, involving 15 victims, no charge or official excuse for the lynchings is reported.

"Rape" or "rape and murder", in no case proved, and in several definitely disproved, was the official excuse offered for nine lynchings involving ten victims.

Other charges made before or after lynchings recorded in 1933 include: threatening of suit for false arrest against a sheriff; arguing with a white man; making a date with a white woman and being overheard; stealing a hog; attempting to borrow money directly from the government instead of through the local bank.

The list of lynchings, the I. L. D. stressed, is not claimed to be complete. On the contrary, it was said, the frequent discovery of records of lynchings weeks and even months after they occurred indicate that dozens more are carried on without ever being reported anywhere.

Police Murders of Negroes Not Included

The list does not include either the murders of Negroes by police, without provocation, and almost daily habit in Southern and some Northern cities, where sometimes these are recorded as killings while the victim was "attempting to escape," and sometimes no excuse is offered at all. The I. L. D. files, it was said, contain records of literally hundreds of such cases of wanton murder of Negroes by police and other persons, while hundreds more are never reported.

It was pointed out as especially significant that the last lynching reported for the year ocurred in Detroit, an industrial center, that its victim was a militant trade union organizer, and that it has been charged the lynching was carried out by a group composed of American Legionnaires, Ku Khux Klansmen, and Ford Motors Co. gunmen.

"The rapid growth of lynching and murderous terror, including the shooting down and killing of pickets from California to Pennsylvania, the open approbation of lynchings by Governor James A. Rolph of California and other pubilc officials, the direct participation of police and other officials, and the small numbers involved in most lynchings, are matters of record which coincide in incidence with the N.R.A. and the efforts of the administration to push it and the cotton plow-under program across, at the expense of the toiling masses," William L. Patterson, national I. L. D. secretary, said.

"There is no doubt whatsoever that we find the government, as a tool of capitalism, rapidly and consciously developing in the United States as a fascist policy to meet and smash the growing resistance of toiling masses to its program of terror and starvation. It will undoubtedly be as savage as Hitler's in Germany, unless the resistance of the organized workers makes its realization an impossibility. The implications of official incitements of lynch mobs, as exemplified by Governor Rolph in California, and government sanction of large-scale murder operations against militant labor, under N.R.A., are clear."

47 Lynchings in 1933, States ILD

Fortyseven lynchings were reported in 1933, according to records kept by the International Labor Defense, it was announced today. The number reported for 1932 by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights was 37.

Of the 47 victims, 42 were Negroes and five white men. Among the former were four women, three lynched in Florida, and one in Alabama, though the last, the I.L.D. said, had not been confirmed from more than one source, and was never reported in the newspapers.

1-5-34

Lynchings occurred in 14 states, with Florida in the lead with eight: Georgia second with seven; Alabama third wih six; Louisiana, South Carolina, and Tennessee each recording five; Mississippi three; California two and North Carolina, Maryland, Missouri, Texas, Michigan and Arkansas one each.

Birmingham Ala.

Notable in the list, the I.L.D. announcements said, was the fact that in fourteen cases of lynching, involving sixteen victims, police and other public officials are on record as participants, as having lent material aid, approval, or as being passive spectators.

No person has been prosecuted for any of these lynchings, though four men were arrested in Maryland for participation and immediately released, and in South Carolina indictments were handed down against several men for participation in a lynching, but never pressed.

Another notable fact upon the records is the fact that in very few cases were large "mobs" involved in lynchings. Small, carefully organized gangs, in many cases with county officers at their head, in some composed of police officers, carried out these lynchings, the I.L.D. said. In 27 cases, involving more than 30 victims, the lynchings were carried out by gangs of less than 25 men each. No murder is counted as a lynching unless three or more persons, more or less organized for the purpose, participated, in this compilation.

Contrary to the custom of other organizations which have kept records of lynching in the past, the sporting of a sheriff's or other badge of authority by a member of a lynch gang or mob however, was not considered sufficient to make the occurrence ineligible for the lynch list, the I.L.D. said.

In ten cases, involving 15 victims, no charge or official excuse for the lynchings is reported

"Rape" or "rape and murder" in no case proved, and in several definitely disproved, was the official excuse offered for nine lynchings involving ten victims.

Other charges made before or after lynchings recorded in 1933 include: threatening of suit for national I.L.D. official) a call has gone forth for "mass protest" against the proposed execution.

In a single day, the state supreme court of Alabama, before whom the Scottsboro case is to come for review, affirmed the senences of nine Negroes, and set the same day for the execution of all nine. They are all in Kilby prison and on February 9 they'll be strapped in the hot seat one after the other.

The story of how one of them, Ben Foster, from Selma, Ala., was sentenced was revealed when his sister, Addie Foster, came to Birmingham "to see those I.L.D folks,' to tell them about it. Ben Foster was charged with murdering Clarence McGain.

The eight other Negroes sentenced to die February 9, are:

Teaner Autrey, a Negro woman charged with the murder of Rosa Mae McKnight, her mistress, in Monroe county.

Hardie White, charged in Mobile county with the murder of Luther Williams, a street car conductor.

Ernest Waller, charged with the murder of Daisy Montgomery in Selma.

Solomon Roper, charged with murdering Page Brazier with an axe, in Selma.

Fred Kinnev, charged in Perry county with the murder of Jim Phillips.

Leo Fountain, charged in Monroe county with the murder of Robert Martin.

Three of these, it is to be noted are from Selma, in Dallas county where Bennie Foster was convicted.

Addie Foster, sister of Bennie charges a frameup.

"Ben is just twenty years old" she said. "Here's eveything that happened. Ben went out on the Summerville road near Selma, and he got into an argument with a white boy they call Junior Welsh. The white boy shot Ben and broke his arm. Then Ben hit back, but he didn't do much damage because he was hurt so bad himself.

New York Evening Post

JAN 2 1934

Mob Law Claims 47 Lives in Year; 10 Over '32 Mark

4 Women on List of Lynched Persons—42 Victims Negroes

KILLERS ESCAPE LAW

Not a Single Person Prosecuted—4 Arrested and Released Immediately

Forty-seven men and women were lynched in this country in 1933—an increase of ten over 1932.

The figures are supplied by the International Labor Defense.

Forty-two of the victims were Negroes; five were white.

Among the forty-two colored people slain by mobs, four were women.

Three of the women were lynched in Florida; one in Alabama.

Florida, according to the I. L. D., holds the unenviable record of leading in lynchings. Eight occurred in that State. The other thirteen States in which lynchings took place, with the number of killings:

Georgia, seven; Alabama, six; Louisiana, five; South Carolina, five; Tennessee, five; Mississippi, three; California, two; North Carolina, Maryland, Missouri, Texas, Michigan, Arkansas, one each..

No Prosecution

Significant, says the I. L. D., is the fact that in the cases of fourteen lynchings, involved sixteen victims, police and other officials are on record as participants, as having lent material aid or approval, or as being passive spectators.

For none of the forty-seven lynchings has a single person been prosecuted, although four men were arrested in Maryland for participation and immediately released.

In very few cases, the I. L. D. records show, were large mobs involved in the lynchings. Small, carefully organized gangs, according to the organization, in many cases with county officers at their head, perpetrated the killings.

No charge or official excuse for the lynchings was reported in ten cases, involving fifteen victims.

Many Charges Trivial

"Rape" or "rape and murder," in no case proved, and in several disproved, the I. L. D. says, was the official excuse for nine lynchings involving ten victims.

Here are some of the trivial official excuses or charges recorded in 1933:

Arguing with a white man; threatening of suit for false arrest against a sheriff; making a date with a white woman; stealing a hog; attempting to borrow money directly from the Government instead of through the local bank.

The list of lynchings, the I. L. D. stresses, is by no means complete. Experience has shown that some of them do not come to light until months afterward.

N. Y. SUN

JAN 2 - 1934

PAST YEAR SAW 47 LYNCHINGS

Forty-two of the Victims Negroes, Report Reveals.

With charges against the victims ranging from criminal assault and murder to arguing with a white man and attempting to borrow money from the Government instead of through the local bank, forty-seven lynchings in 1933 are reported by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. This is ten more than in 1932.

Of the forty-seven victims, forty-two were Negroes and five white men. Four Negro women were lynched, three in Florida and one in Alabama. Lynchings occurred in fourteen States, eight in Florida, seven in Georgia, six in Alabama, five each in Louisiana, South Carolina and Tennessee; California two and North Carolina, Maryland, Missouri, Texas, Michigan and Arkansas one each.

In fourteen cases, the report states, the police and other public officials are on record as having lent material aid or approval, or as being passive spectators. No person has been prosecuted for any of these lynchings, it is alleged, and in ten cases involving fifteen victims no charge or official excuse has been given, the report continues.

The report further states that the list of lynchings is not complete, and does not include many shootings of Negroes in the South while "attempting to escape" from the police.

The report condemns especially the public approbation of lynching by Gov. Rolph of California.

COLUMBUS, O.
OHIO STATE JOURNAL

DEC 28 1933

International Lynch Champion.

THIS country will present to the world an ugly lynching record for 1933. Thus far these mob murders stand at 34, as compared with 10 for the year 1932. As this is the only country that has lynchings, there will be no international comparisons made. Each year we hold the world's uncontested and unenvied record for these ugly murders.

During recent years there had been a steady decrease in the number of lynchings, but this year there were mob outbreaks in many sections where such violence had not been experienced in the past. The new high record stains the reputation of many of the proudest of states. An ugly phase is the continued failure of officials to bring to justice those who had a part in these mob murders. This year the governor of California glorified the mob, promised immunity to all who had a part in the outbreak and gave an appalling picture of a chief executive of a great state.

I.L.D.'S HIT NAACP LYNCH DATA OF 1933

Afro-American

NEW YORK CITY.—New charges that the N.A.A.C.P. figures for lynching in the United States during the year 1933 and those given by Dr. R. R. Moton of Tuskegee are in error, were made by the I.L.D. this week.

1-20-34

The I.L.D. has pointed out that the N.A.A.C.P. lists one lynching in South Carolina, one in Mississippi, and one in Texas not given by Dr. Moton. On the other hand, Dr. Moton's figures show two lynchings in Alabama and one in Florida, not listed by the N.A.A.C.P.

It is contended that these discrepancies show that six lynchngs more than the 28 which the figures of both institutions show are admitted by one or the other of them.

Lynchings-1933
International Labor Defense Report.

4487

[L]ynchings Reported in Three [Mon]ths Raise Year's Total to 33

NEW YORK—Thirteen lynchings in August, September, and the first eleven days of October raised the total number reported for the year to 33, the International Labor Defense has announced.

Of these 13, Alabama's white ruling class contributed 5, Louisiana 2, Arkansas, North Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina one each. Six lynchings were reported in August, five in September and two in the first eleven days of October.

Since the first of January, there have been five lynchings reported from each of Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana; four each from Tennessee, Florida, and South Carolina; three from Mississippi; two from Arkansas, and one from North Carolina.

In nearly every case, the lynchers were known to police officials or were police officials, and in 16 their names were made public. In no case were any of the lynchers punished.

A Bill of Civil Rights for Negro people, drawn up by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, endorsed by the International Labor Defense, and containing a clause making lynching a Federal offense punishable by death, was presented to the President and to Congress by the Free the Scottsboro Boys March last May. Neither President Roosevelt nor any member of Congress took any action whatsoever toward having it enacted into law.

Startling Rise in Lynching[s] Features Fourth Crisis Year

Thirty-Nine Lynch Victims Listed by I.L.D. Declared to Be By No Means Complete

By I. L. D.

NEW YORK.—The spectacular rise in lynchings during the fourth year of the crisis is shown in the following list of thirty-nine reported lynchings compiled by the International Labor Defense. Of the 39 victims 37 were Negroes.

It must be emphasized that this list is by no means complete, since it includes only those lynchings the press is forced to report. As this list was being compiled, information reached the national office of the I. L. D. of three lynchings which occurred in one week in a single county of Georgia, and which are not listed here. Detailed information on these and many other lynchings which were never reported in the bourgeois press is being sought by the I. L. D.

1—Henry Ross, shot and killed January 3 by three white men, outside of Memphis, Tennessee. They reported they were taking him to the city to lay charges of "having made improper proposals to a white woman" against him, when he "tried to escape" from their moving car.

2—Fell Jenkin, 20, was beaten to death by three white farmers at Aycock, La., January 11. They said he had been trespassing on the property of one of them.

3, 4 and 5—Three members of a Negro family of fishermen were hacked to death on Tavernier Island, one of the Florida Keys, January 19, by an invading gang of white men. All further information including the names of the victims, was suppressed by the authorities.

6—Robert Richardson was shot to death in Baton Rouge, La., February 2, while "attempting to escape" from a gang of 25, headed by a deputy sheriff which invaded his house on a report, given out later, that he had "annoyed a white woman."

7—Nelson Nash, 24, was hanged from a tree by a gang of men at Ringgold, La., February 19.

8—George Jeter, died February 18, from a beating administered by three white men, who later said he hand "stolen their whiskey." Aiken, S. C.

9—Levon Carlock, 19, beaten, tortured and shot to death by six policemen "out on a lark" in Memphis, February 25. Police called on a white prostitute to say Carlock had "raped" her, at a time when he was sitting by his wife's sick-bed.

10—Reuben Micou, 65-year-old Negro, taken from Louisville, Mississippi, jail by 17 white men, April [illegible] beaten to death. He had been jailed April 16 for getting into an argument with a prominent white man.

11—John Williams, lynched during first week of May, 1933, by a mob of 75 led by sheriff. It was charged he had stolen a hog. St. Mary's, Ga.

12—Will Kinsey, 25, lynched May 12, by a mob of 40, following a dispute with his landlord in which his brother and the landlord were both killed. Kinsey, wounded by the landlord, was taken by a mob from a physician's office. Warrenton, Ga.

13—Duffy Barksdale, farmer, shot to death in front of his home in Clinton, S. C., May 22, by a mob of white men, including a policeman, because he had dared borrow money direct from the government instead of through the bank.

14 and 15—Jerome Boyett and Harvey Winchester, both white, held on murder charges, were taken out of Huntsville, Tennessee jail, and lynched by a mob of armed men, June 8.

16—T. J. Thomas, lynched at Newton, Ga., June 14, following a quarrel between Negro and white children in the town.

17—Richard Marshall, lynched in Newton, Ga., June 19. No official excuse given or discovered.

18—Elizabeth Lawrence, killed by a mob and her home burned down, just outside Birmingham, Ala., late in June, after she scolded white children for throwing stones at her.

19—Norris Bendy, held in Clinton, S. C. jail, on charges of having struck a white man in an altercation, taken out on the night of July 14, beaten and strangled to death.

20—On July 21, an unidentified Negro was hanged by a mob in Caledonia, Miss., after some white men had overheard a white woman make an appointment to meet him.

21—Joe Soles, tenant farmer, whipped to death by five white men, his landlord among them, at Benton, Ala., August 9.

22 and 23—Dan Pippen, Jr., 18, and A. T. Harden, 16, shot to death while in custody of deputies, supposedly taking them from the strong jail in Tuscaloosa, Ala., over a wild circuitous route, to Birmingham, for "safekeeping," August 13.

24—Henry Jackson, shot to death by sheriff's posse at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, August 18.

25—James Royal, shot to death by gang of men in Decatur, Alabama, after they failed in an attempt to lynch Thomas Brown, accused of attacking a white woman, August 21.

26—"Doc" Rogers, 45-year old farmer, killed by posse at Willard, N. C., August 27. He was said to have been "suspected" of wounding a white woman in the shoulder.

27—Paul Orthe, shot and his body burned by Sheriff Hobbe and his friends, at Panama City, Fla., September 2, after he threatened to bring suit against the sheriff. Before he was killed, he was seared with hot irons, and his flesh torn from his body with pliers.

28—Richard Roscoe, deacon, shot to death September 18, at Minter City, Miss. His body was dragged through the streets tied to the sheriff's automobile. He had seized a plantation agent's gun after being shot three times.

29—Dennis Cross, 50-year old paralytic, out on bail on a charge of "attacking a white woman" was lynched September 24. He was the one remaining witness to the murder of a Negro in Tuscaloosa, Ala. He had been unable to move hand or foot for 20 years, but had to be dressed and undressed.

30—John White, youth, lynched at Opelusa, La., September 26. He was shot to death. He had been charged with attacking a white woman.

31—Henry Jordan, farmer and preacher, shot to death by a bootlegging gang in Clarke's Mill, Atlanta County, Ga., September 23.

32—Bennie Thomson, taken out of jail at Ninety-Six, S. C., October 8, by four men who had requested his arrest, and who testified Chief of Police Rush agreed to leave the door open for them. He was beaten to death with rubber hose.

33—An un-named Negro plantation worker was taken out of jail and lynched in Labadieville, La., Oct. 11. He was held for investigation in the death of a white girl.

34—George Armwood, lynched in Princess Anne, Maryland, Oct. 18, by mob which beat, tortured, hanged and burned him.

35—Sevis Davis, 45-year-old Negro, died in Lumpkin, Ga., jail, Oct. 23 of wounds inflicted previously by a gang of lynchers.

36, 37, 38 and 39—Four Negroes, three of them women, lynched near Arcadia, Fla. Identified as Jackson, his sister, Lessie May, Therese Morgan and Jessie Strawman.

42ND, 43RD LYNCH DEATHS REPORTED

In South Carolina And Louisiana

Special to Journal and Guide

12-2-33

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The forty-second and forty-third lynchings of the year were reported this week by the International Labor Defense following dispatches received from Farmerville, La., and Greenville, S. C.

On November 14, near Farmerville, La., deputy cheriffs shot to death Mack Leslie, Negro, 30 years old. Sheriff Pat Murphy said he had sent the officers to "save" Leslie from being lynched, "after hearing that a group of citizens from the Cherry Hill community were on their way to get him."

The officers claimed that the Negro resisted their efforts to take him to Farmerville for "safekeeping" and that he "appeared" to reach for hidden weapon. So his "saviors" fired, and Leslie fell dead with five bullet wounds in his body.

Secret Body Involved

The sheriff and his officers became interested in Leslie, as a result of information given them by a Farmerville preacher and two other local Negroes regarding a secret organization supposed to have been founded in the neighborhood. Fourteen Negroes had already been arrested in this connection. It was thought that Leslie held an office in the alleged organization.

Sheriff Murphy said that, as local feeling on the subject was running high, he had merely sent the deputies to Leslie in an effort to prevent bloodshed.

On November 17, ten or twelve masked and white robed men took a middle aged Negro, George Green, from his home at Taylor's S. C., near Greenville, shot him and left him to die.

According to a statement from Green's wife, the masked band appeared at her door early in the morning and demanded that her husband come outside.

Green retreated to an inner room she said, and warned that he would use an axe on anybody trying to enter. The men beat the door down, and fired three shots into Green's body at close range. He died without a word.

Mrs. Green said that one of the men had pulled aside his mask, and she saw that he was white.

'33 LYNCHING TOTAL RUNS FROM 28 TO 47

Journal and Guide

Three of Four Sources Agree On Total

1-4-34

For the first time in many years there was some semblance of agreement this week among agencies which annually announce tabulations of the lynchings which take place each year.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Associated Negro Press, and the record department of Tuskegee Institute agree on 28 as the figure representing the proved and known lynchings during 1933.

In other years, notably last year, the figures released by these three sources varied greatly, both in the total number of mobbings reported and in other essential details such as the identity of the victims.

I. L. D. Lists 47

In other years and this year, the list released by the International Labor Defense, which has been so active in the defense of the Scottsboro boys and other colored and white people whose legal rights are violated or jeopardy, varies from the lists released by the N. A. A. C. P., the A. N. P., and Tuskeege Institue.

Almost invariably the I. L. D. report cites more lynchings than do the reports of the other three sources. This year it lists 47 lynchings. In some quarters there is a feeling that the I. L. D. list is nearer the actual figure, inasmuch as many cases of mob violence are suppressed by local news reporting agencies or the authorities and because for many reasons other than this facts about many lynchings are never revealed sufficiently to justify inclusion in the semi-official statistics.

Complete Record

Released with the I. L. D. announcement on lynching is a tabulated report citing the name and age of each of the 47 victims of mobs, the date and place of the killing, whether committed by a "gang" or a "mob," the degree of police participation, the method of lynching, the charge placed against the victim, and remarks.

Despite the apparent agreement among three of the four sources, there are some interesting variations, omissions, and so forth. These will be treated in a later article. One thing is certain. The year 1933 was one of the worst in recent history, not only in the number of lynchings but also in the way officials acted concerning them.

I. L. D. LISTS 47 LYNCH DEATHS DURING 1933

Afro-American

NEW YORK CITY.—During the year of 1933 there were 47 persons lynched, with no person prosecuted for any of the cases according to lynch statistics for the year just released by the International Labor Defense. Lynchings for 1932 reached a total of 37, according to figures of another Communist organization.

1-6-34

Of the 47 victims, five were white men. Among the 47 were four women, three lynched in Florida, and one in Alabama, though the last, the I.L.D. said, had not been reported from more than one source and was never reported in the newspapers.

Lynchings occurred in 14 states, with Florida in the lead with 8; Georgia second with 7; Alabama third with 6; Louisiana, South Carolina and Tennessee each recording 5; Mississippi 3; California 2; and North Carolina, Maryland, Missouri, Texas, Michigan and Arkansas one each.

Notable in the list the I.L.D. announcement said, was the fact that in 14 cases of lynching, involving 16 victims, police and other public officials are on record as participants, as having lent material aid, approval, or as being passive spectators.

No person has been prosecuted for any of these lynchings, although men were arrested in Maryland and Missouri for participation, and in South Carolina indictments were handed down against several men for participation in a lynching, but never pressed.

In 10 cases, involving 15 victims, no charge or official excuse for the lynchings is reported.

Rape Was Never Proved

"Rape" or "rape and murder," in no case proved, and in several definitely disproved, was the official excuse offered for nine lynchings involving ten victims.

Other charges made before or after lynchings recorded in 1933 include: threatening of suit for false arrest against a sheriff; arguing with a white woman; making a date with a white woman and being overheard; stealing a pig; attempting to borrow money directly from the government instead of through the local bank.

The list of lynchings, the I.L.D stressed, is not claimed to be complete. On the contrary, it was said, the frequent discovery of records of lynching weeks and even months after they occurred indicate that dozens more are carried on without ever being reported anywhere.

The last lynching reported for the year occurred in Detroit, its victim a trade union organizer, and it has been charged that the lynching was carried out by a group composed of American Legionaires, Ku Klux Klansmen and a motor car company's gunmen.

HERE ARE 47 LYNCHINGS

1. Harry Ross, shot January 3 at Memphis by a gang of three. The charge was, improper advances made to a white woman.

2. Fell Jenkins, beaten to death January 11 by a gang of three persons at Aycock, La. Charge—treaspassing.

3-4-5. Three unnamed fishermen cut to death January 19 at Tavernier Island, Louisiana, by a gang. No charge.

6. Robert Richardson, shot to death by a gang of 25, headed by a police sheriff at Baton Rouge, La., February 2, charged with annoying a white woman.

7. George Jeter, beaten to death by a gang of three persons at Aiken, S.C., February 18, charged with stealing whiskey.

8. Nelson Nash, hanged by a gang at Ringgold, La., February 19, with no charge made public.

9. Levon Carloth, 19, beaten, tortured and shot to death April 16, while handcuffed in Memphis, by a gang of six policemen allegedly on a lark. The charge was rape.

10. Reuben Micon, 60, beaten to death by a gang after having been taken from jail at Louisville, Miss., April 16, charged with arguing with a white man.

11. John Williams, hanged by a mob of 75 men led by a sheriff at St. Mary's, Ga., the first week in May, charged with stealing a hog.

12. Will Kinsey, 25, tortured and shot by a mob of 40 at Warrentown, Ga., May 12, charged with a dispute with his landlord. This landlord killed Kinsey's brother.

13. Duffy Barksdale, shot by a mob at Clinton, S.C., May 22, for borrowing money from the government instead of from a local bank. He was a farmer.

14. T. J. Thomas, hanged by a mob at Newton, Ga., the last of May or the first of June, with no charges given.

15-16. Harvey Winchester and Jerome Boyett, hanged by a mob at Huntsville Tenn., June 8, charged with murder Both were white men.

17. Richard Marshall, shot by a gang at Newton, Ga., June 16, with no charges given.

18. Elizabeth Lawrence, shot and her home burned, near Birmingham, late in June, charged with scolding white children for throwing rocks at her. This record is unconfirmed.

19. No name given, shot by a gang at Newton, Ga., about June 30; no reason given.

20. Norris Dendy, taken from jail beaten and strangled by a mob, assisted by officers, at Clinton, S.C., July 4, charged with striking a white man.

21. Unknown man, hanged by a mob at Caledonia, Miss., July 21, charged with making a date with a white woman.

22. Joe Soles, farmer, beaten by a gang of five men at Benton, Ala., August 9, with no reason given.

23-24. Dan Pippen, Jr., 18, and A. T. Hardin, 16, shot by three deputy sheriffs under the authority of a Tuscaloosa sheriff, as they were being taken to jail for safe keeping, August 13. The double slaying occurred between Tuscaloosa and Birmingham, Ala. The youths were charged with murder.

25. Harry Jackson, shot by a sheriff's posse at Pine Bluff, Ark., August 18, on suspicion of attacking a chain gang guard.

26. James Royal, shot by a gang at Decatur, Ala., August 21, with no cause given.

27. "Doc" Rogers, shot by a sheriff's posse at Willard, N.C., August 27, charged with wounding a white woman, in a quarrel with her husband.

28. Paul Orthey, tortured, burned and shot by a mob led by the sheriff, at Panama City, Fla., September 2, charged with threatening suit for false arrest, against the sheriff.

29. Richard Roscoe, church deacon, shot and body dragged through the street behind the sheriff's car, by a mob led by the sheriff, at Winter City, Miss., September 18, charged with seizing gun of plantation owner after he was shot three times.

30. Henry Jordan, farmer and preacher, shot by a gang at Atlanta, September 23, charged with interferring with bootlegging among members of his congregation.

31. Dennis Cross, 50, a paralytic for 20 years, shot by a mob at Tuscaloosa, Ala., September 24, charged with attacking a white woman, 50.

32. John White, shot by a mob at Opelousa, La., September 28, charged with attacking a white woman.

33. Bennie Thompson, taken from jail and beaten to death with a rubber hose after police left jail door open. Done by gang of four men at Ninety-Six, S.C., October 8. Charged with arguing with white men.

34. Freddie Moore, 17, taken from jail, tortured, mutilated and hanged from a bridge by a mob led by a deputy sheriff, at Labadieville, La., October 11, charged with murder of a white girl, 15.

35. George Armwood, 22, tortured, hanged and burned by a mob which included state police and deputy officers, at Princess Anne, Md., October 18, charged with attacking a white woman. 50.

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NEW YORK TIMES

MAY 29 1933

FOR SCOTTSBORO ACTION.

Federal Council Asks Churches to Express Their Views on Case.

Churches are called upon to express their views in the case of the Negroes held for murder at Scottsboro, Ala., in a statement issued yesterday by the executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, made public by Dr. Albert W. Beaven, president.

"We have viewed with growing concern the developments attendant upon the Scottsboro case recently brought again to public attention," the statement says. "Interracial understanding and good-will have been further jeopardized and hatred and misunderstanding have been increased.

"In view of Christianity's basic recognition of the sacredness of human personality and the spirit of the teachings of Jesus Christ affecting human relations, we urge our churches and church leaders everywhere to voice their convictions that justice for all, irrespective of creed, race or color, should be assured in America."

MODESTO, CALIF.
NEWS HERALD

MAY 22 1933

INJUSTICE IS ALLEGED IN SCOTTSBORO CASE

To the Editor of The News-Herald: Sir:—Allow me to reply to Robert Dunsmuir's frank remarks upon racial and religious intolerance. In its intrinsic meaning Dunsmuir's point of view reflects a liberal mentality and an exceptional breadth of vision. Therefore I wish to commend him.

What he says about some of our Southern states is the pure truth. In 1928 mob lynchings in those states claimed ten victims, of whom eight were afterwards found to have been absolutely innocent. At least seven of the unfortunate victims were poor, penniless and friendless Negro citizens.

The way in which the trial of nine Negro youths for alleged sexual violence in Decatur, Alabama, has been prosecuted is another clear example of white men's prejudice against poor Negro citizens in some states. There is no need to argue the guilt or innocence of the Scottsboro boys. The trial went beyond the law's requirements and proved them innocent. Yet, despite overwhelming evidence of his innocence, Heywood Patterson has been found guilty.

Not since the Dred Scott case to which it has been aptly compared, has this nation been stirred by a court proceeding as it has been by the Scottsboro case. An almost audible gasp of surprise and horror swept the country when an Alabama jury grinned its way into the courtroom and calmly read a verdict of death for 19-year-old Heywood Patterson.

No intelligent person can read the evidence given by Ruby Bates, one of the alleged victims, and that of Lesley Carter, her youthful companion, without being impressed with the fact that they were telling the truth and that the state's witnesses were lying.

This case clearly exemplifies the depths to which Alabama and other southern states will descend to defend white domination, even at the price of human holocausts.

On the basis of the evidence given at the Decatur trial the nine unfortunate youths seem to be guilty on just one count, that of being Negro boys.

Evidently the Scottsboro boys are doomed to die, guilt or innocence notwithstanding.

ED. TEGLIA,

Hanford, Calif.

FRUITLESS MARCHES

IN THE past eight or ten days thousands of dollars have been expended in staging fruitless marches and demonstrations to and in Washington, D. C., allegedly in the interest of the unfortunate Scottsboro boys. Delegations appeared at the White House, made their speeches, denounced Alabama, delivered their bundles of petitions, and departed. The status of the nine Negro youths is not one whit improved.

These demonstrations were not only fruitless, but a criminal waste of the hard earned money of black and white working people. While the leaders of these demonstrations traveled to Washington on to the Pennsylvania Railroad, the rank and file bumped along in buses and trucks, exposed to the elements and bulldozed by the police of the several states. Enough money was spent in this manner to carry the case of Haywood Patterson to the United States Supreme Court.

5-20-33

Those who led these marches and demonstrations knew beforehand that they would be barren of results. There is absolutely nothing President Roosevelt or anyone else in the nation's capital, with the possible exception of the United States Supreme Court, can do to help the young Negroes incarcerated in Birmingham. Indeed, it would be out of place for the president to seek to interfere with the courts of a commonwealth.

The Governor of Alabama is the only official who can do anything at this time for the nine youths. Appeals and petitions should therefore be directed to him. marchers should converge on Montgomery, Alabama, delegations should journey there to request him to act, if results are expected from such "mass pressure" activities. But we imagine that the Communists, who dote on the use of force, will shy at the idea of applying it in Alabama. The Governor, not President Roosevelt has the power to free the boys, but he will certainly not yield to mass threats and denunciations. And what is more significant, the white proletariat of Alabama will back him up.

As we said some time ago, the only activity that can help the boys is legal activity, backed up by sufficient money to carry each case to the United States Supreme Court. All else is folly and mere Communist propaganda that will get nowhere except to make the saving of the boys more difficult.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Courier

LOVERS OF MANKIND

The snarling chimpanzees of the I. L. D. and the Communist party are much more interested in "lynching" the white civilization of Alabama than they are of preventing the legal "lynching" of those black sons of toil who were stolen from their jobs at Paint Rock and put to trial for not raping two white girls who as job-seeking cotton mill workers do not seem to have aroused any sympathy for their economic plight.

Augusta, Ga. Herald
May 9, 1933

Let's Think This Over

—THE DEVIL'S LOOSE IN ALABAMA—

By I. S. CALDWELL

THERE is so much vital news being released from Washington that the average newspaper reader is likely to overlook things of vital importance elsewhere. And on the other hand curtailed income makes it impossible for a great many newspapers to carry all the available news.

For these reasons it is likely that the trouble in Alabama is largely overlooked. And yet what is taking place around Dadesville is of vital concern to both races and to all citizens. As was to be expected the bitterness generated by the trial of the Scottsboro boys is spreading in all the adjacent territory. Two weeks ago the negro boys were beaten in their cells. One of the men, Heywood Patterson it is alleged was severely beaten with brass knuckles.

Of course this spurred the International Labor Defense to renewed activities and these activities aroused renewed hostility among the white people in Alabama or at least in that part of Alabama. To make matters worse the alleged activities of The Share-croppers Union, an organization of Negro Tenant farmers, became active. This in turn made some of the landlords angry and they began to foreclose mortgages. In one case a share cropper denied that he owed the landlord the amount that the mortgage called for. The negro refused to surrender his mule and cows. Later the deputy sheriff returned with a group of heavily armed deputies who fired more than a hundred shots into the group of negroes that had come to help defend a member. Several people were killed.

In other words, justice is in hiding in that part of Alabama. There is no telling where the trouble will end. It looks like hell has broken loose in that part of the country. Prejudice is evidently the motivating force at the present time. At this distance it looks as if all concerned had thrown reason and justice and common sense to the dogs.

It occurs to me that the International Labor Defense made serious mistakes from the beginning. It seems to me that the Scottsboro boys are not guilty but the I. L. D. went about the matter in a way that fanned racial and sectional prejudice. On the other hand the level headed, fairminded people of Alabama seem to be off on a vacation. There is no excuse for the disgraceful state of affairs.

It seems to me that it would be a fine thing for Gov. Miller to stop everything in connection with the case until the people, black and white, have cooled off and come to their senses. Justice will never be done as long as the minds of the people are inflamed as they are at the present time. Nothing will be lost by holding everything in abeyance until exact justice can be done.

On the other hand it would be well for the well-meaning men who are acting for the International Labor Defense to realize that haste is making waste. If the I. L. D. had secured an able lawyer from Birmingham or Montgomery to conduct the defense of the Scottsboro boys it is probable that less prejudice would have been aroused and that the accused boys would have been at liberty by this time. However this may be the present course of affairs is towards the abyss.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

MANAGING DIRECTOR EXPLAINS PURPOSE OF ORGANIZATION

5-11-33

To The Commercial Appeal:

In an editorial entitled "A Gigantic Fraud Is Exposed at Scottsboro" in your issue of the 16th in referring to the defense of the Scottsboro case in Alabama, you characterize as frauds appeals published by the Civil Liberties Union for funds to insure a fair trial. You further state that the managers of the Civil Liberties Union "have no regard for civil liberties except when they can be pleaded for the protection of radical mischief makers and criminals." You characterize them as "Communists and sympathizers with Bolshevism." You are wholly in error on every point.

1. The appeals are not "frauds" but an attempt to aid in the defense for which we have no responsibility in order to guarantee the constitutional right to the fairest possible trial as demanded by the U. S. Supreme Court in reversing the first conviction. Your assumption that we are not interested in a fair trial but in some ulterior purpose is wholly gratuitous.

2. The managers of the Civil Liberties Union, far from protecting only "radical mischief makers and criminals," are engaged in campaigns on many issues not involving radicals at all—radio censorship, the motion picture censorship, academic freedom in our schools and colleges, the third degree, civil rights for American Indians, legislation to end the evils of injunctions, among others. The Scottsboro case, by the way, does not involve radicals but almost illiterate negro boys, who are yet to be proved to be "criminals."

3. The managers of the Civil Liberties Union are not Communists nor "sympathizers with Bolshevism." The chairman is Rev. Harry F. Ward of the Union Theological Seminary. The vice chairmen are Miss Helen Phelps Stokes, James H. Maurer, well-known Socialist, and Fremont Older, San Francisco editor. The general counsel are Arthur Garfield Hays and Morris L. Ernst, identified as liberals, not radicals. These are among the men who most actively determine the policies and activities of the Civil Liberties Union.

Your attempt to characterize the Union as run by "enemies of democracy" because I pointed out the obvious fact that political democracy everywhere is being scrapped for dictatorship is a wholly unwarranted conclusion.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.
100 Fifth Avenue. New York City.

N. C. WARD MAKES LOGICAL STATEMENT

In a letter to The Birmingham News a few days ago Dr. F. B. Cullen, who writes often in the News, had a statement of any concerning the boys of the Scottsboro episode or tragedy. Probably the kindest words that could be said of the utterance from Dr. Cullen are that it was crude, unbrotherly, and certainly not well thought out.

A young man of this city, Mr. N. C. Ward, in the same paper, The Birmingham News, attempted an answer to the article of Dr. Cullen. The answer is complete, thoughtful, logical, sound and without the taint of infamy, and may be well considered as coming from a cool head, a well balanced brain, and a cultured heart. Because of its fine parts, dealing with world citizenship, and its statesmanlike presentation, we give it here to our readers for their benefit and study. Here it is:

"To the Editor The News:

"From the rambling words of Dr. F. B. Cullen one could hardly determine whether he intended to express contempt or compassion, but in any case any self-respecting Negro resents any such unfounded and prejudiced references as were reflected in his article concerning the Scottsboro case. If, in his bid for tolerance, he means to compare a Negro with a brute, then he has rendered the gravest insult, not only to the Negro but to all humanity, for all humanity had a common origin. Therefore, I, at least, think that I voice the sentiment of 12,000,000 Negroes when I say that I would rather cast my body to a lynching mob than accept such a comparison without resistance. If this is his bid for tolerance, then we do not want tolerance; deal with us as tyrannically as you desire as long as you treat us as men, rather than man-child.

The Negro is not a human negation; no more than any group that has been forcefully subjected to such inferior conditions of life. Subject any group of people to the same conditions of life, by domination, by segregation, by exploitation, by huddling them into congested and unhealthful tenement districts, by not giving them proper educational advantages, and you can only expect a lowered social plane.

"This is a case of social pathology for which society at large is responsible. When educational facilities for Negroes have been made equal to those of whites, when there will have been enforcement of compulsory school attendance for all, when there will have been an eradication of the crowded and unhealthful tenement districts, when cities rid themselves of slums, when juvenile delinquency has been reduced, when ample playgrounds provided with competent instructors to supervise wholesome play will have been furnished, when there is a realization that many homes, both colored and white, are not fit for rearing of children and there are remedial measures enacted to cope with such a condition, then society will have gone a long way toward relieving itself of a few of the many evils which menace its wellbeing. Both the boys and the girls involved in the Scottsboro case have been victims of some of these social pathological conditions which have been pointed out here, and probably many others.

"I think that Southern society should hang its head in shame and apologize to the world by admitting that it has done very little to adjust its members to function with less social friction.

"I have no respect for any white man who 'loves' a Negro in his 'place,' for the Negro has no particular place. The simple and intelligent thing to do is to love all men on the basis of quality manhood.

"I do not think that Dr. Fosdick would have advised Ruby Bates, or anybody else for that matter, to tell a lie in order to divert the courts of justice from their ordinary course of procedure. This man's integrity is too far above reproach to allow him to stoop to such debased human conduct. He would not have given one cent toward her passage to Alabama had he had reasons to doubt her story, but he would have given much for the sake of truth for the sake of humanity. He is interested in human welfare and not human debauchery.

"Dr. Cullen in his statement with reference to Caucasian superiority may be correct in stating that the Negro and the Caucasian started out on the same social plane, but he seems to forget that he is dealing with human variables and not with machines. There may be numerous natural forces to accelerate or retard human progress in different localities, but this is not indicative of racial superiority or racial inferiority.

"Dr. Blyden said: 'There is no absolute or essential superiority on one side, nor absolute or essential inferiority on the other. Man is a unity in the plan of salvation. No man is too inferior to be saved. In all the wondrous works of creation the making of man is God's crowning act; and whoever has His image has infallible credentials of His high origin and sonship. [illegible] is our universal representative head and from [illegible] all people sprung. God never made a superior race no an inferior one; and there is nothing in the heavens above, nod in the earth beneath, than can substantiate any such doctrine. "For God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the fact of the earth."'

"Dr. Edward Wiggam in 'Fruit of the Family Tree' said: 'Race differences have only to a slight extent been measured, and consequently we know little about them. But to prove that races are alike and that one may be superior to another by such utter misstatements of facts belongs in the realm either of fiction or mysticism, or else to plain ignorance.'

"I have an idea that since Dr. Cullen is so well informed by his superficial knowledge of races (knowing the Negro from a to izzard), the American Anthropological Society has a chair of directorship beckoning him.

"My appeal is made to simple and sane justice for human welfare.

"N. C. WARD.

"Birmingham."

If we could have more black and white people writing to Metropolitan papers like The Birmingham News along the lines that Mr. Ward has written, it would not be long before our social, political, and economical problems would vanish. By this we mean that they would be understood and dealt with in that kindly manner that becomes decent humanity.

We have a few Negroes who write to white newspapers what they think will please white people, and then we have a few white people who write to our dailies in that vein that will please an element of white people who wish to know that the Negro is being kicked and abused. We would be far better off, the blacks and the whites, if such utterances that mean nothing but a breach of proper relationships could be left out. We need more articles of the kind that was published in The News last Sunday as presented by Mr. Ward, and the one in The Age-Herald by Mr. Graves on Saturday, May 6, dealing with the same question.

Chicago Tribune 6-24-33 June 24-33

ANOTHER SCOTTSBORO DECISION.

Judge James E. Horton, in the Alabama court in which the first of the Scottsboro Negro defendants had a second trial and second conviction with death sentence, has set aside the verdict. In his decision he says that the jury came to a conclusion at variance with the evidence, the preponderance of which was in favor of the convicted defendant. In the second trial of these young Negroes, removed from the scene of their first trial to remove it from prejudices and passions, only one witness, one of the white hobo girls, stuck to the story which brought conviction in the first instance. The other woman repudiated her story and the prosecution declared that she had been tampered with by the New York radical organizations which had undertaken the defense.

It has been a tradition in parts of the south that the story of a white woman is proof against any denials or even any evidence to the contrary in such a case. The methods used by the New York defense attorney and committee were ill calculated to permit justice to keep the upper hand in a trial necessarily confronted with the deepest racial prejudices and preconceptions. It was observed at the time that the defense by indicting the people themselves was preventing a free exercise of justice, troubled as its course would have been at best.

Judge Horton's decision granting a new trial indicates that the legal purpose of the south is to prevail not only against the passions of the easily aroused people of a community but in spite of the provocations afforded by violent criticism. Criticism is hard to stop when any section of the country permits violence to pay little heed to humanities and rights, and it is sometimes the case that this criticism only stiffens the purposes of the people at fault. But the bar and the judiciary in the south show a determination to make law the rule, even when community sentiment is deeply stirred and impatient to punish, regardless of evidence and lawful proceeding. The administration of justice in the control of such men will prevail. The south is developing a sensitiveness on that subject and Judge Horton expressed it.

Alab

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Sidelights on Trial of Scottsboro Defendants

Seek to Hide System of Negro Oppression in the South

(By Our Special Correspondent.)

DECATUR, Ala. (By Mail).—At seven o'clock Monday morning the crowd began to gather in front of the Morgan County Courthouse. Half an hour later thirty national guardsmen from Hartselle, thirteen miles down the line marched in with guns on shoulder and pistol at the belt.

5-20-33

Here on the courthouse lawn stood a cross-section of the population of Decatur County and, to a degree, of the whole South. Farmers from the surrounding country, where starvation knocks at many cabin doors, where almost three-quarters of those who work farms are tenants and debt bound. Unemployed workers from the rialroad shop which had closed down, from the half-idle hosiery mills.

Respectable, petty-bourgeois Decatur, in the person of its small business people and political hangers-on, remained for the most part in the packed courthouse and on the porch of Sheriff Bud Davis' house.

Negroes In Crowd.

Over 100 Negroes, among them women, stood silently in groups or reclined on the grass. Their presence in itself was a challenge. It was mute tectimony to the tremendous confidence awakened in the Negro people of the South by the Scottsboro case.

Captain John W. Burleson, in charge of the guardsmen, a neat and pompous war hero, glanced repeatedly at the Negroes and tried to reassure himself: "They are all local niggers and they are good ones, or we wouldn't have them around." He had come "to uphold white supremacy over teh law."

* * *

FROM seven until two the crowd waited. Word came that the patrol from Birmingham had been sighted on the other side of the courthouse. As one, both the white and the Negro ran to meet it. The car swerved around the corner and drew up before the sheriff's house. The crowd came surging back across the courthouse lawn and stopped at the line drawn by the guardsmen.

The Boys Enter.

Roy Wright, the youngest, self-confident, dressed in a suit of civil clothes, led the way into the street. The other boys, dressed in blue denim overalls, followed manacled by the wrists in pairs. They were composed and self-confident.

In full sight of the whole crowd, defense attorney Liebowitz walked over to Roy Wright, shook his hands and spoke a few words of greeting. Everyone was aghast—the whites taken completely unaware by this open declaration of equality. "Did you see that!" eclaimed a political hanger-on standing next to your correspondent. "He went and shook hands with the Nigger!" The Negroes, watching every move, saw this action as a token of the whole case.

With a score of soldiers in front and a score taking up the rear, the boys were marched through the crowd into the courthouse.

BENSON, the editor of the Scottsboro **Progressive Age, is one of the thirty-five witnesses called by the defense to prove that Negroes are excluded from the jury in Jackson County and throughout the South. Like all the other witnesses subpoenaed in advance, he had been coached by the crudely clever attorney general. Poor Benson was caught between two fires. On the one hand he knew—as he admitted under pressure from Attorney Liebowitz's cross-examination—that he had never seen nor heard of a Negro serving as a juror in Jackson County,** where the **Scottsboro trial was** originally held. **But he had just come from the smoking room where Attorney General Knight had coached him and made it stick with a little drink.** Under the suave influence of Liebowitz he is for a moment truthful, **admitting what is known to** everybody **in the courthouse**—Negroes just **don't sit on juries. Under** the bludgeoning **of Knight, he now** qualifies his statement. **Liebowitz** pushes the point and wants to **know whether Benson knew of any Negroes in Jackson County who were fit to sit on a jury. The editor gives classic expression to the typical attitude of the more cultured bourbon South: "I know some good niggers, as far as niggers go." And then: "The nigger has not been trained. I don't think their judgment could be depended upon. They have not made a study of the law. The Negro doesn't have character. They all steal."**

This was the best that could be marshalled by Benson, the editor of a paper, creator of "public opinion," leading citizen of Jackson County.

J. H. STEWART is a member of the jury commission of Jackson County.

"Do you know or have you heard of any Negroes on the jury roll?" he was asked.

"I'm 48 years old and don't remember any," he answered.

"I object," stuttered Knight, who always attempted to hide his discomfort with a smirk.

"Objection sustained," complied Judge Horton.

"Did you have any occasion to exclude Negroes from jury service because they were not qualified?" countered the defense.

"No, that was never even discussed."

And Judge Horton, lest this admission do too much damage, makes the point for Attorney General Knight and bourbon Alabama: "Negroes are not excluded because of their color but because they are not qualified."

With these little legal tricks, evident to everybody, the sovereign state of Alabama, upon which has fallen the burden of upholding the "supremacy of the whites over the law," hopes to still the movement that with every minute of the Scottsboro Case sinks its roots deeper and deeper in the South.

* * *

IT turns out on examination that J. E. Moody, chairman of the Jury Commission Board of Jackson County, does not know the qualifications for jury service. And yet Negroes have not appeared on Jackson County courts—in fact, it was said by Mr. Benson's competitor on the

Correspondent Gives Picture of Decatur Population

Jackson County Sentinel that Negro jurors would be "embalmed niggers."

"You take taxes from Negroes as well as whites?" asks the leading defense lawyer.

"Yes."

(The usual objection from Knight and the usual sustention by Judge Horton.)

"You take taxes from a Negro, but you exclude him from juries and do not permit him to vote!"

(Violent objections from the ruling class.)

* * *

"MR. SANFORD, has a Negro ever been called for jury service in Jackson County?" lawyer Liebowitz asks.

John Sanford is a Negro plasterer of Scottsboro, Alabama. The "Mr." is like a bombshell and like the persistent use of the word "Negro" by the defense and of "nigger" by the judge and prosecution, reveals the tremendous gap that separates the two sides. The Bourbon South has never deemed it necessary to call a Negro "Mr." or "Mrs."

"No, a Negro has never been called for jury service in Jackson County."

Mr. Sanford himself is qualified to sit on a jury. He knows of other Negroes who meet the qualifications. He says so outright, despite the scowling smirk of Attorney General Knight and the knowledge that Jackson County citizens will carry the news home that "the Sanford nigger is no longer a good nigger."

FACTORS IN SCOTTSBORC DESCRIBED BY "DAILY WORKER" CORRESPONDENT IN DECATUR

(By Our Special Correspondent)

DECATUR, Ala., March 27 (By Mail).—In the Morgan County courthouse is now being concentrated and expressed in the form of a court trial those social and economic forces which brought about the Scottsboro case.

Without the world-wide mass protest and action which proceeded the trial in Decatur, lifted Scottsboro and Decatur and thousands of Scottsboros and Decaturs out of the dark corner of the world and made them the common property of the toiling masses. The issues involved are issues which will eventually revolutionize the South.

ENROUTE SOUTH.

No sooner do you leave Washington when you become sharply aware of these issues. The jim-crow railroad car makes its appearance. Railroad stations are divided in two—one side bearing the legend "This Waiting Room for Members of the White Race", the other, "This Waiting Room for Members of the Colored Race". Should you board a street car you will find it divided into a front and a rear. Drinking fountains, pool rooms, residential sections are all jim-crowed. Wherever Negroes and whites are likely in any way to come into contact socially this legalized segregation says in terms of law and order "You May Not Mix". The same is done in a more indirect way in the factory. Politically segregation has assumed the form of totally disfranchising the Negroes in the South from any direct part in political life.

Yet this iron-bound segregation and disfranchisement must again and again be re-established by the ruling class. It exerts all its powers to maintain it and must struggle to do so. For the social and economic forces generated by the situation itself produce those forces and changes which work against them. They also produce revolutionary forces which consciously work to destroy the system of lynch law and oppression.

"ISSUE THAT CUTS TO HEART OF SOUTH"

That is the reason that the State of Alabama is at present exerting all its powers to maintain the electric chair verdict against the Scottsboro boys. To maintain this verdict means for the moment to maintain the conditions which brought about this verdict.

On the defense motion to quash the indictment two sides face each other on an issue that cuts to the heart of the South. It is common knowledge to every Southerner that Negroes do not serve on juries and that they are not even called for such service. That is considered normal. In the words of a Jackson county official "We do not consider Niggers fit to sit on juries". The only time Negroes sat on juries, and acted as judges and legislators, too—was in the process of a revolution which destroyed chattel slavery and established revolutionary governments in some of the Southern states. Since then the central point of Southern ruling class politics and strategy was to keep the Negro "in his place"- to completely exclude him. As far as the Negro people go, the ruling class still stands on the general grounds of the civil war days.

THEIR CONCEPTION OF "STATE RIGHTS".

In front of the court house at Decatur is a memorial statue of a confederate soldier with the following inscription: "This monument is erected in the memory of those who offered their lives for a just cause, the defense of state rights". It was erected last year.

The term "state rights" is used here as it was used during the slavery controversy: to signify all that is meant by the national oppression of the Negro people.

In the courtroom the lawyers of the International Labor Defense are giving expression to the mass movement which has made this trial possible. They demand that the indictment against the Scottsboro boys be quashed because there were no Negroes called to serve on the grand jury which handed down this indictment. Likewise the demand is also raised that Negroes be called to sit on the jury that tries the case.

"JUST ISN'T DONE".

"It just isn't done and hasn't been done for the last sixty years", says an Alabama school teacher, representative of the Scottsboro intelligentsia. Yes, gentlemen, this is a revolutionary demand raised precisely because "it just isn't done", because the exclusion of Negroes from juries is one of the many methods of the exclusion of Negroes from the "civilized" life of the South.

Through this demand we strike at the oppression of the Negro people. This is the first time this demand is being raised on such a wide mass scale, that it is being fought out for the world to see. And this is but one of the vital issues which is being raised in the courthouse at Decatur and flaring over the world like a huge rocket.

"NIGGERS AIN'T FITTIN' TO SIT ON JURIES" (Drawn in Decatur, Ala.)

Tennessean
NASHVILLE
TENNESSEE
DEC 4 1933

The Scottsboro Case.

The Scottsboro case, in which the negro, Heywood Patterson, was sentenced to death Friday afternoon for the third time, provides an outstanding example of the manner in which the justice machinery in this country is often all but snowed under by tactics of delay.

Patterson and his companions are charged with attacking two white girls on a freight train March 25, 1931, lacking only four months of being three years ago. In fairness to every person concerned, for the sake of orderly processes of justice and to avoid waste of time and money to the state, the cases against these negroes should have been disposed of long ago Even now, after two years and eight months the end is not in sight. Patterson's attorney's have announced they would file a motion for a new trial, and if denied, would proceed to a higher court and eventually to the United States Supreme Court if necessary to obtain a new trial. And Patterson's companions have yet to face hearing in the lower courts.

Many factors have entered into the Scottsboro case to confuse the issue, whether the negroes are guilty of attacking these two girls as charged. The flaming of racial prejudice, the intercession of the International Labor Defense, the resentment against the northern attorneys sent to Alabama by it, radical influences, which have grasped upon the Scottsboro case to make a "cause celebre," the repudiation by one of the alleged assault victims of the testimony she had given against the negro defendants—all these have tended to obscure the issue of innocence or guilt of the negroes, and the many delays have only given additional time for the injection of more extraneous matters into the public discussion of the trials and has made it increasingly difficult to keep the case on the single issue at stake.

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NEW YORK [illegible] WORLD- Telegram

MAY 3 1933

Ruby Bates, "Poor White Trash," to Speak Here in Effort to Help Scottsboro Boys

Girl Who Defied Alabama Officials Trying to Live Down Suffering She Caused.

Ruby Bates, the 19-year-old "poor white trash" girl who defied officials of Alabama by coming to the defense of the Scottsboro Negroes, charged with attacking her, is in New York to make her first public speech in behalf of the nine defendants.

In her first interview outside her own State, she said today, she is trying " to live it down—I mean what I told against the colored boys in their first trial."

"I feel like it's something I've got to live down," she repeated. "I feel like I made up some by tellin' the truth in the second trial, but I'm still willin' to make up some more. Of course I can't make up for the two years I helped cause the boys to suffer in jail—I know that much."

What Stenography Entails.

For her own future she has few plans, but she said, "I'd like to learn stenography if I didn't have to work for nothing for three years afterward," and, asked to explain, she continued:—

"Down where I live you learn shorthand at a college. The bank runs it. You can go to school for two years and they guarantee you a job afterward, but they work you and take all your money except $3 a week. If they ain't got room in Huntsville they send you to a branch. If you git somebody to board you for 50 cents I reckon you could git some clothes. They offered my sister a college course, but she had to go to work in the cotton mills."

She looked like any factory worker or nursemaid or stenographer—slender in her dark print dress and brown oxfords, blue-eyed and brown-haired, younger than her earlier pictures show. Half literate and intensely shy, she gave monosyllabic answers at first, but gradually talked of her own work on the night-shift in the cotton mills, of how she herself decided "by myself" to reverse her testimony, and of a curiously dawning class consciousness.

Mill Store Took Her Wages.

She went through the fifth grade in school. She worked in the mills for $2.75 a week and sometimes "I didn't know how much we was gettin' because the mill store took it all up." She supplemented her earnings on Saturday night jaunts with boys, it is known, and she seemed to indicate that this was also a gesture of defiance against her lot. Her mother also worked in the mills, sometimes for $5. They had a younger boy and girl to support.

On Friday night she will talk at the St. Nicholas Arena, 66th St. and Columbus Ave., at a sendoff meeting for a delegation of workers leaving the next day for Washington to demand the Scottsboro Negroes' freedom and to ask President Roosevelt to enforce the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. The meeting is under the auspices of the National Scottsboro Action Committee, a united-front group led by Communists and the International Labor Defense.

What She Understands.

To Ruby Bates, their star attraction, their philosophy, their slogans are unintelligible. But she does understand this much:—

"Before the first trial I used to think of having to go into the mills so young (she was 15 when she began work on the night shift) and about all the people having to work so hard and getting practically nothing for it. I'd wonder what could be done, but I didn't know there was anything.

"I had to work under the boss and his place was so much higher than I was—I was considered 'poor white trash,' you know. Now I understand that if the people would all work together instead of against each other it would help everybody. Well, I guess it wouldn't help the bosses, but it would help all the workers."

Didn't Realize Peril.

When she testified first, according to her friend's advice, she said, she didn't know that "the colored boys might be hung for it."

The first time the press reported she had disappeared, she said, she was in a hospital in Huntsville. She came to New York with a girl friend last February, and two days before the second trial made up her mind to "tell the truth if they hung me." That, she maintained, is why she went to see Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, who sent her South to be the defense's star witness.

By World-Telegram Staff Photographer.

Ruby Bates at her breakfast today.

SCOTTSBORO BOYS ATTEMPT MUTINY

Telegraph

Nine Negroes Arm Themselves With Bits of Plumbing Fixtures and Defy Jailer

4-28-33

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., April 27 (AP) The nine Negro defendants in the "Scottsboro case" late Thursday were locked in the day cell of the Jefferson county jail and placed on a bread and water diet when they mutined and refused to return to the cell blocks.

Macon, Ga.

Armed with pieces of metal ripped from plumbing and light fixtures, they defied jail wardens and refused to return to their cells when Sheriff J. H. Hawkins appeared and told them to drop their weapons and go back to their cells.

Sheriff Hawkins gave them nearly an hour in which to change their minds and return to the cells, equipped with bunks, and when they were still defiant, ordered the door locked and the bread and water diet. The Negroes told the sheriff they were afraid they would be "beaten up" if they returned to their cells.

The day room in which the Negroes staged their rebellion is equipped only with a table on which their meals were served and some chairs.

Telegraph

Heywood Patterson, 19, of Chattanooga, who on April 9 was sentenced to death a second time for an alleged attack on a white woman aboard a freight train in Jackson county March 25, 1931, Warden F. L. Erwin said, was the leader of the rebellion.

4-28-33

The mutiny, the warden said, apparently was due to the Negroes' resentment over their being locked in a separate section "visiting day" as hundreds of Negroes had called at the jail each Thursday afternoon since they were returned from Decatur. The number of visitors was so great that they congested the passage between the cell blocks, Warden Erwin said, and he was forced to stop it.

Macon, Ga.

Clanton, Ala., Banner

April [illegible], 1933

The Scottsboro Cases

Ever since the news got around concerning the alleged attack on two white women near Scottsboro some time ago, officials have been receiving messages from all ginds of associations the world over, protesting the manner in which the cases have been handled. The result of it is that these sympathizers have hurt the negroes chances instead of helping them. And they have hurt them in several ways. After all, Alabama people, from whom the juries must be picked, are only human, and they naturally resent any outsider's attempt to have a hand in running the affairs in Alabama. After the negroes were sentenced to death in the first trial, all kinds of dust was kicked up—pleas, entreaties, and even demands were made by various organizations that the men be released. That put high-handed ideas in the minds of foolish negroes in the South, and several uprisings occurred, which only fanned the race fire. Anti-Southern lawyers were hired, and after these had found themselves unable to cope with the situation, they spread rumors of danger from mobs, all without foundation of truth. As a final result, all this has just about brought matters to a point where the negroes cannot get a fair trial, and Judge Horton has so indicated in postponing trial. Alabama's court officials want to judge fairly, but until they can be allowed to work unhampered by "advice" from foreign sources, these defendants must suffer from the results of this "advice."—Man in the Moon.

EVE. GAZETTE

APR 27 1933

The 14th Amendment

The 14th amendment to the Constitution, submitted to and ratified by the states after the Civil war, provides that:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. Nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

This amendment was designed to give the Negroes, who had been freed from slavery during the Civil war, the civil rights to which American citizens are entitled.

This amendment, as part of the Constitution, is part of the law of the land. Occasionally it has been cited to plague southern states which have not obeyed it. The southern states have not consistently permitted the Negro to exercise the civil rights to which his American citizenship entitles him. The South's practise in denying the Negro the right of franchise has been most frequently cited as evidence of southern disregard of the Constitution. Lately another disregard of the 14th amendment has been cited to plague the South.

This disregard is illustrated in certain criminal cases in which Negro defendants are tried by juries on which Negroes do not sit.

The second Scottsboro trial, in which a Negro defendant was convicted by a white jury, clearly revealed the intentions of the defense to appeal to the Supreme court on the ground that the trial was illegal because Negroes were barred from the jury.

Now, a decision by Judge Lowell in Boston promises to send another instance of disregard of the 14th amendment to the Supreme court. Lowell was considering the case of William Crawford, Negro, wanted in Virginia for murder. Governor Ely signed the extradition papers and Crawford's counsel applied to the federal court for a writ of habeas corpus to prevent the removal of their client to Virginia. In their argument to the court, they advanced the claim that Virginia's practise of excluding Negroes from jury duty constitutes a violation of the Constitution that would make unfair and illegal the trial of Cr[illegible] murder in Virginia. This Virgin[illegible] being known and admitted, the court ruled for the plaintiff.

The court took the point of view that it was senseless to send Crawford back to Virginia when he was certain that the Supreme court would eventually decide that Crawford's Virginia trial was illegal. Thus the court made a decision that will get the case into the Supreme court much earlier than it could have reached the court by the route of a murder trial in Virginia, because an appeal from the court's decision was promptly taken.

It should be noted that Lowell apparently asumed that a Virginia jury would convict Crawford because, unless he was convicted, there would be no reason for appealing to the highest court. We have little doubt that this assumption is justified; southern juries generally do convict Negroes in capital cases.

The importance of his decision, however, is the fact that it starts by a short route to the Supreme court an instance of violation of the Constitution to the Supreme court which must render a decision of vital significance to the entire South. The movement in Virginia to impeach Lowell is no more impressive than the opinion of Brigadier General Mitchell that Lowell is an unpatriotic judge subject to Communistic influence.

NEW YORK WORLD-Telegram

APR 27 1933

Check and Double Check.

SURELY justice must be a little better than that. After all, even twelve good men and true cannot make a false thing true simply by agreeing upon it. There ought to be the sort of review which considers not only legal technicalities but the weight of evidence as well.

As a matter of fact, I cannot join in the criticism of the Scottsboro defense. It is charged that the Communists hurt the chances of the Negroes by taking over the defense. On the other hand, it is only fair to say that but for the Communists the trial would never have attracted worldwide attention. And it is also true that in many phases of the case the Communists have entrusted the legal end of their battle to lawyers who had no connection whatsoever with any radical party.

Some of the editorial writers in New York have spoken in the apparent belief that Samuel Leibowitz is a Communist. Of course, the truth is that he is an extremely shrewd and successful New York trial lawyer without any palpable affiliations whatsoever. His leanings would certainly be toward the party in power. He is not by reputation a visionary, even though it is true that he undertook the Scottsboro defense without a fee.

I have been told by several interested observers that it would have been the part of wisdom for the defense to have hired some eminent attorney to plead the case in Decatur. My own opinion is that no lawyer could have won under the setup which existed. The jury's mind was fixed not only before the first witness took the stand but thirty years before the alleged crime was committed.

WINSTON SALEM N C JOURNAL

APRIL 8, 1933

Woman's Testimony Raises Doubt

The famous "Scottsboro case" took a sudden turn when one of the white women involved appeared unexpectedly in court and testified that she was not assaulted by the Negroes who are being tried on that charge, nor to her knowledge was her companion mistreated by them. She also testified to relations she and her companion had with two white men while in a hobo camp.

As this is being written, the case is being argued. Whatever the verdict of the jury, the fact remains that this woman's testimony casts some doubt upon the state's contentions. The moral of the "Scottsboro case" is obviously that no human being, regardless of color, should be made to pay the penalty, either legally or illegally, for a serious crime without a fair and scrutinizing trial. Womanhood must be defended. But womanhood must come into court with clean hands. No man should be put to death when the charge against him is baseless.

YONKERS, N. Y. STATESMAN

APR 25 1933

Negroes Here Break With Communists In Scottsboro Protests

Yonkers Negroes last night broke away from Communist organizers sponsoring local movements for the Scottsboro defense and set up a separate committee to carry on the work.

The step was taken at a mass meeting of leading Negroes at the A. M. E. Zion Church, Waverly Street, after several preliminary conferences.

Dissatisfaction with the "frank campaigning" of Communist organizers, who were using the Scottsboro case to recruit Negro members, was given as the cause for the break by John M. Lee, secretary and spokesman for the new group.

The independent organization which will be known as the Yonkers Scottsboro Defense Committee elected Stephen A. Bennett, head of the original committee, chairman and Mrs. Ethel Sawyer, vice chairman.

The Rev. R. S. Oden presided and outlined the aims of the temporary committee in calling the meeting. Leading Negroes, he informed the audience, objected to the Communist recruiting activities and wished to withdraw from anything which would link them with the radical group.

As a permanent organization, he said, the new committee will continue its old work and will forward its funds to the International Labor Defense, which inaugurated the defense fight.

Arrangements were made for the first general mass meeting of the new committee Sunday night at the A. M. E. Zion Church. Irvin E. Klein, local attorney who participated in the defense with Samuel Leibowitz, noted criminal lawyer, will be the chief speaker.

Others will be Nathan W. Pollard, the Rev. C. W. Walton and the Rev. P. G. Henry.

Wauchula, Fla., Advocate

April 21, 1933

THE SCOTTSBORO CASE.

Judge James E. Horton acted wisely in halting the trial of those Alabama negroes on charges of attacking two white girls.

The statements attributed to chief defense counsel were entirely unfair and un-called for. His published remarks were an insult to every white man in Alabama, and a slur on the entire South.

When the International Labor Union sends a New York Jew into Alabama to defend negroes and he in turn makes such remarks as have been attributed to him, the negroes cannot expect to profit by it. In fact, it tends to cause unrest all over the South, especially among the negroes.

But the Scottsboro case is Alabama's affair, and we don't propose to take any part in it, other than to join her in resenting the remarks of the New York attorney.

Lynchings-1933

Legal Punishment for Rape

Alabama

4146

NEW EVIDENCE IN SCOTTSBORO CASE

Reporter 2-18-33

Birmingham, Ala.

A little more of the truth about the Scottsboro case comes to light according to this week's releases from the National office of the International Labor Defense.

The letter written by the state's chief witness and accuser recants the testimony on which the eight boys were convicted. If the facts as stated are the genuine truth, the whole affair is clear and needs but the courage of conscience to make it history.

According to a letter written and signed by this witness, the case is the kind that comes of deep seated racial hate used for the purposes of revenge. It is as most people thought, but none approves on account of what it involved.

The letter, as written to a friend, is acknowledged to be genuine, whatever the motive that prompted the writing of it may have been.

Since the authenticity of the letter is not questioned, the weight of it as evidence of an unjust measure of trouble given to the eight Scottsboro boys should have great effect.

It proves all too clearly how many innocent persons are punished severely for things that they did not do. It gives, also, some idea of the methods used in getting confessions and convictions when they are wanted to serve the purposes of prejudice. It shows, too, how small is the chance that a Negro has in court when misrepresentations have inflamed public sentiment against him.

It is a glaring evidence of the shameful disease which has too long affected the vitals of the American social and political order.

The facts about the affair have always been the kind that are hard to believe, but in the absence of anything to offset them they have been allowed to pass with such reservations as one's own conscience might claim. Now that the public has evidence of the facts and methods by which the fabric built, it is easier to sympathize with the unfortunate Scottsboro youths.

This new evidence should have its weight at the next trial.

Co-Stars Of The "Scottsboro Follies"

First pictures of Ruby Bates and Victoria Price—on the right, Ruby Bates, star witness in the Scottsboro trial of April, 1931, on whose testimony of "rape" eight of nine innocent Negro boys were sentenced to die, and whose letter categorically denying the charges she made then has just been made public. On the left, Victoria Price, co-"star" in the prosecution's "case" against the nine boys. This picture, taken in Huntsville, Alabama, home of the girls, is made public for the first time this week.

4146

Negroes Sent To Kilby Death Cell

Advertiser 12-17-33

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Dec. 16.—(AP)—Transfer of Heywood Patterson and Clarence Norris, two of nine defendants in the "Scottsboro case" who were convicted at Decatur earlier this month and sentenced to death, to Kilby Prison at Montgomery was announced here today.

Attorneys for the negroes conveyed a request from them to the court at Decatur on Dec. 6, that they be held in the Jefferson County jail here with the seven other defendants, pending action on an appeal to the Alabama Supreme Court.

Judge W. W. Callahan, presiding, said he was without authority in the case since the law specifically provided that persons under death sentence should be held in Kilby Prison.

Montgomery, Ala.

The two negroes were convicted of alleged attacks on Mrs. Victoria Price, of Huntsville, aboard a Southern Railway freight train in Jackson County March 25, 1931.

It was the third conviction for Patterson and the second for Norris.

Nine Must Die At Kilby Feb. 9

Advertiser

All Negroes Convicted Of Murder, Supreme Court Denying Their Appeals

12-16-33

Affirming trial court judgments of conviction of first degree murder in nine appealed cases, the Alabama Supreme Court in decisions announced yesterday, set Friday, Feb. 9, 1934, as the date for execution of the death sentences imposed in each. All of the condemned, one of whom is a woman, are negroes.

Montgomery, Ala.

A new trial was granted by the high court in a tenth appealed capital case in which the defendant was sentenced to death.

Those who must die in the electric chair at Kilby Prison on Feb. 9, as the result of yesterday's decisions, the county in which each was convicted, and the crime each will expiate by electrocution, follow:

Solomon Roper alias Solomon Peropus, Dallas County, for killing Page Brazier with an axe. Bennie Foster, Dallas County, for killing Clarence Sidney McCain with a hammer. Fred Kinney alias Freddy Kinney, Perry County, for killing Jim Phillips with an iron rod. Ernest Waller alias Champ Waller, Dallas County, for fatally shooting Daisy Montgomery alias Daisy McMillan. John Thompson, and Louis alias Lewis Cunningham, Mobile County, for shooting Henry Bloom to death. Leo Fountain, Monroe County, for shooting and killing Robert Martin. Teaner Autrey, negro woman, Monroe County, for murdering Rosa Mae Knight. Horie White, Mobile County, for shooting and killing J. Luther Williams.

In the decision in the case of Teaner Autrey, the Supreme Court was divided, Justices Joel B. Brown and Thomas E. Knight, dissenting from the majority, a dissenting opinion being written by Justice Brown.

Because of improper drawing of the jury in the case of Jack Reese, convicted in Baldwin County of the murder of Willie Moses, and sentenced to death, judgment of the trial court was reversed and a new trial ordered.

"NEGROES DIDN'T TOUCH ME"

On the right, Ruby Bates, star witness in the Scottsboro lynch trial of April, 1931, on whose testimony of "rape" eight innocent Negro boys were sentenced to die, and whose letter categorically denying the charges she made then is made public today. On the left, Victoria Price, who, like Ruby Bates, is a follower of the world's oldest profession, and her co-star in the prosecution's framed "case" against the nine Negro boys. This picture, taken in Huntsville, Alabama, home of the girls, is made public for the first time today.

GIRL RETRACTS ATTACK CHARGE IN SCOTTSBORO CASE

On the right, Ruby Bates, star witness in the Scottsboro lynch trial of April, 1931, on whose testimony of "rape" eight innocent Negro boys were sentenced to die, and whose letter categorically denying the charges she made then is made public today. On the left, Victoria Price, who, like Ruby Bates, is a follower of the world's oldest profession, and her co-star in the prosecution's framed "case" against the nine Negro boys. This picture, taken in Huntsville, Ala., home of the girls, is made public for the first time today.

SCOTTSBORO CASE 'TOO HOT' IN MONT.

Jail 'Daily' Agent for Distributing Story

KALISPELL, Mont., Feb. 26.—Mark Boyd, Daily Worker agent here was arrested for distributing copies of the Daily Worker of Feb. 13, containing the letter of Ruby Bates, state's star witness against the Scottsboro boys, in which she repudiates her testimony on which the nine innocent boys were originally condemned to burn in the electric chair.

The arrested workers are charged with distributing "indecent" literature" because Ruby Bates in her letter declares the boys did "not touch me," thus shattering the last legalistic pretense that the nine innocent boys had raped her.

* * *

Answer Fund Appeal.

NEW YORK.—The International Labor Defense, 50 E. 13th St., is receiving many letters answering the appeal for funds to conduct the Scottsboro case.

* * *

Plan to Delay Trial.

BIRMINGHAM, Feb. 26.—The Alabama lynch bosses are forcing a postponement of the new trials for the Scottsboro boys to March 20, in order to develop their lynch-incitement campaign against the boys and to put every possible legal obstacle in the way of the defense. Attorney General Knight has reversed his position that he would not oppose a change of venue for the new trials. He now intends to fight against such a change. Hearing on the I. L. D. motion for a change of venue has been set for March 6, before Judge Hawkins, who directed the original lynch hearings at Scottsboro in April 1931. At the same time, the lynch bosses are using pressure on Ruby Bates to discredit her letter in which she repudiates her original testimony that the boys had "raped" her.

Form 'Neighborhood Scottsboro Clubs' In Boston to Aid Mass Drive

RAISE FUNDS FOR MARCH 6th TRIAL

Demand Immediate Release of Boys

BOSTON, Feb. 16.—A "Neighborhood Scottsboro Defense Club" has been organized in Boston by Mrs. Mary B. Moore, a Negro woman, to raise funds and help in the [illegible] struggle for the unconditional release of the Scottsboro boys. The club will participate in the national tag days on February 25 and 26.

Among the speakers at the last affair of this club was Monroe Trotter, editor of the Guardian, one of the leading Negro newspapers in Boston. As a direct result of these affairs, many members are being gained by the International Labor Defense.

Organizations and individuals are forming Neighborhood Scottsboro Defense Clubs. They are demonstrating their growing solidarity with the Scottsboro Boys and massing against the vicious lynch verdict. Join in the struggle and participate actively in the mass conferences and demonstrations in your section. Rush funds to the **Scottsboro New Trial Emergency Fund** of the International Labor Defense, 80 East 11th Street, Room 430, New York Sity.

Lynchings-1933

Legal Punishment for Rape

Alabama

4147

The Postponement Of The Decatur Trials

In postponing further trials in the so-called Scottsboro case, Judge James E. Horton has acted with the wisdom and judiciousness that characterized his conduct of the case throughout the first trial at Decatur. No court, said Judge Horton, could permit the trials to proceed at the present time "under such baneful influences." The postponement is indefinite, or, in Judge Horton's words, until "this passion has died out and the defendants can be given a fair trial."

Clearly, the trials cannot be conducted in a spirit and atmosphere of fairness and with a dispassionate regard for justice so long as the feeling that has been manifested on all sides continues. A deplorable attitude has been exemplified by attorneys on both sides. On both sides statements have been made that were unwise and unfair. This feeling is bound to have had its effect on the public mind.

Mr. Leibowitz, chief of counsel for the defense, has been the worst offender. His statement made after his return to New York, which Judge Horton read in ordering the postponement, was inexcusable.

Some statements made by prosecuting attorneys were also uncalled for. Solicitor Wade Wright's appeal to prejudice in his argument before the jury was unpardonable, and Attorney General Knight's heated reply to Mr. Leibowitz's statement was unfortunate. Mr. Knight should have realized that Mr. Leibowitz's words were purposeful, that they were calculated to produce just the sort of reply which the attorney general made. That is to say, Mr. Leibowitz obviously sought to stir up feeling. Judge Horton, for his part, realized as much, and in his formal statement he spoke of "certain influences, many of which to this court appear sinister and are actuated by a desire to stir up and foment strife between the races in the South." It is regrettable that Mr. Knight did not see through this matter as clearly as did Judge Horton.

Mr. Leibowitz's statement is, of course, to be resented by the people of Alabama. Yet Alabamians should remember that if they give vent to bitter feelings in return, if they allow themselves to become enraged at a remark which might better be ignored, considering its source and its obvious purpose, they will be but accommodating Mr. Leibowitz. They will be reacting as he wanted and expected them to. Thoughtful citizens of this state will not fall into his trap. They will naturally resent his statement; but their resentment will be much the same as that of Judge Horton. The attitude reflected in Judge Horton's statement should be the attitude of all Alabamians. His example is the one to follow.

It was the thought of just such a situation as has now been provoked that led this paper, before the beginning of the Decatur trial, to urge Alabamians to exercise patience and forbearance, to remain even-tempered and cool-headed, and to refrain, above all, from retaliating in kind to offensive words or acts. By such conduct, The News said then, Alabamians can best uphold the dignity and good name of the state, and by the same token manifest their desire for a fair trial and even-handed justice. Now, in the face of this provocation, such an attitude is to be urged more strongly than ever.

WE KNOW THE NEGRO

From the Waycross Georgian.

Samuel Leibowitz, defense attorney in the trial of seven Negroes for criminal assault in Alabama, is doing far more harm to his clients' case than racial prejudice can ever do. The South knows the Negro and can handle its racial relations far better than all the Harriet Beecher Stowes and Samuel Leibowitzes in the world.

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Expressions from readers upon topics of current or general interest are welcomed. Writing should be on one side of the paper only and should not exceed 300 words. Anonymous communications will not be printed and letters unaccompanied by self-addressed, stamped envelope will not be returned. The News reserves the right to shorten letters of excessive length.

PRESS COMMENT ON THE SCOTTSBORO CASE

To the Editor The News:

First reaction to a perusal of the symposium, "National Press Comment on the Scottsboro Case," published in Sunday's News-Age-Herald, is a realization of the infinite number of different angles or points of view from which may be considered an event of so popularly engrossing interest as the one under discussion. But far and away the best and sanest summary of the enlightened Southerner's position is the one so admirably set forth by John Temple Graves in his column in Friday's Age-Herald. As this seems eminently worthy of republication in this column for the benefit of those who may have missed it in The Age-Herald, a copy is herewith included for that purpose:

Worth pasting permanently in every Southerner's felt and every Northerner's derby is Judge James E. Horton's charge to the jury in the Scottsboro case retrial last Saturday. It was rebuke enough to Solicitor Wade Wright's unpardonably crude appeal to racial and sectional feeling and to the International Labor Defense's equally unpardonable appeal to class feeling. It spoke for a justice honorably and perfectly blind to all such influences and for a South which can be loved without either fearing or hating any other section. It introduced a refreshing note of nobility into one of the most completely ignoble pictures Alabama has ever had to look at.

* * *

Walter Lippman paid this column the compliment last Tuesday of wiring from New York for its opinion of the Scottsboro case and asking "what, if anything, I could helpfully say?" It seems to us that the most helpful thing Mr. Lippmann could say is that enlightened Alabamians—and there are thousands of them—have their fingers crossed, that they want with all their hearts to be fair, that they believe the death penalty a social necessity in the South for the crime of which the Negroes are accused, but that they are by no means certain of guilt in this instance and that even if there is guilt the circumstances seem to call for executive modification of sentence. And that they have no more patience with Solicitor Wright than they have with the International Labor Defense. And that they do not believe in lynching—by hand or by telegram.

One phase of the trial which has failed to elicit the comment to which it would seem to be entitled is the flouting, seemingly with impunity, of the state's laws against perjury. At least two of the witnesses testifying in the latest trial are convicted of legal perjury, as of the record. Are they to be allowed to get away with this? If so, the perjury laws may just as well be erased from the state's books.

Mr. E. P. Lacy, in Friday's News, cites Lincoln's position, expressed more than two years before the opening of the Civil War, that "he was not then nor ever had been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races" and that he "was not then nor ever had been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes." There can, of course, never be, in the purview of the white Southerner, any question as to social equality. That is simply unthinkable. On the political side Lincoln's position was undoubtedly correct as to the whole body of Negroes at that time and perhaps still holds good as to the majority, but much water has gone over the dam in the intervening 74 years and simple justice seems to require recognition of the fact that many members of the Negro race in the South are at this time fully equipped for the suffrage and for jury duty.

In conclusion, in connection with consideration of all the problems posed by the Scottsboro case, it may be found not unprofitable to ponder carefully the dictum of Justice Fuller recently cited in this column: "The finger of the Almighty has written on the everlasting tablets of the universe that no nation can endure and prosper into which, and through which, does not run the golden thread of equal, exact and universal justice."

536 15th St., S. W. J. MELANCON.

* * *

ALABAMA AND THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

SCOTTSBORO' RETRIAL

Negro Youth Again Found Guilty

(From our New York Correspondent.)

American Liberals were stunned by the news on Sunday that the first of the new trials in the famous Scottsboro case ended with a verdict of guilty. The jury of Decatur, Alabama, so reported that morning to Judge E. Horton after deliberating from seven o'clock on Saturday morning. The case was that of Haywood Patterson, the first of the seven negro boys to be retried. The other six will now be tried again separately, but since the evidence is the same in each case there is no reason to hope for a better result for them than for Patterson.

Americans who have followed the case closely considered that the evidence produced made a verdict of guilt impossible if the jury considered only the facts. Of the two young women who are the alleged victims of the assault one, Ruby Bates, appearing unexpectedly after being missing for several weeks, stated that her former story was completely false and that the negroes had not harmed her or her companion. The other girl, Mrs. Victoria Price, stuck to her previous story, but the evidence regarding her character introduced into the court was so damaging that it seems impossible that the jury could give her credence.

Among the witnesses for the defence was a young man who gave evidence that he and a companion had illicit relations with these two young women the day before the alleged assault.

Patterson's case, and that of his companions, if they are also found guilty, can be appealed again to the Alabama Supreme Court and possibly to the United States Supreme Court. The boys' lives are in more danger than before, however, since the Alabama Supreme Court is almost certain to uphold the lower court as it did before, and the United States Supreme Court only accepts jurisdiction in cases where the unfairness of trials is gross and palpable. The defence are also badly handicapped by lack of funds.

The prosecuting attorney played strongly upon the anti-Jewish feeling of the jurors, Alabama being one of the strongholds of Ku Klux Klan. Two of the leading counsel for the defence are Jewish, and the prosecuting attorney referred repeatedly to "Jewish money from New York," at one time urging the jurors to "show that Jew money from New York cannot buy and sell justice in Alabama." He alleged that the defence had paid Ruby Bates to perjure herself.

[The retrial of the seven negro boys, who had been condemned to death on a charge

of having criminally assaulted two young white women in a train at Scottsboro (Alabama), opened on March 27. The youths had been in the death cells in the Alabama State prison since April, 1931. Protests against the death sentences were received from all over the world, and the case was brought before the Supreme Court in Washington, who sent the case back to Alabama for fresh trial.]

[redacted] N C News and [redacted]
April 16, 1933

POT AND KETTLE

When the news came of the outrageous verdict in the famous Scottsboro case in Alabama, *The News and Observer* expressed the opinion that the best hope for justice for the Negroes lay in the retirement from the case of the attorneys for the International Labor Defense.

This position was taken not in reflection upon the attorneys who skillfully and ably defended the Negroes in the case. In fact, if the attorneys of this organization had not come to the defense of the Negroes there is a good possibility that the defendants now would be dead and buried. The International Labor Defense came to their assistance at a time when the country in general had not awakened to the great danger of a terrible injustice being committed in the courts of Alabama.

Nevertheless, in the recent trial the case became not a judicial search for the facts but an emotional conflict of prejudices. In an outrageous manner the Alabama prosecutor played to the prejudices of the Alabama jury and called them to render a verdict not upon the facts in the case but upon their prejudices. His conduct and the verdict which followed it was a disgrace to the South.

Yet, now it seems that Samuel Liebowitz, the chief counsel for the defense, is in his attack on Southern bigots not himself averse to pandering to the prejudices of another section in describing the people of Alabama. In an address in Brooklyn the other day he declared:

> If you ever saw those creatures, those bigots, whose mouths are slits in their faces, whose eyes pop out at you like a frog's, whose chins drip tobacco juice, bewhiskered and filthy, you would not ask how they could do it. When I got back home I felt that I needed a moral, mental and physical bath.

By such vituperation of a people, Mr. Liebowitz makes himself a party to the conflict of prejudices and emotions which disgraced the verdict at Decatur. Such bigotry both in Alabama and Brooklyn will not serve justice. It will not help to secure freedom for the defendants in the case. It precludes the possibility that Mr. Liebowitz can be useful in the case again.

At the time of the verdict *The News and Observer* suggested, without reflection upon the present defense attorneys, that justice would be best served by the withdrawal of the International Labor Defense and the substitution of eminent Southern attorneys as the defense counsel for the Negroes. Such an act this paper believed would make it possible to remove much of the conflict of prejudices and emotions in which the case is now involved. Mr. Liebowitz' statement in Brooklyn makes such a course even more necessary.

Justice will not be found in the South or anywhere else in the vituperations of a bigoted lawyer from Alabama and a bigoted attorney from New York. Their conflict makes a sad spectacle of which North and South can both be ashamed. But the important matter in the case is justice for the defendants and not the display of the sectional bigotries of the bar.

Bristol, Va., Herald-Courier
April 11. 1933

The "Scottsboro Case."

Some two years ago two young white women of Scottsboro, Alabama, were returning home after what they claimed to have been an unsuccessful trip to Chattanooga, Tennessee, in search of work. The women were Mrs. Victoria Price and Ruby Bates. They were traveling in a box car in company with three or four white boys when, according to their story, nine young Negroes entered the car, threw the white boys off, and assaulted the two women. The Negroes were arrested when the freight train reached Huntsville and later seven or eight of them were tried and convicted and sentenced to death.

This is a brief outline of the famous "Scottsboro case," or the beginning of the case. The case has become famous because the International Labor Defense and possibly the American Civil Liberties Union took an active interest in it and employed counsel to save the Negroes after they had been convicted. It was contended by this counsel for the defense, headed by Samuel Liebowitz of New York, that the Negroes were victims of race prejudice; that during the progress of the trial it was necessary for State troops to guard the courthouse to prevent violence to the accused men; that they were not given a fair trial, that a fair trial in such an atmosphere of ill feeling was impossible, and that the women the prisoners were said to have assaulted were of questionable moral character.

After a long legal fight, which was carried to the United States Supreme Court, a new trial was obtained for the Negroes. The first to be arraigned for retrial was Heywood Patterson of Chattanooga. Mrs. Price was again a witness, and repeated her testimony at the first trial, but Ruby Bates had disappeared some time before. Suddenly, as the trial was in its final stage, the Bates girl appeared in the courtroom, went on the witness stand, and retracted the story she had previously told. She had been to New York and in touch with persons interested in the case, and was sent back to Decatur, where the second trial of Patterson was held, to testify for the defense.

This second trial was concluded Saturday and the case given to the jury. After deliberating twenty-one hours the jury returned a verdict of guilty against Patterson and fixed his punishment at death. Counsel Liebowitz declared the verdict a miscarriage of justice, "an act of bigots spitting upon the tomb of the immortal Abraham Lincoln." Counsel for the prosecution, who charged that Ruby Bates had been paid in New York to give perjured testimony at the second trial, contended that the verdict was just. The rest of the accused Negroes are to be tried separately from time to time, and Mr. Liebowitz has announced that "we will fight with every drop of blood in our veins to free these men, because they are innocent."

Judge James E. Horton presided at the trial of Patterson, and evidently presided fairly. After the verdict of guilty was rendered Mr. Liebowitz said "we would have been more than glad to have left it in the hands of Judge Horton, but it is a pity the law prevented that." If Judge Horton believes the verdict unjust he probably would hear and grant a motion to set it aside. Certainly it would seem that he would be loath to pronounce a death sentence if he had grave doubt as to the guilt of the man to be put to death. The public does not know what to think of this "Scottsboro case," but it will hope that substantial justice finally will be done, despite the dubious tactics that are being employed by both sides.

N. Y. HERALD
APR 21 1933

An Alabama View

Montgomery Solicitor Defends Southern Juries

To the New York Herald Tribune:

On April 14 there appeared in your paper a letter by Mr. Welbourn Kelley relative to the Scottsboro case. I have nothing but praise for the letter and the sentiments therein expressed, but dissent from the part which I quote: "And the verdict of guilty had nothing whatever to do with whether or not young Negroes had attacked two white women hoboes."

Mr. Kelley made an egregious error in giving utterance to the above-noted passage. Neither communism, socialism nor capitalism had anything whatever to do with the verdict, nor were the jury in the slightest impressed with such propaganda.

The crime of rape in Alabama is punishable either by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than ten years, or by death, and this means any woman, whether white or black, virgin or prostitute. The punishment usually given is death. When the facts are clearly proven to the jury that the offense has been committed beyond a reasonable doubt, there is no choice of a verdict. No eminent lawyer, no brilliant criminal advocate, be he a Joseph Choate, a Clarence Darrow or even a redoubtable Leibowitz, could secure an acquittal.

It is a heritage of our race and is implanted in us from birth that where a white woman is violated there is only one punishment, and that punishment is death. There is one thing certain: that we Southerners are not impressed or even moved by the propaganda noised abroad as to the merits of this case. Our juries compare favorably with any in the country. They are just and imbued with a spirit of fairness. Let not the Northern people think that we are ignorant or bigoted, for this is a libel on a free and independent people.

Leibowitz is far from a fool. He had no real interest in his clients, and did what he could to secure the verdict that was rendered. He has now placed himself where he cannot again properly represent them. There are six other defendants to be tried, and no matter in what county in this state they are tried, if the jury believes the facts beyond a reasonable doubt the punishment will be death. The white Southerners demand this and the black Southerners expect it. The two races here will carry on peacefully and contentedly to the end. We each understand and need the other. When outside influences come into the picture our troubles begin. We are determined to be right and to do right. We need no outside help, sympathy or sobs in the pursuance of this course. So let us be.

WM. T. SEIBELS.
Montgomery, Ala., April 18, 1933.